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The Dynastic Promise according to Josephus

by

C.T. BEGG

(Washington, D.C.)

One of the key texts of the Old Testament's Historical Books is the account of God's promise of a lasting dynasty to David found in 2 Samuel 7 // 1 Chronicles 17.¹ In this essay I propose to investigate Josephus' retelling of the Biblical dynastic promise passage(s) in his *Antiquitates Judaicae* (hereafter *Ant.*) 7.90-95.² My investigation will proceed by way of a detailed comparison between Josephus' version and its two Scriptural parallels as represented by the following major witnesses: MT (BHS), 4QSam³, Codex Vaticanus (hereafter B)⁴ and the Lucianic (hereafter L) or

¹ On the account and the enormous literature it has engendered, see G. HENTSCHEL, *Gott, König und Tempel. Beobachtungen zu 2 Sam 7,1-17* (Erfurter Theologische Schriften, 22; Leipzig 1992).

² For the text and translation of Josephus' writings I use H. St. J. Thackeray *et al.*, *Josephus* (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, MA, London 1926-1965 [*Ant.* 7.90-95 is found in Vol. V, 406-411, ed. by R. Marcus]). I have likewise consulted the text and apparatus for *Ant.* 7.90-95 in B. NIESE, *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, II (Berlin 1955), 109-110. On Josephus' overall treatment of the central figure of 2 Samuel 7 // 1 Chronicles 17, see L.H. FELDMAN, 'Josephus' Portrait of David', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 60 (1989), 129-174.

³ 4QSam^a contains fragmentary portions of 2 Sam 7:23-29. For its readings see P.K. MCCARTER, *II Samuel* (Anchor Bible, 8; New York 1984), 233-235.

⁴ For B I use A.E. BROOKE, N. MACLEAN and H. ST. J. THACKERAY, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus*, II: I and II Samuel (Cambridge 1927); II: III I and II Chronicles (1932).

Antiochene MSS⁵ of the LXX, the *Vetus Latina*⁶ as well as the Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets (hereafter TJ)⁷ and the Targum of Chronicles (hereafter TC).⁸ Via this comparison I hope to find answers to such overarching questions as: Does Josephus' version give evidence of his use of both 2 Samuel 7 and 1 Chronicles 17, or has he based himself on one of these passages to the exclusion of the other? Which text form(s) of the Biblical passage(s) did he have available? What rewriting techniques has he applied to the data of his source(s) and what distinctive features to his *relecture* do these serve to generate? Finally, what messages might Josephus' retelling be intended to convey to his double audience, i.e. (Roman) Gentiles and fellow Jews?

The parallel material to be studied here may readily be divided up into three segments as follows: 1) David/Nathan exchange (2 Sam 7:1-3// 1 Chr 17:1-2// *Ant.* 7.90-91); 2) God's word to David (7:4-17// 17:3-15// 7.92-93); and 3) David's Response (7:18-29// 17:16-27// 7.94-95).

DAVID/NATHAN EXCHANGE

The two Biblical accounts open (2 Sam 7:1a// 1 Chr 17:1a) with mention of David's "dwelling in his house", 7:1b adding that "the Lord had given him rest (so MT L) from his enemies round about".⁹ Josephus' own introductory notice seems to reflect the

⁵ For L I use N. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS and J.R. BUSTO SAIZ, *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega*, I 1-2 Samuel (Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros", 50; Madrid 1989); III 1-2 Crónicas (Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros", 60; Madrid 1996).

⁶ For the (fragmentary) VL readings of 2 Samuel 7, see P. SABATIER, *Bibliorum Sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae seu Vetus Itala*, I,2 (Paris 1751), 530-532 and for those of 1 Chronicles 17, *ibid.*, 642-643.

⁷ For TJ I use A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic*, II (Leiden 1959) and the translation of this by D.J. HARRINGTON and A.J. SALDARINI, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets* (The Aramaic Bible, 10; Wilmington, DE 1987).

⁸ For TC I use R. LE DEAUT and J. ROBERT, *Targum des Chroniques*, II (Analecta Biblica, 51; Rome 1971) and the translation of this by J.S. McIVOR, *The Targum of Chronicles* (The Aramaic Bible, 19; Collegeville, MN 1994).

⁹ In both Biblical accounts the introductory notice(s) on David's situation follows upon the narrative of his bringing the ark to Jerusalem, 2 Samuel 6// 1 Chronicles 13-16. Josephus' version of the dynastic promise (*Ant.* 7.90-95) is likewise immediately preceded, in *Ant.* 7.78-89, by the ark transfer episode. On the latter passage, see C.T. BEGG, 'David's Transfer of the Ark according to Josephus', *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 7 (1997), 1-26.

plus of 7:1b with its reference to the divine origin of David's current felicitous state: "When the king saw that almost from day to day his affairs prospered more and more by the will of God (ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῆσεως)..."¹⁰ The sources continue (7:2// 17:1b) with a "quotation" of David's observation to the prophet Nathan, contrasting his residence ("a house of cedar") with that of the ark ("a tent"). Josephus precedes mention of David's speaking to Nathan with an extended remark on the king's mental state which likewise serves to clarify his intentions with regard to the "disadvantaged" ark. This reads: "... *he thought he would be guilty of sin* (ἐξαμαρτάνειν) *if*¹¹, while he lodged in a *lofty* dwelling made of cedar wood (ἐν οἴκοις ἐκ κέδρου, BL 7:2// 17:1b ἐν οἴκῳ κεδρίνῳ) *and beautifully appointed* (κατασκευῇν) *in other ways*¹², he allowed the ark¹³ to lie in a tent (ἐν σκηνῇ).¹⁴ *He wished, there-*

¹⁰ On "the will of God" as a key concept in *Ant.* where it occurs some thirty times, see C.T. BEGG, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy* (AJ 8,212-420) (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, 108; Leuven 1993), 20 and the literature cited there.

Whereas 7:1b speaks of "the Lord" (BL κύριος) Josephus refers above rather to "God". His doing so is in line with his standard practice throughout his Biblical paraphrase, this likely prompted by the fact that the Bible's use of "Lord" as a divine title was not current in secular Greek, see BEGG, *Josephus' Account*, 45, n. 218 and the literature cited there. Further to be noted is that while Josephus' formulation here does seem to reflect the plus of 7:1b, he transposes its reference to God's giving David "rest (so MT L; B caused him to inherit, κατεκληρονόμησεν) from all his enemies round about" into mention of the Deity's "prospering" David. This change likely has in view the immediate continuation of 2 Samuel 7// 1 Chronicles 17 (and Josephus' own account), i.e. the enumeration of David's victories over a whole series of hostile nations (2 Samuel 8// 1 Chronicles 18// *Ant.* 7.96-110), whence it appears that, at this point, David did not yet, in fact, enjoy "rest" from his foes.

¹¹ The above phrase has no equivalent in the sources (I italicize such items in this presentation). It serves both to motivate the decision taken by the king concerning the ark and to underscore his piety, *in casu* his desire to avoid "sin". On Josephus' overall treatment of David's piety, see FELDMAN, 'David', 156-164.

¹² This characterization of David's dwelling has no equivalent in the sources. It (along with term "lofty" previously inserted by him) accentuates the contrast between David's current residence and that of the ark, awareness of that contrast, in turn, evoking David's decision regarding the ark.

¹³ Compare the more expansive designations in 7:2 ("the ark of God") and 17:1b ("the ark of the covenant of the Lord").

¹⁴ Cf. BL 7:2 ἐν μέσῳ τῆς σκηνῆς (+ Κύριου, L) and BL 17:1b ὑποκάτω [+ τῶν, L] δέρεων. The "tent" in question is the one David had pitched for the ark upon its arrival in Jerusalem as noted in 2 Sam 6:17// 1 Chr 15:1; 16:1// *Ant.* 7.86.

fore, to build (κατασκευάσαι, compare κατασκευήν above)¹⁵ a temple to God¹⁶, as Moses had formerly spoken of¹⁷, and after discussing this with the prophet Nathan (Νάθα¹⁸)...".¹⁹

The narrative's opening scene ends up in 7:3// 17:2 with Nathan telling David to proceed and assuring him that the Lord/God is with him. Josephus (7.91b) appends to his parallel item a notice on the king's response to the prophet's words that serves to magnify the former's enthusiastic piety: "... when he bade him do what he minded²⁰, seeing that God was with him to help him (συνεργού) in all things²¹, he became still more eager to build the temple (περὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευήν, cf. κατασκευάσαι ναόν, 7.91a)".²²

¹⁵ Terms of the κατασκευ- stem constitute a *Leitwort* in 7.90-95, occurring a total of four times, see 7.90,91 (*bis*),92.

¹⁶ Neither 2 Sam 7:2a nor 1 Chr 17:1b offer a comparable statement of intention by David with regard to the ark. Josephus seems to anticipate the item from 1 Chr 28:2 where David states "I had in my heart to build a house of rest for the ark of the covenant of the Lord" (compare the Josephan parallel in *Ant.* 7.371 where the king alludes to his earlier "intention of building a temple to God").

¹⁷ This further elaboration of the words attributed to David by the sources harks back to, e.g., Exod 26:33; 40:21 (// *Ant.* 3.138) which speak of the placing of the ark in the inner sanctuary by Moses at God's directive. The inserted invocation of "Moses" here serves to legitimate David's plan.

¹⁸ This is the form of the name read by Niese and Marcus. Compare BL 7:2// 17:1 Ναθάν, the reading found in codex O of *Ant.* Like the sources, Josephus provides no background information concerning the person of "Nathan" whom he introduces into his narrative for the first time here.

¹⁹ The above phrase is Josephus' summarizing equivalent for the actual words of David to Nathan as cited in 7:2a// 17:1b. In what precedes Josephus has substituted an editorial statement concerning David's thought processes for those words, see above.

²⁰ Compare Nathan's direct discourse directive of 7:3a// 17:2a "Go do all that is in your heart (BL 17:2a soul)". On Josephus' penchant for substituting indirect for source direct discourse in his Biblical paraphrase - as he does throughout 7.90-95 - see BEGG, *Josephus' Account*, 12-13, n. 38.

²¹ Compare 7:3bβ// 17:2bβ "for God/the Lord is with you". Josephus' formulation accentuates the divine solidarity with David and his project. With the above formulation compare *Ant.* 1.268 where Isaac informs Esau of his intention to beseech God "to support and assist (συνεργόν) him throughout all his life".

²² Josephus' inserted reference to David's "eagerness" to proceed with the building of the temple has a certain counterpart in *Midr. Ps.* 62.4 where, with reference to Psalm 132, it is affirmed that David "grievously desired to build a Temple" so that God credited this good intention to him even though he did not actually get to carry it out.

GOD'S WORD TO DAVID

The core of the narrative under study here comprises 2 Sam 7:4-17// 1 Chr 17:3-15// *Ant.* 7.92-93 where God intervenes to halt David's project and to announce his own intentions with regard to the latter's "house". This new development is set in motion (7:4// 17:3) when "the word of the Lord" (BL λόγος Κυρίου) comes to Nathan "that night". Josephus, in line with his usual practice, avoids the sources' reference to the divine "word".²³ In place thereof he substitutes (7.92a) - again in accord with his procedure elsewhere in his Biblical paraphrase - mention of a "theophany": "But God *appeared* (φανέντος) to Nathan²⁴ that very night...".

2 Sam 7:5// 1 Chr 17:4 record the divine commissioning of Nathan who is instructed to transmit God's question ("would you build me a house to dwell in?", so MT 7:5)/ prohibition ("you shall not build me a house to dwell in", so 17:4 as well as BL, VL 7:5) to David.²⁵ Josephus prefaces his rendition of the sources' opening divine word with an inserted statement - itself inspired by Solomon's declaration on the occasion of the Temple's dedication ("But the Lord said to David my father, 'Whereas it was in your heart to build a house for my name, you did well that it was in your heart'", 1 Kgs 8:18// 2 Chr 6:18) - that the king's plan did, as such, meet with God's approbation. The insertion reads: "(God) bade him (Nathan) to tell David *that while He approved of his purpose and desire- for no one before him had taken it into his mind to build Him a temple* (ναὸν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι, compare τῷ θεῷ κατασκευάσαι ναόν, 7.91), *as David had thought to do...*". Thereafter, he continues with an indirect discourse rendition of the prohibition of 17:4 (and BL VL 7:5), amplifying this with an "explanation" anticipated from subsequent Biblical contexts (see 1

²³ On the point see BEGG, *Josephus' Account*, 20, n. 90.

²⁴ For other instances of Josephus' introducing mention of a divine "appearance" where his Biblical source refers only to God's "speaking", see BEGG, *Josephus' Account*, 53-54, n. 300 and the literature cited there. Josephus may have found inspiration for his reference to God's "appearing" to Nathan here in 7:17// 17:15 which relate the prophet's speaking to David "(in accordance with all these words and) in accordance with all this *vision* (BL ὅρασιν)".

²⁵ On the Rabbinic attempts to resolve the seeming discrepancy between the above formulations (e.g., taken together they would indicate that while David himself ["you"] would not get to build the temple, his son will be allowed to do so), see, e.g., *Pesiq.R.* 2.5; *Midr. Pss.* 62.4; *Midr. Sam.* 26.2.

Chr 22:8 [// 7.337]; 28:3 [// 7.371]; 1 Kgs 5:17 [//8.51]): "... still He could not permit him to construct a temple for Him (ποιῆσαι ναὸν αὐτῷ) *because he had fought in many wars and was stained with the blood of his enemies* (φόνῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μεμιασμένῳ)..."²⁶

Both sources continue with an extended segment (7:5-11// 17:4-10) in which God first (vv. 5-7// 4-6) motivates his preceding questioning/prohibition of David's plan of building him a temple and then, in contrast, rehearses his own benefits to David personally (vv. 8-9, 11aβb// 7-8, 10aβb), and to the people as a whole (vv. 10-11aα// 9-10aα).²⁷ Given that Josephus has just (7.92a) had the Deity express his approbation in principle of the temple-building project, even while denying David himself the privilege of realizing it (7.92b), it is not surprising to find him passing over the sequence of 7:5-7// 17:4-6 where God makes known his opposition to the very idea of a permanent dwelling for himself.²⁸ In addition, however, he also leaves aside at this juncture - although see below - the following catalogue of the Deity's benefactions to king and nation. Instead, the historian proceeds immediately to the climactic announcement by God of what he intends to do following David's demise, i.e. confer the kingship upon a bodily descendant of his, 7:12// 17:11. In so doing, however, he inserts into his rendition of this promise an anticipated version of the promise about David's son's building the Temple of 7:13a// 17:12a. His parallel to 7:12-13// 17:11-12 reads accordingly: "but in any case, He said, after David's death²⁹ at an advanced age and at the end of a long life³⁰,

²⁶ This phrase recurs in Josephus' version of David's word of 1 Chr 28:3 in *Ant.* 7.371 (φόνῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μεμιάθαι).

²⁷ On the problem of the "tense" - past or future- of God's invocation of his benefits in 7:9-11a// 17:8-10a, see the commentaries.

²⁸ Thus the interpretation of the Deity's words in these verses by most commentators at least; see the commentaries. By passing over this material, Josephus likewise obviates another difficulty posed by it, i.e. contrary to what God appears to be saying here, there had, in fact, existed a permanent "house" for him, i.e. the Shiloh temple of Samuel's youth; see 1 Samuel 1-3 and again the commentaries.

²⁹ With this expression Josephus clarifies the Semitic euphemism of 7:12aβ// 17:11aβ ("when you lie down with your fathers").

³⁰ This double expression represents an embellishment of the wording of 7:12aα// 17:11aα ("when your days are fulfilled").

the temple should be brought into being (γενήσεσθαι)³¹ by his son and successor to the kingdom³², *whose name would be Solomon...*³³

Having introduced the figure of David's successor in 7:12-13// 17:11-12, the sources next (7:14a// 17:13a) have God announce "I will be his father, and he shall be my son". Thereafter, they diverge: in 7:14b-15 God first announces that he will requite the son of David when he goes astray (v. 14b), but then adds (v. 15) that he will not withdraw his favor from him as he had done with David's predecessor Saul (so MT). 1 Chronicles 17 has no equivalent to the former item, proceeding immediately to the affirmation about the non-withdrawal of divine favor from the Davidid (17:13b// 7:15).³⁴ Following this divergence, 7:16// 17:14 both end Nathan's announcement with a double assurance about David's dynasty's perduring "for ever". Josephus' rendition of 7:14-16// 17:13-14 in 7.93b does make use of the plus of 7:14b, even while going its own way in several other respects: "... and whom He promised *to watch over and care for* (προσθήσεσθαι καὶ προνοήσειν)³⁵ as a father his son³⁶, and to preserve the kingdom for his children's children

³¹ This is the conjecture of Niese followed by Marcus for the γενέσθαι of the codices RO and the ἔσεσθαι of the remaining codices (cf. Lat faciendum).

³² In the above formulation Josephus highlights the status of the temple by mentioning it prior to the one who will build it. Compare the sequence of 7:11aβb-12a// 17:10aβb-11a "... I will raise up your offspring after you, who shall come forth from your body, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house for my name (so 7:12a; for me, 17:11a)". Note further that his allusion to David's "son and successor to the kingdom" takes the place of the sources' double divine promise about "establishing" the latter's "kingdom/ throne" (7:11bβ// 17:10bβ; 7:12b// 17:11b).

³³ Neither source has God announce the name of David's son and the future temple-builder. Josephus inserts the name on the basis of 1 Chr 22:9 (// 7.337); 28:6 (cf. 7.372) where, in "quoting" the promise made him by Nathan, David does introduce the name "Solomon" into the wording of the promise.

³⁴ On the significance of the Chronicler's non-utilization of 7:14b, see the commentaries.

³⁵ Josephus uses God as the subject of the verb προνοέω also in *Ant.* 2.280; 3.23; 4.194; 6.10; 7.65, 337 (here in a "quotation" by David of Nathan's words as cited in 7.93); 10.14, 242; 11.216, 219, 327; *Vita* 301.

³⁶ The words italicized above in Josephus' rendition of 7:14a// 17:13a spell out the implications of the father-son relationship between the Deity and the Davidid spoken of in the sources.

and to transmit it to them³⁷, but he would punish him, if he sinned, with sickness and barrenness of the soil".³⁸

The sources "frame" their citation of the words God commissions Nathan to convey to David (7:5-16// 17:4-14) with mention of the prophet's delivering the message to the king (7:17// 17:15, cf. 7:4// 17:3). Josephus incorporates this item into the opening of his account of David's response to the divine word, see below.

DAVID'S RESPONSE

The third and final segment of the passages under consideration here (7:18-29// 17:16-27// 7.94-95) features David's extended response to the message just brought him by Nathan. The sources (7:18a// 17:16a) open this new segment with reference to David's "going in" and "sitting before the Lord".³⁹ Josephus (7.94a) pre-

³⁷ This formulation represents Josephus' anticipated version of the dynastic promise of 7:16// 17:14 with which the sources conclude Nathan's announcement. In his wording of the promise above Josephus eliminates the sources' double reference to that promise perduring "for ever". His procedure here doubtless reflects the historian's consciousness of the historical fact that the Davidic dynasty had ceased to rule over half a millennium prior to his own time, as well as a concern not to provoke Roman suspicions about ongoing Jewish "Messianism". On the latter point, see FELDMAN, "David", 130-131, 172-174, cf. following note.

³⁸ Compare 7:14b where the sinful Davidid faces chastisement "with the rod of men, with the stripes of the sons of men". *Midr. Tanhuma B* 1.26 explains "rod" here as a reference to Solomon's future "adversaries" Hadad and Rezon (see 1 Kgs 11:14,23), and the "stripes" expression as alluding to punishment by "demons". Josephus' above elucidation of the wording of 7:14b might stand under the influence of 1 Kgs 8:37 (// 2 Chr 6:28// *Ant.* 8.115) where Solomon, i.e. the Davidid whose punishment is envisaged in 7:14b, alludes, in the context of his prayer on the occasion of the dedication of the Temple, to "famine in the land" and to "plague" (*ng'*, cf. *bng'y*, 7:14b) which may befall the people. In any case, in ending Nathan's announcement with the above reference to the punishment that awaits the reprobate Solomon, Josephus leaves aside the positive divine statement common to both 7:15 and 17:13b, i.e. that God will not withdraw his favor from the Davidids as he did in the case of Saul. The historian's motivation for this "omission" is likely the same as that which prompted him to eliminate the words "for ever" from his rendition of the dynastic promise of 7:16// 17:14; see n. 37.

³⁹ This mention of David's "sitting" in God's presence became a subject of dispute in Rabbinic tradition, see, e.g., *y. Yoma* 3.2; *y. Soṭah* 7.7; *Midr. Pss.* 1.2; 108.1, some authorities holding that the text provides Scriptural warrant for the Davidids' sitting in the Temple court, others maintaining that the reference is not

cedes mention of the king's initiative with an inserted notice on the emotional effect of Nathan's words upon him: "When David heard this from the prophet⁴⁰, he rejoiced greatly (περιχαρής) to know assuredly that the royal power would remain with his descendants (τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαμένουσιν)⁴¹ and that his house (οἶκον) would become glorious and renowned (λαμπρὸν... καὶ περιβόητον)"⁴². Only thereafter (7.95a), does he present his version of the notice of 7:18a// 17:16a, i.e. "Then he went (παραγίνεται, compare εἰσῆλθεν, BL 7:18a, ἦλθεν, BL 17:16a)⁴³ to the ark⁴⁴ and falling on his face, began to worship God..."⁴⁵

to David's literal "sitting", but rather to his "setting himself to pray" (cf. the TC rendering of 1 Chr 17:16, i.e. *šthy bšlwʾ*, "he lingered in prayer") or to his "leaning" against the wall. On the controversy, see V. APTOWITZER, *Parteilichkeit der Hasmonäerzeit im rabbinischen und pseudoepigraphischen Schrifttum* (Wien 1927), 142-143, 276-277, nn. 54-57 who suggests that it reflects the conflicting claims of the pro-monarchical Hasmonians (for whom the king has the unique privilege, denied even to the high priest, of sitting in the Temple precincts) and the anti-Hasmonians (who undercut this claim by giving the wording of 7:18// 17:16 another sense). See n. 45.

⁴⁰ This phrase might be seen as Josephus' transposition into a statement concerning David of the source notice of 7:17// 17:15 about Nathan's delivering the message to him, see above in the text.

⁴¹ This phrase recapitulates the wording of Nathan's announcement as cited in 7.93 "(God promised) to preserve the kingdom (βασιλείαν) for his children's children (ἐγγόνοις) and transmit it to them".

⁴² The above phrase echoes Samuel's word to David on the occasion of the latter's anointing in *Ant.* 6.165 "(He exhorted him to be righteous and obedient, for so...) his house would become splendid and renowned (οἶκον λαμπρὸν καὶ περιβόητον)" (like the formulation of 7.94 itself this promise has no equivalent as such in the Biblical source, i.e. 1 Sam 16:1-13).

⁴³ Note the historic present, a form which Josephus, as here, frequently introduces where the LXX parallel reads a past form; see BEGG, *Josephus' Account*, 10-11, n. 32.

⁴⁴ With this inserted phrase Josephus specifies whither David "goes (in)" as mentioned in the sources.

⁴⁵ This phrase takes the place of the sources' reference to David "sitting before the Lord" (7:18a// 17:16a). Thereby, Josephus depicts David in a more dramatic and reverential posture before the Deity. With reference to the view of Aptowitzer (see n. 39), S. RAPPAPORT, *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus* (Wien 1930), 45-46 and 130, n. 212, suggests that Josephus' "Umschreibung" of the Biblical wording may go back to a "Hasmonean priestly tradition" which held that also kings of David's line were not permitted to "sit" in the Temple court (compare, however, *Ant.* 8.107 where Josephus speaks of Solomon's "arising" from a "sitting" position in order to begin his prayer on the occasion of the Temple dedication [the Biblical introductions to Solomon's prayer, i.e. 1 Kgs 8:14// 2 Chr 6:3 do not

David's actual prayer commences (7:18b-21// 17:16b-19) with a humble acknowledgement by the king of the revelation just made to him. Josephus gives a content of his own to this component of the king's prayer, drawing on the wording of Nathan's reminiscence of God's past benefits to David (7:8// 17:7), earlier passed over by him (see above). He thus has David first "render thanks (εὐχαριστεῖν) to Him (God) for all that He had already done for him in raising him from the humble station of a shepherd (ἐκ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ποιμένος) to so great a height of power and glory (μέγεθος ἡγεμονίας... καὶ δόξης⁴⁶)..."⁴⁷ To this delayed use of earlier source material, he then attaches, in line with 7:19,21//17:17,19, a summary reference by David to the dynastic oracle just now made known to him: "(he also thanked God) for His promise (καθυπέσχετο)⁴⁸ to his descendants (ἐγγόνοις, see 7.93, 94)..."

The second major segment of David's prayer is a word of praise for God's beneficent dealings with the people as a whole, particularly in the Exodus event (7:22-24// 17:20-22) which itself picks up on Nathan's invocation of the (future?) divine deliverance of Israel in 7:9// 17:8. Here too, Josephus compresses markedly: "(He thanked God also) for His care (προνοίας)⁴⁹ of the Hebrews (Ἑβραίων)⁵⁰ and their liberty (ἐλευθερίας)".⁵¹

mention such a "sitting" by him)). In this connection it is of interest to note that *Seder Elijah Rabbah* #18 (89) has David respond to Nathan's announcement by first "prostrating himself" on the ground and then rising to "seat himself before the Presence".

⁴⁶ The above collocation "power and glory" recurs in *Ant.* 2.175 where God promises this for the posterity of the aged Jacob.

⁴⁷ Compare God's word to David as cited by Nathan 7:8// 17:7 "... I took you from the pasture, from following the sheep that you should be prince (BL ἡγουμενον, cf. ἡγεμονίας, 7.95) over my people Israel". With the wording of David's above statement compare also 7.84 (// 2 Sam 6:12) where David hears concerning the ark's custodian Obed-Edom that "from his former poverty and humble (ταπεινότητος, cf. ταπεινοῦ, 7.95) station he had all at once risen to prosperity...". Josephus thus parallels the God-sent prospering of both those who show solicitude for the ark, i.e. Obed-Edom and David.

⁴⁸ The verb καθυπισχνέομαι is hapax in Josephus.

⁴⁹ The cognate verb occurs in 7.93 where God promises to "watch over and care for (προνοήσκειν)" David's son "as a father". On (divine) πρόνοια as a *Leitwort* of Josephus' whole account of David, see FELDMAN, "David", 157.

⁵⁰ In the sources (see 7:10// 17:9; 7:23-24// 17:21-22) the reference is to "Israel". On Josephus' use of the term "Hebrews" to designate his people at

David's prayer ends (7:25-29// 17:23-27) with an extended plea that God uphold the dynastic promise made through Nathan. As various commentators point out, this element of the king's prayer reads somewhat oddly in that David is here represented as asking-insistently- for something God has already solemnly committed himself to do.⁵² Accordingly, it is not surprising to find Josephus simply omitting this component of the prayer. In place thereof, he provides a notice - without parallel in the sources - marking the end of David's praying. Thereby, he provides the entire episode with a more well-defined conclusion than in either source, both of which terminate with David still speaking. This Josephan closing notice runs: "When he (David) had so spoken and recited the praises of God, he departed (ἀπαλλάσσεται⁵³)".

CONCLUSION

In the conclusion to this essay, I shall now briefly summarize my findings with regard to its opening questions. Regarding the first of those questions, i.e. Josephus' Biblical sources in 7.90-95, we noted two instances of his utilization of a "plus" unique to Samuel (MT and BL), i.e. 7:1b (the "rest" given David; see 7.90a) and 7:14b (God's punishment of the straying Davidid; see 7.93b). On the other hand, he agrees with 1 Chr 17:4b (and BL VL 2 Sam 7:5b) against MT 7:5b in having God issue a "prohibition" of David's temple-building plan, rather than address a question to him concerning this. For the rest, the fact that Josephus omits such large portions of 2 Samuel 7// 1 Chronicles 17 (see below) and paraphrases those elements which he does retain militates against one's

various moments of their history, see G. HARVEY, *The True Israel. Uses of the Names Jew, Hebrew and Israel in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums, 35; Leiden 1996), 124-129.

⁵¹ ἐλευθερία is a key term of Josephus' overall presentation of Jewish history; see L.H. FELDMAN, 'Josephus' Portrait of Samuel', *Abr-Nahrain* 30 (1992), 103-145, esp. pp. 135-136. As Feldman (p. 136) points out, the term is one that would have struck a responsive cord with contemporary Roman readers in that, as Josephus himself records (*Ant.* 19.54) "liberty" (ἐλευθερία) was the password employed by the assassins of the despotic emperor Caligula. Compare the double reference to God's "redeeming" (BL λυτρόω) the people in 7:23// 17:21.

⁵² On the point, see, e.g., MCCARTER, *II Samuel*, 240.

⁵³ Note the historic present.

drawing more definite conclusions about the text-forms of 2 Samuel 7 (and 1 Chronicles 17) - e.g., "LXX" vs. (proto-) MT - used by him.⁵⁴

Something more can be said concerning the question of the rewriting techniques utilized by Josephus in 7.90-95. In fact, this segment of *Ant.* evidences a whole series of such- often overlapping- techniques. Of them, the most obvious throughout is the historian's radical abbreviation of his source material. Here, we recall that he passes over both the whole central segment of Nathan's word (7:6-11// 17:5-10) and the appeal portion of David's prayer (7:25-29// 17:23-27), just as he drastically condenses the preceding elements of that prayer (7:18b-24// 17:16b-22; compare 7.95b).⁵⁵

Conversely, Josephus does make additions to/expansions of source data in 7.90-95, albeit to a less obvious degree than with his omissions/condensations. Instances of the former technique include the following: the contrast between the ark's dwelling and David's own (7.90b; compare 7:2// 17:1b), the inserted invocation of the authority of Moses (7.91a), Nathan's assurance of divine support (7.91b; compare 7:3// 17:2) and the emotional effect of this upon the king (7.91c), the name of David's son who will build the temple (7.93a; compare 7:13a// 17:12a), the king's "rejoicing" at Nathan's word (7.94), his going "to the ark" (7.94; compare 7:18// 17:16), and "departing" once he had completed his prayer (7.95c).

⁵⁴ For more on the overall question of the text-form(s) of Samuel available to Josephus, see E.C. ULRICH, 'Josephus' Biblical Text for the Books of Samuel', in: L.H. FELDMAN, G. HATA (eds.), *Josephus, the Bible and History* (Detroit 1989), 81-96.

⁵⁵ In this connection it should be noted that also elsewhere Josephus tends to abbreviate or even omit entirely the prayers attributed to Biblical characters. Thus, e.g., he leaves aside Hannah's prayer of thanksgiving for the birth of her son cited in 1 Sam 2:1-10. Similarly, he reduces Jonah's lengthy "thanksgiving song" of Jonah 2:1-10 to the phrase "... having prayed to God to grant him pardon for his sins..." (*Ant.* 9.214) and that of Hezekiah (Isa 38:9-20) to the notice (*Ant.* 10.30) "then he went up to the temple and did obeisance to God and offered prayers to Him". His procedure in this regard might be seen as illustrative of the historian's wider tendency to "detheologize" the Biblical account with a view, *inter alia*, to furthering its acceptance by skeptical Gentile readers. On the point, see L.H. FELDMAN, 'Use, Authority and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Flavius Josephus', in: M.J. MULDER, H. SYSLING (eds.), *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 2:1; Assen 1988), 455-518, pp. 503-507.

Yet another rewriting technique evidenced by 7.90-95 is the rearrangement of source items. Thus, e.g., Josephus appears to "anticipate" the reference to the "vision" Nathan conveys to David (7:17// 17:15) in his reference (7.92) to God's "appearing" to the prophet. Again, in contrast to the sources, he mentions the building of the temple before alluding to the identity of its builder (7.93; compare 7:12aβb-13a// 17:11aβb-12). Similarly, he makes "delayed" use of Nathan's reminiscence of the divine "promotion" of David from shepherd to prince (7:8// 17:7) in his rendition of the king's prayer in 7.95b.

Finally, Josephus also modifies/ adapts the data of his sources in various respects. Terminologically, he replaces the title "the Lord" with "God" (see n. 10) and eliminates mention of the divine "word" (see n. 23). On the stylistic level he consistently recasts direct as indirect address (see n. 20), and introduces two historic present forms (see nn. 43, 53). A last category of such modifications bears on the actual content of the narrative. I recall the following examples: The "rest notice" of 7:1b is reformulated in 7.90a in view of what will be recounted subsequently (see n. 10). David's thought processes and intention with regard to the ark that one is left to infer from his remark to Nathan in 7:2// 17:1b are spelled out (7.90b-91a). God actually "appears" to Nathan rather than merely speaking to him (7.92a; compare 7:4// 17:3).⁵⁶ In place of the statement of divine disinterest in the projected Temple (so 7:6-7// 17:5-6), one finds a commendation of the plan by God, coupled with an explanation as to why David himself will not be allowed to execute it (7.92), both these items being drawn from subsequent Biblical contexts. The metaphorical allusions to human "rods" and "stripes" (7:14b) are clarified via the reference to "sickness and barrenness of soil" of 7.93. David "prostrates himself" (7.95a) instead of "sitting before the Lord" (so 7:18// 17:16). Finally, mention of the king's departure following his prayer (7.95c) takes the place of the concluding portion of his Biblical prayer (7:25-29// 17:23-27).⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Here, one has an instance of the "overlapping" of Josephus' rewriting techniques in that this "modification" itself seems to involve an "anticipation" of the reference to Nathan's "vision" in 7:17// 17:15; see above.

⁵⁷ Here too, Josephus' rewriting techniques overlap, with "omission" and replacement/modification going together.

My opening question concerning Josephus' rewriting techniques further asked about the distinctive features which these impart to his *relecture* of 2 Samuel 7// 1 Chronicles 17. In fact, 7.90-95 does evidence a variety of noteworthy peculiarities vis-à-vis its *Vorlage(n)*. Most obviously, Josephus has significantly streamlined the sources' whole presentation. David's emotional reactions and motivations are elucidated to a far greater extent than in the Bible's "objective" accounts. The drama of the episode is accentuated with mention of a divine "appearance" (7.92) and of David's "falling on his face" before the ark (7.95). The Bible's historically and ideologically problematic references to the "everlasting" continuation of David's line and God's unqualified promise not to withdraw his favor therefrom are reworded with an eye to contemporary realities (see nn. 37, 38). Questions left open by the sources (e.g. does David indeed enjoy "rest" from his enemies already at this juncture?; what exactly does David have in mind with the ark?; who is the promised son of his who will build the Temple?; why is David himself not allowed to built it? [see 7.92]) find a resolution. Similarly, apparent discrepancies between the account of 2 Samuel 7// 1 Chronicles 17 and other Biblical passages - these concerning, e.g., the Deity's stance towards the Temple-building project or the existence of a permanent house for God prior to David's time (see n. 28) - are eliminated, either by omission or by the utilization, within 7.90-95 itself, of the divergent formulations found elsewhere in the Bible. Overall, Josephus takes care to more closely integrate the dynastic promise episode into his wider history, via terminological links both with what precedes and follows (see nn. 16,33,42,47).

The last of my opening questions had in view the messages *Ant.* 7.90-95 might be intended to convey the work's double audience, i.e. (Roman) Gentiles and fellow Jews.⁵⁸ To the former readership Josephus presents a version of events designed to be more palatable to them. Thus, e.g., he disposes of the Biblical statements about the everlasting perdurance of the Davidic dynasty and greatly reduces the space devoted to David's prayer (see n. 55). In addition, his retelling evokes (7.95) a theme, i.e. "liberty" with which that readership might readily resonate (see n. 51). On the other hand, in having David acknowledge God's "care of the Hebrews and their

⁵⁸ On *Ant.*'s double intended audience, see FELDMAN, "Mikra", 470-471.

liberty", Josephus is also intimating a message of hope for Jewish readers: could not God who had secured his people's deliverance from a series of mighty oppressors in the past do the same with their current overlord, Rome itself?⁵⁹

In sum, the six paragraphs making up *Ant.* 7.90-95, their brevity notwithstanding, provide an instructive glimpse of the many and varied dimensions present in Josephus' Biblical paraphrase.

⁵⁹ On anti-Roman intimations elsewhere in *Ant.*, see, e.g., L.H. FELDMAN, 'Josephus' Portrait of Daniel', *Henoch* 14 (1992), 37-96, esp. pp. 66-71; C.T. BEGG, 'Josephus and Nahum Revisited', *Revue des Etudes juives* 154 (1995), 5-22, esp. pp. 19-22.

Deux métaphores apponiennes

(*In Cant.*, III, l. 92 s. et IX, l. 110-112)

par

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Les douze livres du *Commentaire sur le Cantique des cantiques*, que, malgré leur *dormitatio*, les *librarii* d'Apponius ont méritoirement pris en note¹, fourmillent d'allégories. Nous nous sommes précédemment arrêté aux figures qui, sans discussion, ressortissaient à l'histoire et au monde réel². Restaient sur le côté deux images imparfaites, l'une, au l. III (ad Cant. 1,11), parce que le texte n'est pas sûr, et l'autre, au l. X (ad Cant. 7,1), à cause d'une expression qui semble la soustraire à une interprétation matérielle.

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¹ Pour le texte, nous renvoyons ici aux deux éditions des PP. B. DE VREGILLE et L. NEYRAND: — *Apponii in Canticum Canticorum expositionem ediderunt* B. DE V. et L. N., Turnhout, Brepols, 1986 (*Corpus Christianorum. Series latina*, 19), ou VrN¹; — *Apponius. Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques*, Introd. gén., texte, trad. et notes, par les mêmes, Paris, Les Éd. du Cerf, 3 vol., 1997-1997-1998 (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 420-421-430), soit VrN². Selon l'usage (commode) instauré par VrN¹, les renvois au texte présentent le n° du livre, suivi du (des) numéro(s) de la (des) ligne(s) dans les deux édd. VrN (numérotation identique des stiques). Tant pour l'*In Canticum* que pour d'autres citations latines, nous avons adapté la ponctuation. — *Dormitatio*, en cet exorde, fait allusion à la (grinçante) proposition qui clôt le prologue apponien (APPON., prol. 32 s.): *ne tanti laboris solertia librorum dormitatio uilescat*. — Le présent essai a été relu avec sagacité par Madame R. BEYERS (UFSIA): nous la remercions pour ses pertinentes suggestions. Nous exprimons toute notre gratitude à Monsieur J.-Cl. HAELEWYCK, professeur d'hébreu ancien à l'UCL, consulté (sur proposition de Madame BEYERS) au sujet d'Es. 3,24 (voir nos notes 23 s.).

² D'après les images exploitables, un bilan critique du bagage culturel de l'auteur a été tenté: voir *Le monde d'Apponius*, dans *Euphrosyne* 20 (1992) p. 211-230 [cité *M. d'Appon. I*], et 25 (1997) p. 171-205 [cité *M. d'Appon. II*] (à suivre).

Voici le premier passage, dans la lecture qu'en donnent les PP. de Vregille et Neyrand (VrN¹⁻²): Appon., *In Cant.* III, 91-95: *Aliquantulum scilicet, per Iohannis baptistae praeparatoris sponsae doctrinam, pulchritudinis est adepta Ecclesia, et in lamentatione* (VrN¹⁻² *lamentationem* M edd. priores *adlentionem* R *ablactationem* S) *infantum* (MVrN¹⁻² *infantium* S R edd. priores) *uelut* (uel S) *angusta* (VrN¹⁻² *angustea* S *angusta* M R edd. priores) *stola induta, recumbentem in domo Simonis leprosi per lacrimas paenitentiae meretricis Christum inuenit, et mentis suae «nardum» gaudet «dedisse odorem»*. En un premier temps³, nous avons applaudi à l'*angusta* de nos éditeurs; lors de la recension de la thèse de Mme H. König, sur Apponius⁴, nous étions revenu sur cet accord avec VrN¹, non que le texte choisi par Mme König (*lamentatione* et *angusta*) fournît un sens plausible⁵, mais parce qu'il nous a semblé alors qu'*ad lactationem*, que nous tirons de S⁶, forme, avec l'*angusta* des mss et de Mme König, un tout cohérent. Nos deux repentirs découlent d'une lecture de ce qu'Origène-Rufin disait des vêtements du grand-prêtre (Rufin., *Orig. Hom. in Leuit.* 4,6, p. 324,15-p. 325,8 éd. W.A. Baehrens, GCS 29 1920): aux *indumenta sacerdotis* (ou ceux que porte le grand-prêtre lors des rites sacrificiels, en opposition à sa tenue, lorsqu'il paraît devant le peuple), Origène compare la *stola*

³ Recension de VrN¹, dans *Scriptorium* 43 (1989) (p. 313-323) p. 317 a.

⁴ Soit: H. KÖNIG, *Apponius. Die Auslegung zum Lied der Lieder. Die einführenden Bücher I-III und das christologisch bedeutsame Buch IX*, Freiburg, Herder, 1992 (*Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der lat. Bibel*, 21); c.r. dans *Latomus* 54 (1995) p. 415-418: la sortie de VrN² nous fournit l'occasion de nous expliquer sur la note (d'une concision sibylline) à III, 93 (c.r., p. 418).

⁵ Mme KÖNIG (op. cit., p. 102) traduit ainsi *in lamentatione infantum uelut angusta stola induta*: «in das Jammern der Kinder gekleidet wie in eine enge Stola», et propose comme explication (n. 21, ibid.): «der Jammer der Büßenden ist so bedrängend wie ein zu enges Kleid». Sa conclusion reste cependant prudente (pas de parallèle connu à l'expression d'Apponius).

⁶ Les leçons de R (*adlentionem*) et de S (*ablactationem*) procèdent apparemment d'un *ad* de but, suivi d'un substantif: le nom le plus probable est à notre sens le (rare) *lactatio* du TLL (VII,2, 849,68-77). Le poids de l'*ablactatio* de Gen. 21,8 et des quelque dix occurrences d'*ablacto* (-are) de la Vulgate aura entraîné *ablacta-* (S), tandis que R aurait pu conserver un souvenir (confus) de l'*allentauit* des glossaires (sur *ad-*; voir TLL I, 1673,34-38). L'*ad* étant ainsi intégré au nom, l'idée de but aura fait insérer un *in*. — Nous remercions très cordialement le P. DE VREGILLE, qui, en nous rappelant (lettre du 17 février 1999) l'univocité d'*ablactatio*, nous a fait corriger une grossière erreur dans la transcription de notre ms. (*sensu proprio*).

perfectionis que Paul dit arborer *inter perfectos* (cf. I Cor. 2,6) et une *alia ... longe inferior quam illa*, qu'il passe pour parler à la foule. Les dernières lignes du passage sont explicites (Rufin., loc. cit. p. 325,3-8): *cum uero (sacerdos) «exit» ad eos qui incapaces sunt, mutat stolam uerbi, et inferiora docet, et alios «lacte» potat ut «paruulos»* (cf. I Cor. 3,1 et Hebr. 5,12 s.), *alios «oleribus» nutrit ut «infirmos»* (cf. Rom. 14,2), *aliis uero «fortes» praeparat «cibos», his scilicet qui «pro possibilitate sumendi exercitatos habent sensus ad discretionem boni uel mali»* (cf. Hebr. 5,14). *Sic sciebat Paulus mutare stolas, et alia uti ad populum, alia in ministerio sanctorum.* Le passage évoqué de l'Épître aux Hébreux est sûrement connu d'Apponius: ainsi, les deux éditions VrN rapprochent – avec raison – d'Hebr. 5,13 s. la glose d'Apponius à Cant. 2,3: *Est «mons uber», paruulis scilicet animabus apostolica ubera porrigendo.* En III, 90-102, il s'agissait de commenter Cant. 1,11: *«Cum esset rex in accubitu suo, nardus mea dedit odorem suum»*: que viennent faire, *ad eum ipsum locum*, l'allusion au message du précurseur et soit la mention d'«une robe impériale» (VrN²) ou d'«un vêtement trop serré» (König), soit (à notre sens) une présentation originale du *lac doctrinae (ad lactationem)*? Car le développement de Cant. 1,11 va porter, d'abord et essentiellement, sur *nardus*: il démarre avec l'exploitation de l'épisode – narré dans les quatre évangiles – de Marie(-Madeleine) répandant sa fiole de parfum (l. 96-102; voir Matth. 26,6-13. Marc. 14,3-9. Luc. 7,36-50. Ioh. 12,2-8) et se poursuit en une dissertation fantaisiste sur l'utilisation et la composition du nard (l. 103-112)⁷. Du terme *accubitus* est rapproché le *recumben(s)* de Matth. 26,7 (cf.: *recumberet*, Marc. 14,3; *accubuit*, Luc. 7,37; *discumbentibus*, Ioh. 12,2): il est rapporté à l'humilité du Christ incarné, descendu sur la terre pour la purifier de la lèpre du péché (l. 113-131). Apponius de développer alors *dedit odorem* (l. 131-157), forçant la réapparition du symbolique chiffre «trois», à partir des gestes de celle qui rendit hommage au Christ: voir l. 136 s.: *Tria sunt scilicet quae in isto «odore» laudantur: unguendo, rigando lacrimis et osculando Domini pedes*⁸. Puis, par un soudain retour en arrière, assorti d'une antici-

⁷ Voir *M. d'Appon. II*, p. 198 s.

⁸ Cf. Luc. 7,38: *lacrimis coepit rigare pedes eius, et capillis capitis sui tergebat, et osculabatur pedes eius et unguento unguebat (unxit pedes Iesus et extorsit capillis suis, Ioh. 12,3)*: Apponius, malgré l'ordre logique des opérations, selon Luc, «oublie» *capillis tergere* pour garder trois figures: d'où, en effet: – les *tres laudes Ecclesiae* (*bonitas, disciplina, scientia*; l. 137-150); – les *tria omnium bonorum fundamenta*

pation (*amaritudinum*, l. 161 : cf. l. 170 : «*Murra*» *siquidem* «*mara*» *interpretatur*), l'exégète opère la synthèse entre les versets 1,9b («*Collum tuum sicut monilia*») et 1,12 («*Fasciculus murrae dilectus meus mihi: inter ubera mea commorabitur*»)⁹. On sait par ailleurs que le découpage du texte apponien, comme, en général, celui des commentaires origéniens, ne suit jamais un ordre strict (citation de l'original - commentaire complet à cette pièce) ou une progression linéaire¹⁰.

Reprenons à son début l'exégèse de Cant. 1,11. Que l'on choisisse, pour les l. III, 91-93 (*Aliquantulum - induta*), l'hypothèse VrN¹⁻² (Jean Baptiste, les Innocents) ou notre restitution (Jean B., *ad lactationem*), les quelques lignes du passage ne concernent en rien ce verset. L'abréviateur du *Veri amoris* ne s'y est pas trompé, puisqu'il a tout simplement fait commencer la glose ad loc. à *Ecclesia recumbentem in domo Simonis* ... (voir Appon., *Expos. breu. I* III, 43 VrN¹). – Dès le départ, l'expression traduit l'embarras de l'exégète: c'est, parmi les 55 emplois de *scilicet* et les 44 de *uidelicet*¹¹, le seul où l'un des deux termes accompagne un indéfini aussi vague, *aliquantulum*¹². Le déterminant *pulchritudinis* force à identifier les autres apports de «beauté»: le lien s'impose non pas avec le verset 1,11 (étranger à ce thème précis), mais avec les versets 1,9b-10 et leur commentaire, dont voici le début (III, 54-62): *In «collo» mihi uidentur illi laudari qui uerbo aedificationis paruulos instruunt ad salutem, qui spiritalem cibum sermonis ... transmittunt, qui per doctrinam «auream» et per exemplum uitae gemmeum in se Ecclesiae*

(*baptismum, paenitentia, martyrium*; l. 150-155: suite qui, selon VrN², t. I, p. 292 s., n. 1, rappellerait le début du commentaire, avec Jean, les Saints Innocents, Marie-Madeleine); – la Trinité (évocation à la l. 153).

⁹ Voir APPON., III, 158-162: *Quam cum diabolus uiderit innumerabilibus charismatum «monilibus» ornatam radiare et ... ad unam illam aeternae laetitiae dulcedinem festinantem, innumerabiles ei amaritudinum immissiones ... per momenta immittit.*

¹⁰ Sans compter que la place des péripécies dans les éditions modernes, déterminée *pro codicibus exstantibus*, fixe parfois les conséquences de glissements divers (copie différée – rubrication, par exemple –, ou hors cadre).

¹¹ Nous nous référons, pour le vocabulaire d'Apponius, aux microfiches publiées par le CETEDOC au moment de la sortie de l'édition CCL: réf. bibliogr.: Apponius. In *Canticum canticorum expositio*, cur. CETEDOC, Turnhout, Brepols, 1986 (*C.C. Instrumenta lexicologica latina*, 39. *Series A: Formae*).

¹² On trouve un *Quicumque uidelicet sperat se ... percipere*, en I, 480, mais ce n'est évidemment pas la même chose.

«collum» ostendunt: «monilia» namque gemmarum ornatus esse dignoscitur, sed ut pulchrior fiat earum aspectus, «auri» materiam necessariam habent ... Cet «or» qui va parer le «cou» de l'Église, c'est celui des deux *instrumenta*, inspirés par l'Esprit Saint: voir les l. 65-69: *Per quem* (scil. *Sanctum Spiritum*) *noui et ueteris testamenti uerba legis diuinae, quae praenuntiauerunt uel ostenderunt saluatorem mundi uenisse, concatenata quasi una ueritatis «catenula»: sermo effectus ... Ecclesiae «collum» decorat.* Or, la systématisation A.T./N.T. occulte le rôle (intermédiaire) de Jean Baptiste: nous imaginerions qu'Apponius a voulu, par une retouche, insérer dans le schéma général la mission de celui dont il avait dit (I, 276-278): *Vnum autem de multis amicis sponsi p r a e p a r a n t e m s p o n s a m*¹³ *Iohannem intellege, cuius praesentia Ecclesia Christi «oscula» sancta suscepit* (cf. *praeparatoris*, en III, 91, seul emploi du nom, chez Appon.). Même, le rôle du précurseur était encore magnifié un peu plus bas (I, 299-306), avec ces propositions: *Quamquam enim omnes perfecti uiri apostolici ... «ubera» Christi intellegantur, per quos Christus paruulas animas nutrit, tamen non erit inconueniens duo «ubera» Christi baptistam et euangelistam duos Iohannes intellegi proprie qui Ecclesiae ... plenissima «ubera» sunt propinati.* Quant à la lettre (*paruulas a. nutrire / lactatio infantium*) et au style (*non erit inconueniens*: cf. *uelut*), ce texte cadre adéquatement avec la restitution que nous proposons en III, 93. De plus, la différence explicite de nature dans le message des deux Jean rappellerait, quant à l'esprit, les niveaux pauliniens de la catéchèse¹⁴. L'écart le plus sensible est qu'au l. III, l'image s'interrompt, lâchée pour les développements – justifiés par Cant. 1,11 – sur le mot *nardus*. Nous supposerions donc que, dans sa dictée, Apponius sera brièvement revenu sur la place, à ses yeux capitale (voir I, 299-306), à accorder à Jean Baptiste, d'où l'ajout (correction nuancée: *Aliquantulum ...*) définissant le message du précurseur comme les premiers éléments de la doctrine, ou la source de ce que l'Église va «offrir à téter» (*ubera*) aux *paruulae animae* (I, 301) seu *infantes* (III, 93). Mais l'image de cette Église «nourricière» n'est guère assimilable à celle de

¹³ Chez Apponius, *praepar(are) sponsam* est dit uniquement de Jean le précurseur (voir microfiches).

¹⁴ Voir III, 304-307 (après *propinati*): *cum alter eum solum peccatum mundi tolentem agnumque demonstrat Ecclesiae, alter in principio Verbum Deum apud Deum Patrem manentem.* — On conviendra d'autre part que le discours (sommaire) de Jean n'a pas le statut des évangiles.

la *meretrix* au *nardus*: voilà pourquoi, après avoir choisi les lectures *ad lactationem* et *angusta*, nous mettrions, après *induta*¹⁵, une forte ponctuation (fin d'un «post-scriptum») ou des points de suspension (abandon, au moment de l'exposé, d'un développement aporétique). — Le texte, finalement, se présenterait ainsi:

Aliquantulum scilicet, per Iohannis baptistae praeparatoris sponsae doctrinam, pulchritudinis est adepta Ecclesia et, [in] ad lactationem infantium, uelut angusta stola induta (scil. est)<.>
(seu: *induta < ... > - Recumbentem in domo Simonis leprosi ... Christum inuenit ...*

Reste à expliquer l'image: d'après la première proposition et son arrière-plan catéchétique, l'intervention de Jean a ajouté à la «parure» et aux moyens de l'Église, mère nourricière. Nulle part le poème ne parle en détail du moment où «l'épouse» aura dû se vêtir, et, par convention (respect du texte) plus que par pudeur, Apponius aura voulu glisser sur ce moment¹⁶. Nous croirions que deux métaphores se sont croisées ici, sans être développées: celle des *ubera* (ou la formation des âmes, à commencer par les plus simples: niveau de l'enseignement de Jean¹⁷), et celle d'une toilette élaborée, sur laquelle le Cantique ne s'attarde point¹⁸. — Admet-on *ad lactationem* à cause de Paul et d'Origène-Rufin, l'idée d'un «vêtement serrant» (*angusta stola*, non point *nimis angusta* ou *angustior*) passe mieux, si on songe sans a priori à tel vers de Catulle (64,65, éd. W. Eisenhut, BT 1982): *non tereti strophio lactentis uincta papillas*, cité partiellement par Isidore (Orig. 19,33,3). Il y a aussi (ex TLL, s.u. x *papilla*, X,1, 254,28-256,211) la caricature que Jérôme donne des coquettes (*Epist.* 117,7,3, éd. I. Hilberg, CSEL 55 1996 = 1912): *Papillae fasciolis conprimuntur et crispanti*

¹⁵ L'ellipse d'*est* ne fait pas problème: cf., entre autres, *uerba ... concatenata*, dans le passage III, 65-69, cité ci-dessus dans le texte.

¹⁶ Il y a bien, un rien plus haut, cette protestation (affectée?) d'ignorance de la mode féminine du temps (III, 80 s.): *nescio si qua suo «collo» utatur nobilis saeculi mortalis sponsa*. Mais nous renvoyons à notre n. 24, pour le «réalisme» d'Apponius.

¹⁷ Sur cette figure, voir précisément, en VtN², t. III, p. 140 s., la n. 3, sur les *ubera* et la nourriture des âmes (à propos d'APPON., XI, § 8 s., ad Cant. 7,12).

¹⁸ À propos d'*odor* (Cant. 1,11), rappelons que le Cantique mentionne, à peu de distance (4,10 et 4,11) l'odeur des «parfums» (*unguenta*) et celle des «vêtements» (*uestimenta*). Mais il nous paraît peu probable que ceci suffise à expliquer l'insertion de *stola* au départ du commentaire à *nardus*, ad 1,11.

cingulo angustus pectus artatur. Pour un usage que l'on dirait normal, on se souviendra de ce conseil du Stridonien à Eustochium (Hier., *Epist.* 22,6,4, éd. du même, CSEL 54 1996 = 1910): *non soluatur fascia pectoralis*¹⁹. L'*angusta stola* de l'*In Canticum* pourrait être une dénomination discrète, édulcorée encore par *uelut*, du *strophium* ou de la *fascia (pectoralis)* des profanes. Mais, d'après l'usage des deux termes chez Apponius, nous entendrions plutôt par là «le vêtement qui, ceignant fermement la cage thoracique, soutient la poitrine de celle qui allaite», soit «une tunique cintrée»²⁰. Ce genre d'évocation pouvait, distraitemment (élan de la dictée), échapper à l'auteur²¹; mais ne se rangerait-elle pas, plutôt, parmi les petites «audaces» que l'auteur s'est permises, relativement à ses modèles²²? À propos d'un énoncé tout proche, soit le commentaire à Jérémie, 2,32 («*Numquid obliuiscetur uirgo ornamenti sui, sponsa fasciae pectoralis suae? ...*»), Jérôme n'avait appliqué à l'Église qu'une petite partie du verset: voir Hier., *In Hierem.* 1,44,1 s. (éd. S. Reiter in CCL 74 1960 = 1913): (1) *Per haec discimus sponsum esse Christum uirginis Ecclesiae, quae non habet maculam*

¹⁹ Réf. du TLL, s.u. x *fascia*, I («propre»), A, 1, c, «pectoralis feminarum ad sustinendas uel cohibendas papillas, mamillare», VI,1, 296,81-297,27.

²⁰ Tout comme l'original, nous évitons ainsi le terme technique: c'est que, chez Apponius, *stola* désigne le vêtement de base, «unisexe», donc «la tunique»: voir I, 62 s., et les métaphores suivies de la rédemption (cit. d'Apoc. 7,14 (cf. 22,14), en VIII, 732) et du martyre (XII, 1133); symboliquement, *stola* se dit de la «robe du baptême» (I, 125. VI, 96). Quant à *angustus*, ses trois emplois apponiens sont univoques (fr. «resserré»): l'adj. qualifie *ingressus* (I, 498) et *uia* (IV, 491. VIII, 149). Une tunique haut cintrée offre les commodités du *strophium*. Nous n'en avons malheureusement pas trouvé de représentation dans l'art chrétien occidental des premiers siècles (nihil ex H. et M. SCHMIDT, *Die vergessene Bildersprache christlicher Kunst* (München, C.H. Beck, 1981), sur le thème proche de «Die nährende Maria – Maria lactans», p. 211 s.; témoignages dans l'art copte, pour les VIe/VIIe s., n. 39 ad loc., p. 286).

²¹ Voir ses mentions fréquentes des *ubera* (77 occurrences, plus 7 *uberibus* et 9 *uberum*), contre, respectivement, 51, 3 et 13 occurrences dans la totalité du corpus hiéronymien (d'après les microfiches du *Thesaurus S. Hieronymi*, cur. CETE-DOC, Turnhout, Brepols, 1990, CC. *Thes. Patr. lat.*). – Soulignons que, de toute façon, la métaphore, ici, n'est pas suivie.

²² Sur l'originalité d'Apponius par rapport à Origène, voir VrN¹ (éd. CCL), p. LXXXIX s., et M. d'Appon. I, p. 220 s., «Première conclusion partielle», avec, n. 18, renvoi à J. WITTE, *Der Kommentar des Aponius zum Hohenlied* (Inaug. Diss. / Theol. Fak. Erlangen), Erlangen 1903, et à F. WITEK, *Aponius*, dans RAC, Suppl. 4 1986 [art. daté de 1981] (506-514) 508.

neque rugam ... (2) *Ornamentum ergo suum perdit qui recedit a Domino, et amittit intelligentiam doctrinarum, quae significatur in pectore.* Se risquant à une interprétation résolument personnelle de Cant., 1,11 – ou une allusion à connotation laudative à la *fascia pectoralis* – , Apponius a pu «repiquer» une autre glose hiéronymienne, celle à Isaïe, 3,24 («*pro fascia pectorali cilicium*»: trad. d'après Symmaque²³): voir Hier., *In Es.* 2, ad 3,24, l. 11-15 éd. R. Gryson et collab. (Freiburg 1993), soit après la cit. de Hierem., 2,32 (évoquée ci-dessus): *Virgo, qualem exhibere nos cupit apostolus Christo, quamdiu non corrumpitur in Aegypto, nec franguntur mamillae eius quae «pectoralis fascia» colligatae sunt, iungitur sponso, et, cum cottidie uirtutum filios generet, nequaquam uirgo esse desistit.* - Et le début du paragraphe occupé par le commentaire à Cant. 1,11 se rendrait ainsi:

«C'est, pour ainsi dire, un petit quelque chose en fait de beauté que l'enseignement de Jean le Baptiste – celui qui préparait l'Épouse – a fait gagner à l'Église, et lui a en quelque sorte [*per doctrinam* portant à notre avis sur les deux propositions] passé une tunique cintrée en prévision de l'allaitement de (ses) tout petits enfants. – Elle découvre le Christ au moment où il est attablé dans la maison de Simon (...).

Sorties de leur contexte²⁴, nos conjectures sembleraient excessives, voire provocantes: mais l'arrière-plan documentaire

²³ Sur un $\sigma\tau\eta\theta\omicron\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}(\varsigma)$ des Hexaples, que mentionne l'éd. J. ZIEGLER d'Isaïe/LXX (*Septuaginta*, XIV, Göttingen 1939 [manque à la B.R. de Bruxelles]): copie de la page nous a été opportunément fournie par Monsieur J.-Cl. HAELEWYCK. Le ms. 710 Rahlfs (= Sinai, Ste-Cath. gr. 5) des Hexaples, signalé ad loc. par Ziegler, porte la leçon $\sigma\tau\eta\theta\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (sic), pour $\sigma\tau\eta\theta\omicron\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\varsigma$: voir L. LÜTKEMANN - A. RAHLFS, *Hexaplarische Randnoten zu Isaias 1-16, aus einer Sinai-Handschrift herausgegeben* (*Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens*, 6, Berlin 1915), p. 277, texte et n. 177. Curieusement, et sauf erreur de notre part, le TGL d'ESTIENNE est le seul dictionnaire grec général à avoir, s.u. $\sigma\tau\eta\theta\omicron\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, renvoyé à Es. 3,24.

²⁴ L'idée de «l'Église vierge et mère» provient de Clément d'Alexandrie: voir (ex H. LECLERCQ, *Lait*, dans *DACL* VIII, 1 1928 1065) CLEM. ALEX., *Paed.* 1,6,42,1 (éd. H.I. MARROU - M. HARL, *SCh* 70 1960), avec l'expression \acute{o} $\beta\rho\epsilon\phi\acute{\omega}\delta\eta\varsigma$ $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. la *lactatio infantium*). L'inspiration hiéronymienne – Jérôme relayant Clément – nous paraît confirmée encore par les gloses à Cant. 4,10 (VII, 317-405), où Apponius propose cette distinction entre *mammae* et *ubera*: voir VII, 317 s.: «*Mammae*» igitur ad fecunditatis benedictionem, «*ubera*» uero ad uirginitatis gloriam respicere opinamur; et, plus bas (l. 320-323): *In genetricibus enim «mammae», in uirginibus «ubera» appellantur. Quibus Ecclesia ex tempore apparitionis Christi utrisque pulchra ostenditur, eo quod cotidie concipit, cotidie parit, co-*

d'Apponius - avec, particulièrement, l'extrait de l'*In Esaiam* - ne leur donnerait-il point *aliquantulum ueri similitudinis*²⁵?

tidie lactat, et uirgo est. Faut-il relever, à propos d'*Aliquantulum pulchritudinis* - *ad lactationem*, la présente assertion: *Ecclesia ... pulchra ostenditur ... quod cotidie lactat?* Le rapport global avec l'extrait de l'*In Esaiam* (*uirgo est / nequaquam u. esse desistit*) est patent. - Quant à s'étonner du réalisme du texte que nous défendons, voir, entre autres, en I, 286 s.: *Vbi nimium gaudium amoris completum per adtrectionem uberum demonstratur, cum dicitur: «quia meliora ... », ou, en VII, 329 s.: pulcherrimas «mamas» lactentibus Ecclesia porrigit, et, l. 347 s.: Cum ergo talia proferuntur ad plebem ab his qui habent locum docendi, «mammas» paruulis porriguntur.*

²⁵ Une objection de détail naîtrait malgré tout de la citation que Jérôme fait d'Isaïe 3,24 d'après les autres versions: voir HIER., *In Es.* 2, ad 3,24, l. 1-6 Gryson et collab.: *Pro «fascia pectorali», quam interpretatus est Symmachus, LXX «tunicam ΜΕΟΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΝ (T ego ΥΡΑΝ Ν F ed. Gryson ΙΙΙΑΝ D)», id est «clauatam purpura», transtulerunt, quod Aquila «cingulum exaltationis» expressit. Theodotio ipsum uerbum hebraicum ΡΗΘΗΓΙΛ posuit, quod genus ornamenti muliebris est.* La leçon d'Aquila pourrait se décrypter dans le sens préféré par Jérôme. Quant à *phthigil*, Monsieur J.-Cl. HAELEWYCK nous a appris (courrier du 25 août 1999) qu'il s'agit d'une translittération, laquelle, à ce jour, reste un hapax dans l'hébreu ancien (renvois commentés à l'*Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* de L. KOEHLER - W. BAUMGARTNER, 3. Aufl., s.u., III (Leiden 1983), p. 929, et à H. WILDBERGER, *Jesaya (Bibl. Komm. Altes Testament, X,1, 1972)*, ad loc., p. 136): la glose de Jérôme trahit son incompréhension. Reste la *tunica μεσοπόρφυρος* de la Septante: de cet adj., le TGL et le Liddell-Scott indiquent deux autres emplois (PLVT., *Arat.* 53,6, et CASS. DIO, 78,3), qui n'apportent rien ad loc. LXX. L'*augusta* (*stola*) de VrN¹⁻² est interprétée comme «une tunique de sang, pourpre comme la toge impériale» (VrN², t. I, p. 292, n. 1). Certes, le Cantique renferme le cliché de la *purpura regis* (Cant. 7,5b: cité en APPON., X, 10 et 418, d'où *regalis purpura* en X,440: cf. 444; voir aussi *ascensus purpureus*, de Cant. 3,10a, cité en V, 550 et 580, conjoint à *regalis deitas* en V, 588). Et, dans l'*In Canticum*, l'image de «la pourpre» est bien exploitée dans le sens du «martyre» (V, 605. X, 454. XII, 1132; *purpuratur Ecclesia*, X, 450). Les deux idées sont jointes en VI, 103-107 (ad Cant. 4,3): *Coccum color est sanguinis; «uitta coccinea» mitra dicitur ... regalem demonstrans insignem honorem, qui per confessionem nominis ueri regis Christi acquiritur; qui proculdubio cruor martyrum intellegitur Ecclesiae «labia» rutilare.* L'«audace» d'Apponius n'aurait-elle pas été alors de prendre la version non hiéronymienne d'Es. 3,24, tout en intégrant à son *explanatio* le commentaire du Stridonien dans la mesure où il alimentait la métaphore féconde des *ubera*? Bref, pourquoi ne pas reprendre, avec *ad lactationem*, l'*augusta* de VrN¹⁻²? D'abord, l'adj. grec (μεσο-) n'est pas l'équivalent de *purpureus*, bien qu'il nous semble convenir, le cas échéant, à un vêtement avec un empiècement (cf. *clauata*, de Jérôme: argument vers une harmonisation des versions du verset d'Isaïe?); ensuite, *augustus*, adj., est étranger à Apponius (un seul emploi, pour désigner le *Caesar Augustus* de la «paix universelle»: voir *M. d'Appon.* I, p. 225 s.), et quoiqu'un rapport sémantique existe de *purpura* à *rex*, *regalis*, chez

*

Montée à partir de Cant. 7,1 («*Vmbilicus tuus crater tornatilis, numquam indigens poculis*»), la seconde métaphore a pour référent l'art de la poterie: voir Appon., X, 110-112:

«*Numquam*» enim «*indiget*» uini laetitia «*poculo*» «*crater*» castissimi desiderii, coequandus angelis<,> (suppleo) actu[s] (secl. VrN² actus codd. ac edd. priores VrN¹) si diutino supradicto «*torno*» ante conspectum creatoris admotus fuerit limpidandus.

La nouvelle correction (*actu*) est acceptable, mais, dans la traduction française, la nature de la métaphore nous paraît avoir été altérée: les PP. de Vregille et Neyrand entendent (éd. *SCh*, t. III, p. 89): «(le cratère) sera rendu pareil aux anges si, par une action prolongée, il est appliqué [?] à ce tour pour être décapé»²⁶. Remontons

lui, ne connote pas nécessairement *purpura* (ex. VIII, 703: «*Sapphirus*» *gemma regalis*; voir aussi *regalis* prédicat de: *aula(e)*: I, 551. II, 41. IV, 328. V, 448. VII, 737; *gemmae*: VIII, 736; *signaculum crucis*: VII, 547; *uia*: IV, 486). Parallèlement, les quelques applications d'*augustus* à un nom désignant «une parure» ou «un vêtement» correspondent globalement à notre adj. «impérial» (voir *TLL*, s.u. *augustus*, II, 1391,70-74, soit *augustus* appliqué à *habitus*, *amictus*, *uestis*: réf. à Aurelius Victor, Ammien Marcellin, Corippe): ainsi, en AMM., 20,4,22 (éd. J. FONTAINE et collab., *CUF* III 1996), *cum augusto habitu* est glosé par les éditeurs (n. 80, p. 166) comme «le *paludamentum* de pourpre» assorti d'«un diadème»: en voilà bien plus qu'une «tunique à moitié (ou partiellement) pourpre» (LXX) ou «une tunique aux bords pourpres» (Jérôme, ad LXX). Corippe, néanmoins, dans son *Panégyrique d'Anastase*, s'est arrêté sur les *angusta(e) uestes* (2,88), décrivant ces «vêtements impériaux» en insistant sur la couleur pourpre, omniprésente selon son témoignage: voir CORIPP., 2,111-113 (éd. S. ANTÈS, *CUF* 1981):

*Augustis solis hoc cultu competit uti,
sub quorum est pedibus regum cruor: omne profecto
mysterium certa rerum ratione probatur.*

À notre connaissance (critères lexicaux, utilisés dans les limites des articles imprimés du *TLL*), ce texte est le seul qui lie étroitement la couleur pourpre à l'habillement des empereurs (empire d'Orient), avec en plus référence au sang. L'oeuvre de Corippe date de la seconde moitié du VI^e s. (fin 566-déb. 568, éd., p. xx s.). Les textes réunis plus haut en faveur d'*angusta stola* nous font toutefois préférer cette «lectio difficilior», même si l'attestation d'*angusta*, en une formule rappelant Corippe, pouvait (*si uerum esset!*) constituer un indice chronologique.

²⁶ Oui à l'interprétation globale de la n. 1, ad loc. (t. III, p. 88): «ce cratère représente l'homme purifié» (cf. t. I, p. 154 s., n. 1, où, à propos de la *lima martyrii*, référence est faite à ce passage-ci: «c'est dans le «tour» qu'évoque Cant. 5,14 et 7,2 qu'(Apponius) verra l'instrument propre à purifier et polir l'âme (X, 103-126)»). Mais l'image apponienne nous semble plus complexe.

un rien plus haut: le ton du commentateur est d'abord optimiste (l. 109 s.): *Tertia nunc membrorum Ecclesiae laus in «umbilici» pulchritudine praedicatur*. Première condition à la *pulchritudo*: «la section (cf. «s. du nombril», à la naissance) des pulsions les plus avilissantes» (l. 105-108): *In quo mihi uidentur illi laudari qui, absciso turpissimo desiderio operisque nefandi actu et bonae consuetudinis «torno» expoliti, ad castum caelesteque commutantur* (scil. *desiderium* quod (frustra) suppl. VrN¹). À peine amorcée la glose sur *tornatilis*, Apponius revient à *crater*, avec un dilemme (l. 108-110): *De quo, uelut de «cratere», aut futurae laetitiae dulcedo, aut amarior felle reatus retributionis uerbo doctrinae cotidie ministratur. «Numquam»* ... Ceci démarque partiellement le commentaire origénien à Cant. 2,4 («*Introducite me in domum uini*», ex Rufin.), qui tire parti de Prou. 9,1 s., «*sapientia miscuit in cratere uinum suum*» (cité sous cette forme, ex LXX, dans Rufin., *Orig. In Cant.* 3, ad 2,4, p. 185,4 GCS, et rappelé à la l. 29²⁷): Origène-Rufin enchaîne sur Prou. 4,17, avec «*uinum iniquum*», qui entraîne à son tour la citation de Deut. 32,32, où se lit «*uua eorum uua fellis et botrus amari tui diuis*» (ex Rufin.: «*uua fellis et botri amarissimi*» Vulg.: cf. *amarior felle reatus*, chez A.), et enfin le développement de «*uinum* ... de uite uera» ... (*uinum*) «*nouum*». À sa manière encore, Apponius a réveillé la métaphore d'Origène, remplaçant simplement le «vin de la sagesse» par «le vin de la joie future» et la «piquette des pécheurs et des hérétiques» par «la potion très amère de la réprobation»²⁸. Mais seul reste envisagé chez lui le thème du «bon»

²⁷ Pas d'in *cratere* dans la Vulgate. Voici le modèle probable de l'image apponienne des deux contenus possibles du «cratère» (RVFIN., *Orig. In Cant.* 3, p. 185,27-186,1 GCS): *Sciendum sane est quia, sicut est istud «uinum», quod de dogmatibus ueritatis pressum «commiscetur in cratere sapientiae», ita est et contrarium «uinum» quo «inique inebriantur» peccatores et hi qui falsae scientiae dogmata perniciose suscipiunt. Ad Cant. 2,4, Apponius suit, en gros, l'explanatio de Rufin-Origène (voir III, 626-653, avec, l. 646 s.: «*in cellaria regis*» ... — quod diximus *multiformem sapientiam Dei* -; il ajoute (l. 652 s.): (*Virgo*) *quae nunc, per figuram, «cellam uinariam» nominauit*. Pour la suite (ad Cant. 2,4: III, § 38-41, l. 655-719), VrN¹ renvoyait à (RVFIN.,) ORIG., *In Cant.* 3, p. 186-191 GCS (*Test.*, p. 83, et *I. auctorum*, p. 526); réf. à Origène encore, plus précise et nuancée, en VrN², t. I, p. 344, n. 1.*

²⁸ Le «vin de la sagesse» apporte également «la joie»: voir, ex TLL, *crater*, IV, 1109,76 s., RVFIN., *Orig. In ps.* 36,1,2, l. 73-76 éd. E. PRINZIVALLI, H. CROUZEL et L. BRÉSARD (Sch 411 1995): *Est ergo in nobis uinea quaedam, ex qua fructum scientiae, qui laetificat cor hominis, per donum sapientiae premimus in torcularibus Scripturarum, cum perfectius et laetius diuinae legis mysteria contu-*

cratère, ou celui de la plus grande maîtrise de soi: devenu habitude, un tel comportement permet d'espérer «l'agrément de la joie à venir». — Le texte présenté en tête du paragraphe parle expressément d'un cratère à vin. Or, le «cratère» des l. 110 s., celui du seul *castissimum desiderium*, contient le «vin de la joie», qui ne peut souiller, et, sauf erreur de notre part, «décaper» (VrN²) s'entendrait comme «débarrasser des dépôts» (lie)²⁹. L'opération porte donc nécessairement sur l'extérieur du cratère: il faut voir ce que signifierait *limpidare*, à ce propos. En général, l'adj. *limpidus* correspond à «brillant, éclatant»³⁰. On trouve, chez Apponius même, ces deux emplois de *limpidus* et *-datus*: III, 84 s.: *limpidissimam gemmam* (avec rapprochement de Matth. 5,16), et VIII, 655-658 (ad Cant. 5,14: «*Manus ... tornatiles*»): *Qui fulgore purae conscientiae mentis Deo et in conuersatione hominum «torno» praecepti ita limpidati resplendent*. Du premier on peut déduire que l'absence de tache (ou imperfection) garantit l'éclat (partant, la valeur) d'une pièce (exemple net de la pierre précieuse sans crapaud)³¹; le second indique que l'effet attendu du «tour» de potier est d'assurer le brillant ou l'éclat par frottement ou polissage (voir d'ailleurs X, 106 s., cité ci-dessus; id. l. 121 s.: «*torno» boni desiderii uel consuetudinis admirabiliter*

emur. En somme, Apponius a substitué la perspective du jugement dernier à celle de l'enseignement authentique (par oppos. à l'hérésie). Dans sa formule *De quo ministratur*, un lecteur distrait ou pointilleux pourrait subodorer un relent de prédestination (*aut ... aut ...*), et cette antithèse nous avait même, au premier abord, fait juger qu'Apponius ne savait pas exactement ce qu'était le *crater*. Mais le *mixtum* de la l. 164 rappelle l'étymon grec (l. 163 s.: *uinum laetitiae uitae aeternae, quasi in «cratere» mixtum*), et on se rassure en lisant un peu plus bas (l. 170-172): *quae laetitiae uinum, ueteris et noui testamenti coniunctione, Deum hominemque unitum monstrando, miscuisse probatur*. — Précisons que Jérôme avait repris à Origène l'image du «cratère de la sagesse» (*In Eccl.* ad 2,8, l. 189 s. et 193-195 CCL; *In Es.* 7, ad 22,15-25, l. 113 s., et 15, ad 55,1 s., l. 53 éd. *Vet.Lat.*).

²⁹ Une telle interprétation rappellerait Ps. 74,9 s., avec le couple *uinum merum* - *f(a)ex*: Jérôme y avait fait référence à propos d'Isaïe 51,17 (HIER., *In Es.* 14, ad 51,17-19).

³⁰ Voir *TLL*, s.u. x *limpidus*, 1 («corporaliter»), c, «-ae sunt res uariae (saepe superficie nitida praeditae)», VII, 2, 1426,13-44: cf. HIER., *In Hiez.* 8, ad 26,1-6 et 7-144, l. 390 et 473 éd. F. GLORIE (CCL 75 1964): «*in limpidissimam petram (sive in nitidissimam)*» (péric.).

³¹ Voir ces deux emplois: — pour l'adj.: VIII, 794 s.: («*libanum*») *altaris limpidissimum tus, in quo macula nulla est*; — pour le participe: X, 276 s.: *anima ... ab omni culpa limpidata*.

expoliti). Il faut déjà écarter l'hypothèse d'un embellissement par application de vernis ou d'engobe. Quant à la matière du «cratère»³², le travail au «tour» – artisanal, non mécanique – fait rejeter le métal: resteraient l'argile (cf. Appon., III, 384: *in uase fictili*, seul emploi personnel de l'adj.) et le bois: mais le second est-il susceptible de prendre *au tour antique* un poli fort brillant? Nous pencherions pour un cratère fait d'une argile très pure (comme celle des beaux tanagras), au corps soigneusement lissé et à la surface duquel les moindres grains rugueux seraient, dès que le potier les remarque, enlevés par lui avec une spatule ou une lancette³³. Or, après cuisson, une telle opération devient hasardeuse. C'est ici que la locution *ante conspectum creatoris* prend toute sa valeur: par elle, la condition *si - fuerit* nous semble bien extraite du réel (*sensu etymologico*)³⁴. Car il y a «miracle», en quelque sorte, dans le processus: le cratère, tout en gardant son contenu (cf. *numquam indiget ...*), est retravaillé, comme si l'argile pouvait reprendre, en sa surface extérieure au moins, sa consistance originelle. Ainsi, un potier scrupuleux, les mains sur la pièce, assure la rotation régulière du plateau du tour, et élimine au premier coup d'oeil ce qui gâche l'aspect du vase. Par analogie, celui qui maîtrise ses pulsions (cf. *bonae consu-*

³² Voir W. HILGERS, *Lateinische Gefäßnamen* (Düsseldorf 1969), 119. *Crater* (p. 156-159) p. 158, qui mentionne l'or, l'argent, le bronze, l'argile et le bois (dont le cornouiller, en Mart., 12,32,12 [réf. à classer certainement sub *corneus*, 2, dans le *TLL*, non sub 1, vol. IV, 955,27]), plus (cas isolés) des branches tressées (fantaisie étymologique d'Isidore, *Orig.* 20,3) et «le plâtre» (Plin., *Nat.* 35,156, trad. J.-M. CROISILLE, éd. *CUF* 1985, p. 103 a, sur *exemplar e gypso factum* [ne s'agirait-il pas plutôt d'alabastrite], «albâtre gypseux» ou «faux albâtre», ex *Trés. de la l. franç.*, s.u. II 1973 424 b?): cf., chez Apponius même (IV, 75 s.), la cit. de II Tim. 2,20: «*In domo magna, non solum sunt uasa aurea et argentea, sed et lignea et fictilia*». – Ad loc. Apponii, nous avons un instant songé à l'albâtre, pour sa clarté, son grain et le travail en faible épaisseur: mais celui-ci (ex *TLL*) servait uniquement à fabriquer des récipients à parfums (les *alabastra*, comme celui de Marie-Madeleine, en Matth. 26,7. Marc. 14,3. Luc. 7,37).

³³ Pour ce «nettoyage en surface», voir le dernier emploi apponien de *limpidare* (-us), en une autre métaphore (débroussaillage): X, 155-158: *qui ... hispidas et spinosas criminibus limpidauerint animas, quas in membris Ecclesiae pulcherrimas atque ad aliarum utilitatem profuturas effecerint*. Cf. aussi Hier., *In Hiez.* 7, ad 24,1-14, l. 1345 s. *CCL*: «*super limpidissimam petram*» et *nullam habentem foueam*.

³⁴ C'est pour cette raison que nous avons renoncé aux évocations du «tour», dans notre *M. d'Appon. II* (tit. «III. La vie pratique»): l'allégorie la plus poussée du *tornus* est en effet celle de X, 110-112.

etudinis «torno» expoliti, l. 107; id. l. 121 s.: voir ci-dessus) doit en permanence sauvegarder «l'éclat» de son âme: *celle-ci restant malléable* (d'où le report analogique de la qualité sur l'argile), il en extirpe les inclinations mauvaises dès qu'elles affleurent. Quelque curieuse que soit notre interprétation, elle dispose d'un parallèle: voir Hier., *In Hierem.* 4, ad 18,1-10, § 5 éd. CCL: «*si figulus*», ait (*Dominus*), «*hanc habet potestatem ut ex eodem luto rursum faciat quod fuerit dissipatum ...*». – C'est sur ce détail seulement que nous reprendrions la traduction VrN², proposant pour notre part:

«C'est que 'jamais' 'il n'est vide' de 'la boisson' du vin de la joie, le 'cratère' du désir le plus pur ! Il doit être mis au rang des anges³⁵, si, sous le regard du Créateur, on l'a posé sur le 'tour' décrit plus haut, pour entretenir son éclat grâce à une impulsion constante».

*

Nous ne prétendons pas avoir retrouvé le texte originel d'Apponius, en *In Cant.* III, 93, ou débrouillé pleinement son interprétation de *crater tornatilis* (X, 110-112). D'une importance exégétique peu significative, ces deux prélèvements renseignent, à

³⁵ La proposition *coaequandus angelis* n'entre pas dans la métaphore du «tour»: elle indique une fin morale, les anges étant les parangons de l'absence de désir charnel (cf. Matth. 22,30b: *erunt sicut angeli in caelo*, cité en VIII, 1121 s.: voir ci-dessous): voir I, 603 (idéal des *recti*): *uirginitatem ut angelicam gloriam uenerari*, d'où VIII, 1092-1096 (inhibition volontaire des pulsions): «*Absque occultis tuis*» ...: *pulchriorem docuit castitatis cultorem ... Deo decorem gaudii praeferre, ... praeter quod hominibus conuersationis suae angelicum speciosumque ponit exemplum* (cf. IV, 357 s.: *nisi fuerit fornicationis praecisa consuetudo, castitatis non prouenit angelicus fructus*). Un autre passage fait comprendre le *limpidandus* de X, 112: il s'agit de VIII, 601-604 (ad Cant. 5,12b, «*(columbae) lotae sunt lacte*»): *Nam sicut ex sanguine lac effectum ubera replet, ... ita sacratissimus sanguis Christi ... angelorum splendorem candidissimum refert animabus quae societatem Spiritus Sancti promeritae unus cum Deo spiritus efficiuntur*: «l'éclat extrêmement brillant» des anges est celui des purs esprits: peut-être le «tour» du l. X sert-il aussi à amincir à l'extrême les parois du «cratère» (dématérialisation, avec rayonnement de la joie intérieure?). – Malgré sa fréquence (89 e. d'*angelus*, 8 d'*angelicus*), l'évocation des anges n'a guère suscité l'imagination d'Apponius: c'est qu'ils constituent des références et non des thèmes. Sauf erreur de notre part (lecture rapide sur écran), nous n'avons trouvé chez lui qu'une métaphore suivie les concernant directement: en VIII, 1123-1127, la vigilance des «anges» (cit. de Matth. 22,30) est comme d'écorce de la grenade, qui protège les grains: *Quemadmodum ... fructus «mali granati cortice» continentur, ita animae credentium Deo angelorum custodia ... ab impugnatione et insidiis daemonum uelut clausae communiuntur*.

leur mesure, sur la façon dont s'est bâti le long *In Canticum*: gardant la trame des commentaires origéniens au Cantique, l'auteur y a noué, en densité variable, des brins tirés d'autres *explanationes* (Hier., *In Es.* 2, ad 3,24, pour *angusta stola*; id., *In Hierem.* 4, ad 18,1-10, pour un *crater* <*fictilis*>). Les résultats de cette recherche artificielle de l'originalité (ou de la *uariatio*, plus simplement?) sont, fatalement, inégaux: ici, la métaphore de *stola* – que celle-ci fût *august(e)a* ou *angusta* – est mort-née, et si l'image de *crater tornatilis* s'est un peu développée (X, 106 s. et 121 s.), c'est principalement autour de *tornus*³⁶. On sent bien, dans les deux extraits, l'hésitation (*Aliquantulum ...; uelut de «cratere», aut ... aut ...*) et la maladresse (le «post-scriptum» de la première glose; le départ raté sur *dulcedo / reatus*): ces *loci* ajoutent aux indices d'une *dictée intégrale* du texte. Le dilemme de X, 108-110 (voir plus haut, texte et notre n. 27) renforce l'impression qu'Apponius ne s'est pas relu.

³⁶ *Tornus* n'apparaît pas dans le corpus hiéronymien, et *limpidare* non plus; *limpidus* se rencontre uniquement dans l'*In Hiezechielem*: voir nos n. 29 et 32, ci-dessus, plus *In Hiez.* 7, ad 24,1-14 (péricopes: l. 1253, 1257, 1291; cit.: l. 1340, 1401). Que nous sachions (ex indicibus *GCS*), les commentaires origéniens, dans leur état actuel, ne touchent pas à Cant. 7,1.

An Unlisted Profession of Faith (Pseudo-Rufinus, *De Fide*)

by
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In the history of Christianity the balance between orthodoxy and heterodoxy has always been delicate. The shift from placing one's confidence in one person to formulating the full implications of what a Christian must believe was not achieved without great difficulty, disagreement, and rancour, and the task can hardly be said to have been completed. The journey from the simplicity of the so-called Apostles' Creed to the intricacy of something such as the Athanasian Creed was arduous. The plethora of surviving professions of faith can be perused in the fundamental volume by Hahn¹. As a simple collection of texts it is a work that few but the initiated would make much sense of, although it is thoroughly annotated, and contains an explanatory appendix by A. Harnack². Kattenbusch offers a labyrinthine guide through the labyrinth of credal formulations³. Less ponderous, but no less indispensable, is the introduction by Kelly⁴.

Exhaustive as these works may be, I draw attention here to a declaration of faith that seems to have escaped the notice of these authors, and been generally overlooked. This is to be found in the

¹ *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*, ed. A. HAHN, G. L. HAHN, Breslau, 1897 (3rd ed. Reprint, Hildesheim, 1962).

² My secondhand copy is replete with underscoring and marginal notes added by the former owner!

³ F. KATTENBUSCH, *Das apostolische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1894.

⁴ J. N. D. KELLY, *Early Christian Creeds*, London, 1972 (3rd ed.). The bibliography on questions relating to the Creed is endless. For orientation see the article "Glaubensbekenntnis(se)," in TRE 13 (1984), pp. 384-446.

short work *De Fide*, attributed to Rufinus⁵. It is a creed of no little interest, and a study of its content, with an attempt to relate it to other creeds of the period, may help to point towards the answers to a number of questions. The book emanated in its present form from Pelagian circles during the Pelagian debate, but beyond that, little can be said about the work that is not based on mere conjecture. The author has not been clearly identified. The provenance, the time of composition, and even the original language of the work, are disputed. Some attention will be given to these problems below.

Before I present the text of the creed, a few comments may be in place. Creeds and professions of faith are recognized to have a close connection with the baptismal liturgy, considered in its entirety, including the catechumenate⁶. In this the Christian convert was instructed in the faith, and then expressed his or her belief in the triune God. This resulted in credal formulations that are for the most part trinitarian, expressions of faith in the Father, Son, and Spirit, but there are also vestiges of binitarian forms in the type we shall see below, and even single-clause formulations⁷.

The catechetical instructions attending preparation for and reception of the sacrament offered a forum for explaining the content of such formulations, and it is often from these instructions that the text of the formula used in a particular church can be reconstructed. In a subsequent development, the baptismal formula, with explanatory additions, became the standard against which orthodoxy was examined.

Like so many others whose orthodoxy was called into question, the Pelagians too published their statements of faith. That of

⁵ The text here is taken from the edition by M. W. MILLER, *Rufini Presbyteri Liber de Fide: A Critical Text with Introduction and Commentary*, Washington, 1964. J. Sirmond's editio princeps is reprinted in PL 21, 1123-54. J. Garnier's (slightly) revised text is in PL 48, 449-88. References are to Sirmond's chapter divisions, maintaining the order of the MS - Garnier and Miller invert the order of cc. 19-20/21-22. In her introduction Miller gives an account of the work's transmission and fate in scholarship.

⁶ The Gospel of Matthew (Matt. 28, 19) ends with the mandate to teach (or make disciples of) all nations, and then baptize them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. For a discussion of this text and the problems of its interpretation see J. SCHABERG, *The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit*, Chico, 1982.

⁷ The development is not clear, and scholars are far from unanimous on the subject. See Kelly's discussion, *Creeds*, pp. 1-61.

Pelagius himself survives⁸. We have only fragments of the creed of Caelestius⁹. A creed ascribed to Julian of Eclanum exists, but it may not be the work of Julian. It is accepted, however, that this is a creed emanating from Pelagian circles¹⁰. Earlier controversies were centered on the nature of the divinity, and elicited creeds in that connection, but the Pelagian debate raised a new problem concerning the definition of orthodoxy. On the one hand, the Pelagians claimed that their profession of belief in the Trinity was fully orthodox, and that other matters, such as the origin of the soul, or a possible transmission of sin, were questions subject to debate and not defined dogmas¹¹. On the other hand, Augustine would retort that orthodoxy was not to be confined to belief in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but extended over the whole complex of Christian living, and he focused attention on two pivotal points that were central to Christian practice: Baptism and the Lord's Prayer¹². The

⁸ HAHN, pp. 288-92.

⁹ HAHN, pp. 292-3. Garnier, PL 48, 498-505, attempts to reconstruct it on the basis of its supposed similarity to that of Pelagius.

¹⁰ HAHN, pp. 293-94, only gives the credal section of the Creed attributed to Julian. The full text of the *Libellus fidei* is printed in PL 45, 1732-36, and PL 48, 509-26. Bouwman argues in favour of identifying Julian as the author (G. BOUWMAN, *Des Julian von Aeclanum Kommentar zu den Propheten Osee, Joel und Amos*, Rome, 1958, pp. 4-5). O. WERMELINGER, *Rom und Pelagius*, Stuttgart, 1975, p. 221 n. 4, does not find the argument for Julian's authorship convincing, and attributes it (with earlier scholars - see Bouwman, p. 5) to bishops of the area of Aquileia who opposed the condemnation of Pelagianism. Y.-M. Duval ("Julien d'Eclane et Rufin d'Aquilée," REA 24, 1978, pp. 243-71, here p. 254) is prepared to accept Julian as author. A further *Expositio fidei Catholicae* of Pelagian provenance may be found in PLS I, 1683-85.

¹¹ Already at Carthage in 411 Caelestius's defense was that opinions differed on the views for which he was on trial: *Iam de traduce peccati dixi quia intra catholicam constitutos plures audiui destruere necnon et alios astruere, licet quaestionis res sit ista, non haeresis* (*De grat. Christi* II, 4, 4, CSEL 42, 169). Pelagius, at Diospolis, rejected the views of some because they were *stulti*, but not *haeretici*, because *non est dogma* (*De gestis Pelagii* 6, 16, CSEL 42, 69). In the *Libellus* (of Julian?) mentioned above these matters are referred to as *indisciplinatae quaestiones*. Caelestius in his profession speaks of *praeter fidem quaestiones*.

¹² Both are central to his argument in his first anti-Pelagian tract, *De pecc. meritis et remissione* in 411. At the time he did not formally invoke the concept of orthodoxy, but that charges of heresy were in the air is seen in an early sermon on the Pelagian question when he warns: "Let them not call us heretics, a charge which we in turn could lay against them" (*Serm.* 294, 21, 20, PL 38, 1348). When, in 418, Pinian and Melania the Younger attempted to mediate between Augustine and Pelagius, on the basis of the latter's formal creed, Augustine rejec-

first, seen as a requirement for salvation, was administered to all (irrespective of age) for the forgiveness of sins. The second included the plea for forgiveness of sins. Both were a stumbling block to the Pelagians' agenda of underlining personal responsibility for sin. An infant has committed no personal sin that requires remission in Baptism. If, to the end of one's life, one must continue to pray for the remission of sin, then sin seems to be unavoidable. Both Augustine and the Pelagians seemed to be caught in a (theo)logical conundrum.

In this context of a discussion of the nature of orthodoxy we may situate the text presented below, although a precise date for it is not easy to establish¹³. It is attributed to Rufinus, a priest of Palestine, and usually called "the Syrian", but in the following we will refer to the author of the *Liber de Fide* as Rufinus, without prejudice to any discussion of the identity of the real author¹⁴. In Dekker's *Clavis*, as in Frede's *Verzeichnis*¹⁵, the *Liber* is listed under the name of

ted it as being insufficient to prove orthodoxy (*De Gratia Christi et de peccato originali*). Writing to the Roman matron Juliana about the same time, he reminds her that orthodox faith in the Trinity is not sufficient to be free from error (*Ep.* 188, 3,10, CSEL 57,127-28). Asked to write a handbook on the faith, he summed it up: *ecce tibi est symbolum et dominica oratio. Quid brevius auditur aut legitur?* (*Enchiridion* II,7, CCSL 46,51). He would later write a list of heresies (*De haeresibus*) but died before he could add a second book, in which he intended to consider the distinction between heresy and orthodoxy, a problem that even a veteran such as Augustine admitted to be very complex. See A. TRAPÉ, "Un libro sulla nozione di Eresia mai scritto da Sant'Agostino," *Augustinianum* 25 (1985), pp. 853-65, who attempts to retrieve from other writings of Augustine what this work might have contained. Also J. MCCLURE, "Handbooks against heresy in the West, from the late fourth to the late sixth centuries," *JThS* 30 (1979), pp. 186-97.

¹³ I take 411, when Augustine wrote the draft of his first anti-Pelagian tract, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, as an anchor point for the date of the work. But was the *Liber* written before or after this time? Miller, with B. ALTANER, "Der Liber de fide ein Werk des Pelagianers Rufinus des 'Syrers'," *ThQ* 130 (1950), pp. 432-49, takes it as a reply to Augustine's work. F. REFOULÉ, "Datation du premier concile de Carthage contre les pélagiens et du *Libellus fidei* de Rufin," *REA* 9 (1963), pp. 41-49, makes Augustine's writing a refutation of Rufinus.

¹⁴ For recent bibliography see F. NUVOLONE, "Pélage et Pélagianisme: I. Les écrivains," in *DSP* 12, cols. 2890-91, with later additions in A. KESSLER, *Reichtumskritik und Pelagianismus*, Freiburg (*Paradosis* 43), 1999, pp. 33-34.

¹⁵ E. DEKKERS, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 3rd ed., Steenbrugge 1995, no. 200, p. 67; H. J. FREDE, *Kirchenschriftsteller Verzeichnis und Sigel*, 4th ed., Freiburg, 1995, p. 741, s.v. Ps-Ruf.

Pseudo-Rufinus. The work is a refutation of Arianism (particularly Eunomianism) and Origenism, but promotes Pelagian views, and takes issue with theories that can be attributed to Augustine (who is not named). Our aim here is not to offer a detailed examination of the full text of the *Liber*, but to comment on the profession of faith it contains. The basic structure of the work is a defense of that faith from the teaching of Scripture. The author is explicit about his intention in the opening words of the prooemium: *Haec nostra fides est quam didicimus a Deo edoctis viris...*¹⁶ He identifies the source of the faith as being in both the Old and New Testaments, and then proceeds to recite a formula of profession.

- Quod unus est Deus habens Verbum substantivum
 aequale per omnia sibi,
 similiter et Sapientiam substantivam
 aequale sibi per omnia.
- 5 Una substantia Patris et unigeniti Verbi et Spiritus Sancti,
 una potentia, unus Dominus,
 sine principio, sine fine,
 simplex et incomplexus,
 incorporealis, sine figura,
- 10 sine circumdatione, non crescens,
 non deficiens, non indigens,
 indivisus, infinitus,
 invisibilis, incomprehensibilis,
 inconvertibilis, sine interitu, immutabilis,
- 15 hoc quod est semper et idem erit,
 conditor omnium, potestatem habens,
 provisor benignus,
 iustus iudex vivorum et mortuorum.
- Et quod unicus Deus Verbum in extremo temporum
- 20 natus est ex Spiritu Sancto et Maria semper virgine,
 et quod crucifixus mortuus est propter nos,
 et quod tertia die resurrexit
 et ascendit in caelos
 et sedet in dextera Patris sui,
- 25 et quod iudicaturus est vivos et mortuos
 ut cum eadem carne secundum facta sua
 unusquisque vicem recipiat.

¹⁶ Garnier's emendation (*edoctis*) of the MS *et doctis* is to be preferred as it maintains the parallelism between the authors of the two testaments.

The credal format of this text is clear, but it invites comment. Since we depend on one MS¹⁷ we must allow for all the possibilities of scribal error, and we shall raise questions about some readings below. The first thing that strikes one is that the creed is fundamentally binitarian. Belief in the Holy Spirit is clearly expressed, and in the subsequent commentary the author is at pains to explain the unity and diversity within the Triune Godhead, but in both creed and commentary the Holy Spirit is presented as one of the Trinity, who also had a role in the Incarnation. A third clause in the creed expressing belief in the Spirit is absent and the progress of the explanation reinforces the conclusion that such a separate clause did not exist in the author's creed. This may have implications for the origin of both the creed and the work as a whole.

(2) *aequale per omnia sibi*. In c.59 we read: *habet unum Unigenitum Verbum substantivum aequale sibi per omnia, similiter et Sapientiam substantivam aequalem sibi per omnia*. This suggests that the text here should be emended to *sibi per omnia*. It would also eliminate the awkward confluence of *sibi similiter*. Nevertheless, while Rufinus can readily repeat fixed expressions, he can also introduce minor variations, and the MS reading may be accepted.

(5) *unigeniti Verbi*. Sirmond omits *Verbi*, although he notes its presence in the MS¹⁸. His reasons are not clearly understandable. In Rufinus's normal usage elsewhere *unigenitus* does not appear alone. A case might be made for a change to *Filii*, giving the triad *Pater-Filius-Spiritus Sanctus* that is more common in the book, but *unigenitus Deus Verbum* is also used (cc. 42, 43; = *unicus Deus Verbum* later in the creed). *Verbi* may be retained.

(6) *unus Dominus*. Rufinus will base much of his argument on reference to the Triune God as *Deus* and *Dominus*, particularly in cc. 13-15 with reference to Eph. 4,5-6 (*unus Dominus ... unus Deus*). A concluding summary in c.61 expresses belief in *unum Dominum, unum Deum*.

(8) *simplex et incompositus*. The MS does not read *et*, but editors include it, perhaps because the phrase recurs in that form three times in the following paragraph. Its loss due to 'haplography' (due to the preceding *-ex*) is possible, but in the present list of grammatically unconnected attributes it is unnecessary.

¹⁷ A second MS was known to Sirmond, but he offers no indication that it was materially different from the text of the surviving MS. This second MS has not been traced.

¹⁸ In notes to the text Sirmond gives the MS reading which he emends, but a check of the MS shows that his list is incomplete. Most emendations, grammatical etc., are understandable, but some (as here) are not so. One might speculate that he was following the second MS, but he offers no evidence for this.

An attempt to define what the Deity is, by listing what God is not, raises no surprise in an early Christian creed, yet the list is of interest. In a text that intends to show the nature of God from the testimony of Scripture, we are first confronted with a list of divine attributes that are, almost entirely, of philosophical rather than scriptural provenance. Other than a few trite comments in the following chapter on the meaning of *simplex et incompositus*, the author pays little or no attention to the other divine attributes. Even in those comments his attention is focused on the meaning of *incompositus*, as the opposite of *compositio*, with no explanation of the import of *simplex*. From c.3 onward we are given the scriptural evidence for the divinity of *Verbum* and *Sapientia*, and for the unity in *substantia* and *potentia* of the Three¹⁹. The non-scriptural approach of c.2 raises the suspicion that it represents an aborted attempt to explain all the following divine attributes in the creed.

Within the creed itself *simplex* seems out of place in a list of negative attributes. And those too deserve some scrutiny, for they seem to be intended as a list of uniform word formations. But the scheme does not work out in Latin and the author has to move between *sine*, *in-* (*im-*), and *non*. It alerts us to the possibility that the list derives from a Greek prototype where single terms with a privative *-a* could be used. If that be the case the author could have been misled into thinking that ἀπλῶς (*simplex*) belonged to the same formation. There are indications of direct Greek influence elsewhere in the book²⁰, but even in the short section with which we are here concerned we shall have occasion to pursue this possibility further.

(14) *Sine interitu*. As an attribute of God it is difficult to decide on Rufinus' meaning. In cc. 25, 35 the term *interitus* refers to the decline of death, and *immortalis* (ἀθάνατος) is not absent from creeds. The very word formation of the more common *immortalis* would indicate its choice with *inconvertibilis* and *immutabilis*. But that idea seems adequately included in *sine fine*, or *non deficiens*. Here, perhaps, the author is attempting to represent Greek ἀφθόρος, or, by a mistaken reading, ἀφθάρτος (*inconvertibilis*) which would fit better into the immediate context.

A further comment on this list may be made. Given the little direct attention that is given to these terms through the following exposition - some, but not all, of them are introduced, but only secondarily and in passing - one may speculate that the list from *sine principio* to *immutabilis*, in part or *in toto*, is an addition to the original creed, though included prior to its inclusion in the present work.

¹⁹ While the term *persona* is used, there is a noticeable diffidence in using any word to describe the three.

²⁰ Miller discusses the problem, but accepts it as an original Latin work, but convincing evidence that some of the quotations from Scripture were directly translated from the Greek was offered by A. VACCARI, "Notulae Patristicae," *Gregorianum* 42 (1961), pp. 725-36.

(15-18) *hoc quod est ... et mortuorum*. This section requires some attention. There is nothing stated that cannot be predicated of the Godhead, especially within Rufinus's theology that underlines the unity of God. A similar description of God occurs at the close of the book (c.61):

*omnipotentem, creatorem, provisorum,
semper se ac similiter habentem.*

hoc quod est... is similar in meaning to *semper se...*

Conditor and *creator* may be taken as equivalent lexical alternatives. Rufinus uses both terms, or their verbal cognates *condo* and *creo*.

The use of *omnipotentem* in c.61 indicates that in the creed we should punctuate as: *conditor, omnium potestatem habens, provisor...* Later in his discussion of the creative activity of the divinity Rufinus uses the term *omnipotens* (c.18), and (c.17) he considers Origen to be impious because the latter *ademit Domino cunctorum potentiam* (c.17). A contemporary, Rufinus of Aquileia, feels the need to explain: *Omnipotens autem ab eo dicitur quod omnium teneat potentatum*²¹. One may consider a case of haplography here: *conditor omnium omnem potestatem habens*, the last being a circumlocution for *omnipotentem*, but c.17 indicates the form *omnium potestatem*, rather than *omnem potestatem*, and *omnium* with *conditor* is unnecessary.

(18) *iustus iudex...* Biblical faith would have no difficulty with referring this to God (e.g. Ps. 7, 12: *Deus iudex iustus*), but it does draw our attention in the first clause of a credal statement. Later in the creed Rufinus follows the more established and orthodox formula when he professes faith in Christ as the final judge of the living and the dead (cf. Act. 10, 42: *constitutus est a Deo iudex vivorum et mortuorum*). This duplication, even to the point of implicit heterodoxy, raises doubts about the integrity of the text at this point. The difficulty may be resolved by reference to Greek formulations that introduce a plethora of titles for God - *πατήρ, ποιητής, δημιουργός, προνοητής...* - including also *κτίστης*²². The possibility of misreading *κτίστης* as *κριτής* would readily explain the anomalous introduction of *iudex* here. *Vivorum et mortuorum* may be original, or may be due to the common reference (as given above) to Christ as "judge of the living and the dead." An original *κτίστης* would suggest the addition of *(omnium) visibilium et invisibilium*, and that this was replaced by the more established phrase *vivorum et mortuorum* with *iudex*.

(19) *unicus Deus Verbum*. I suggest that *unicus* be emended to *unigenitus*. Rufinus writes frequently *unigenitus* (with *Deus Verbum*, *Deus Filius*, and *Deus*, *Filius*, or *Verbum* alone), *unicus* only occurring here and in c.24²³. In

²¹ Exp. Symb. 5, CCSL 20, p.140.

²² As one example I refer to the creed of the Apostolic Constitutions, HAHN, pp. 139 - 40. See also the partial list in Harnack's appendix, Hahn p. 373.

²³ In the context of c.24 the sentence containing *unicus* appears to be a gloss.

his presentation of this clause on the Incarnation (c.42) Rufinus begins with *unigenitus Deus Verbum*, which he repeats in c.43.

(19) *in extremo temporum*. The expression is not frequent in western creeds, though it is not unusual in the East. To be noted also is that later (c.42) Rufinus uses the more common eastern formulation: *in novissimo dierum*.

(24) *in dextera Patris sui*. The reading *in dexteram* in PL is a printer's error.

(26) *ut cum eadem*. The MS reads *eandem*, probably a mere scribal oversight ('n' is at the end of the line and may derive from a supralinear stroke, though that would require that it was also at the end of the line in the scribe's exemplar). *et cum* (Sirmond); *et quod cum* (Garnier): both are unnecessary. Both editors also emend *recipiat* to *recipiet*. With Miller *ut ... recipiat* may be retained, closely adhering to 2 Cor 5, 10: *ut recipiat unusquisque...* (cited by Rufinus in c.50).

*

Of greater interest than the details of the MS readings we have considered are the structure and content of this profession of faith. It follows a binitarian pattern in expressing belief in one triune God and in the Incarnation. Elements collected in a third article concerning the Spirit are in fact discussed by Rufinus, but, as mentioned, his discussion does not suggest that such an article existed in his creed. Credal expression of belief in the Holy Spirit is usually brief and undeveloped in comparison with the other articles. At Nicaea it was expressed with the pithy statement "and in the Holy Spirit." Yet it is unusual for no mention whatsoever to be made of this article of faith, since it was central to the profession made at baptism and to the form of baptism itself. An origin for it points in the direction of Syro-Palestine, but the evidence is tantalizingly vague. Cassian quotes the creed of Antioch but breaks off after mention of the Second Coming and the Final Judgement. He adds, however, *et reliqua*, leaving us to understand that the creed continued beyond this point²⁴. This is not surprising in a work directed against the Christology of Nestorius. Theodore of Mopsuestia offers his version of the creed, one that is sparse in its statements on the Spirit, but in his commentary on the Nicene Creed he found it necessary to give an explanation for the developed article on the Spirit then becoming current²⁵.

²⁴ HAHN, p. 142.

²⁵ Cf. KELLY, *Creeeds*, pp. 187-88, 321.

Professions of faith that follow a binitarian pattern are frequent in the New Testament and sub-Apostolic writings²⁶, but it is disputed if these ever developed as formal creeds. It is claimed that the few examples of supposedly binitarian creeds that have been transmitted to us have that form because of their authors' lack of interest in the third article, or because there was no debate concerning the divinity of the Spirit at that time²⁷. It is difficult to accept, however, that Rufinus merely omitted a third article out of disinterest, since he later gives adequate attention to discussion of the divinity of the Spirit. Not to be overlooked is the fact that a similar structure is to be seen in the *libellus* of Pelagius himself, and in the Pelagian *libellus* attributed to Julian, mentioned earlier, both of which declare belief in the triune God and then in the Incarnation.

The long list of descriptions of the Godhead in the first article - *sine principio, sine fine, simplex*, etc. - is of interest. In a work of exposition this need not surprise us. Authors would freely expand on traditional formulations of the Creed in their search for greater precision of expression. To what extent, however, the expansion in the present instance is due to Rufinus himself as author of the *Liber de Fide* is open to question. The solemn security with which he declares in the opening words that "this is our faith," and his close adherence to traditional wording in the second article, make it difficult to think that he has created here a purely "private"²⁸ formula, replete with technical terms, most of which he does not return to in his later exposition²⁹. As we intimated earlier, the attempt to discuss the creed at length got no further than *simplex et incompositus* in c.2, and points to the probability that the credal statement was in this expanded form when taken up by the author of the present work.

In general, creeds tended to be expanded in the definition of the divinity of the Son. Rufinus is not unfamiliar with such creeds and in c.5 writes: *Est autem Filius in Patre... sicut simplex in simplici, ut infinitus in infinito, ut infectus in infecto, ut sine principio in eo qui*

²⁶ KELLY, *Creeds*, pp. 19-22.

²⁷ Cf. R. P. C. HANSON, "The Holy Spirit in Creeds and Confessions in the Early Church," in *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*, Rome/Vatican, 1983, vol. I, pp. 291-302 (p. 291).

²⁸ I take the term from Hahn's 5th group, pp. 253-363: "Privat-Symbole."

²⁹ Rufinus would be hard put to justify most of the terms from the Bible, despite his declared intention of doing so.

sine principio, ut Dominus in Domino, ut Deus in Deo.... (cf. also c.6 where the Spirit is described as *totus in toto*). Such language, however, betrays a striking tendency in Rufinus's theology. It has a distinctly monarchian trait³⁰. After Nicaea one would expect *Deus ex Deo* rather than *Deus in Deo*. The latter obfuscates the Trinitarian distinction. But Rufinus does not go to such extremes as, for example, Marcellus of Ancyra or Photinus, and deny the subsistence of the Son *ab aeterno*. For Rufinus, the Father³¹ is never without Word and Wisdom³², and they are both substantial.

As a context for Rufinus's thought we may consider the tradition of theology associated with Eustathius of Antioch and his successors, who championed the homoousion of Nicaea as being the best expression of the substantial unity of the Father and Son, but they were also considered to be strongly monarchian, and were even accused of Sabellianism. In such a theological school it was important to affirm that the Word/Son existed substantially *ab aeterno* before the Incarnation. Rufinus avoids the problem by professing that the subject of the Incarnation is *Deus Verbum*, and hence divi-

³⁰ The limits of orthodoxy seem to be stretched when, in reference to the relationship of the Holy Spirit to God the Father, he states (c. 6): *quasi idem sit uterque*, but the difficulty lies in an infelicitous choice of language. Rufinus by no means identifies the Father with the Holy Spirit, but insists on the total unity of substance of the two.

³¹ Rufinus, in his use of the psychological analogy, is undecided whether to refer to the Father as *sensus* or *mens*. In c. 5 the Word derives *ex sensu seu mente*. *Mens* may have a material connotation that separates the term from the immateriality of 'Word' and 'Wisdom', but *sensus* blurs the distinction between 'Sense' and 'Wisdom'.

³² Rufinus's use of the analogy mind/word/wisdom deserves notice. The triad was already used by Theophilus of Antioch in the 2nd century (*Ad Autol.* II.15). For a discussion of this text of Theophilus see A. MEIS WÖRMER, *La fórmula de Fe "Creo en el Espíritu Santo" en el Siglo II: su Formación y Significado*, Santiago de Chile, 1980, p. 265. Use of various analogies becomes frequent again from the late 4th century, and will be developed at length by Augustine in his *De Trinitate*. Rufinus of Aquileia offers mind/word/memory (*Exp. Symb.* 4, CCSL 20 p. 138). Gregory of Nazianz uses mind/word/spirit (*Orat.* 23,11, PG 35, 1161C); and in Gregory of Nyssa we find creator/word/wisdom (*Orat. Cat.* V, PG 45, 20D). In Ps.-Gregory of Nyssa *Ep.* 243 (PG 46, 1105) it takes the form mind/thought/spirit. On this last see M. T.-L. PENIDO, "Prélude grec à la théorie 'psychologique' de la Trinité," in *Rev. thomiste* 45 (1939), pp. 665-74. I have not found another example of the version found in Theophilus and Rufinus. For a list of "trinitarian triads" see the section "Triaden" in E. SCHADEL (ed.), *Bibliotheca Trinitariorum*, München, 1988, pp. 180-93.

ne filiation is not attributed only to the man Jesus. But the theological tightrope on which this approach balanced is evident, because it is now *Deus Verbum* who is born of the Virgin, a statement open to misunderstanding, as it was in the case of Marcellus of Ancyra. This, though the terms of the debate are different, would be directly attacked by Nestorius. Marcellus considered that the Son came into existence only at the Incarnation. Nestorius, claiming the authority of Nicaea³³, could not accept the concept that the divinity could be born of humanity. Rufinus, in his later exposition (cc. 42, 43), alters the *natus* of his creed to *homo factus*.

That Rufinus's statement could be accepted in an orthodox way may be seen in the formula of the so-called Dated Creed issued at Sirmium in 359. There it is professed that "the only-begotten Son of God" was born from the Virgin Mary. The Homoean Creed promulgated at Constantinople in the following year would expand this to include birth from the Holy Spirit, but clarify that this birth is according to the flesh³⁴.

As in the Old Roman Creed, Rufinus makes no verbal distinction between the roles of the Spirit and the Virgin Mary in the conception and birth of Jesus. Already at Rimini in 359, according to Jerome³⁵, a distinction, probably widespread by this time in the West, was made in the creed. At first two different prepositions were introduced (*de Spiritu, ex Maria*), and then the role of the Spirit was clarified by the use of the verb *conceptus*. Yet this development in the formulation had not yet imposed itself universally by the beginning of the fifth century, as can be seen in Rufinus of Aquileia and Augustine³⁶. In the Pelagian *Libellus fidei* mentioned earlier (= Julian?) we read: *nascitur ergo nobis ex Spiritu Sancto et Maria semper virgine*³⁷. Cooperation of the Holy Spirit in the Incarnation is traditionally and generally professed in western more than in eastern creeds. It was not included in the Creed of Nicaea.

³³ His argument is based on the silence of the Council Fathers. Nestorius, *Serm. XVII*, in Mercator's translation, CCSL 85A, pp. 190-91: *Nusquam ausum est (scil. Conc. Nicaenum) dicere quia uerbum deus natus est ex uirgine Maria*. (See again in *Refutatio* 2, *ibid.* p. 216.)

³⁴ See KELLY, *Creeds*, pp. 288, 293.

³⁵ *Adv. Lucif.* 17, PL 23, 189.

³⁶ Rufinus of Aquileia, *Exp. Symb.* 8 (CCSL 20, p. 144); Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 11,37 (CCSL 46, p. 68).

³⁷ PL 48, 510.

The Creed of Constantinople of 381³⁸, however, makes it explicit (with the single preposition ἐκ, but is careful to state that the one born is the man Jesus who was the only-begotten Son of God become incarnate. It is not possible to locate Rufinus within any clear tradition on this point.

In the second article of Rufinus's creed there are some further details of interest. We have already noted the variant within Rufinus's text: *in extremo temporum* in the profession of faith becomes *in novissimo dierum* in his exposition of that faith (c.42). The first form is attested in Egyptian formulations (Alexander and Macarius), but also in the Antiochene(?) Dialogue of Adamantius, where it is rendered *in novissimis temporibus* by Rufinus of Aquileia³⁹. It is also used in the Acacian Symbol of Seleucia (359), the Symbol of the Church of Ancyra, and a Symbol attributed to Athanasius⁴⁰. The second form takes us more into the area of Syria/Antioch. It appears in all four creeds associated with the Dedication Council of Antioch in 341, and again in the Apostolic Constitutions, and in Gregory of Nazianz⁴¹.

Contact with the creeds of the Dedication Council may be pursued. The First, Second (official), and Fourth Creeds are content with the simple statement "He died for us," as in Rufinus, where we frequently find a more expanded declaration: "for us (men) and for our salvation" and this related to the Incarnation. Like Rufinus, these creeds also omit the commonly used historical⁴² note that "he died under Pontius Pilate." The third Creed (presented to the Council by a bishop from Cappadocia) includes - as does Rufinus - the rare addition "at the right hand of *his* Father." The First and Second Creeds, and again the Creed of Sirmium, which has connections with Antiochene formulations, make clear that the

³⁸ KELLY, *Creeds*, p. 332, considers this creed to have affiliation with creeds of Syro-Palestinian origin. CANTALAMESSA, pp. 101-102, associates it directly with Jerusalem. R. CANTALAMESSA, "Incarnatus de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine," *Cristologia e Pneumatologia nel simbolo Costantinopolitano e nella Patristica*, in *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*, Rome/Vatican, 1983, vol. I, pp. 101-25.

³⁹ Cf. KATTENBUSCH, I, pp. 335, 337; II, p.242.

⁴⁰ Texts in HAHN, pp. 207, 264, 265.

⁴¹ For texts and discussion cf. KELLY, pp. 186-7, 264-73; Hahn, p. 150.

⁴² KELLY, pp. 149-50. The statement is probably better understood in legal confessional terms than as a mere historical note. See R. STAATS, "Pontius Pilatus im Bekenntnis der frühen Kirche," *ZThK* 84, 1987, pp. 493-513.

Incarnation took place according to the will of the Father⁴³. Rufinus does not have "by the will of the Father," but the concept is central to his presentation of the Incarnation, where he insists (c.42): *unigenitus Deus Verbum, voluntate Patris ac Spiritus Sancti, complacuit homo fieri*.

Points of contact with other creeds, mentioned above, are by no means exhaustive. They do, however, direct our attention to the East, and specifically Syria/Palestine, as the source of Rufinus's creed. In conjunction with this it may be recalled that in the colophon of the MS the *Liber de fide* is described as the work of a certain Rufinus, priest of the province of Palestine⁴⁴. Grammatically, however, it is unclear what "province of Palestine" refers to - to Rufinus, to his priesthood, or to the *fides*⁴⁵?

Mention of Palestine arouses interest in another possible eastern contact, namely, the formulas of faith attributed to John of Jerusalem. The first is reconstructed from Epiphanius and Jerome, and the second was published by Caspari from a Syriac manuscript⁴⁶. Briefly, the content of John's profession of faith is as follows.

He begins with a confession of belief in the Trinity. Each member of the Trinity is of the same substance, coeternal, of the same glory and divinity. He rejects the possibility of different levels or inequalities in the Godhead. God is incorporeal, invisible, and eternal. God is the one creator of all that is, visible and invisible.

⁴³ HAHN, p. 183.

⁴⁴ At the time (end of the 4th century), a clear geographical division between Syria and Palestine was not present in the common perception.

⁴⁵ The colophon is enigmatic. *Exp(licit) Rufini Pr(es)b(ite)r(i) Provinciae Palaestinae Liber de Fide translatus de Graeco in Latinum Sermonem. Amen*. It is written in red ink (the rest of the text being black), but is crossed out, at a date we cannot ascertain. Jerome, a priest of Antioch, is never referred to as such. Rufinus of Aquileia, generally known by that name, was not in fact a native of Aquileia, though born in nearby Concordia. He was a priest of Palestine (cf. F. X. MURPHY, *Rufinus of Aquileia [345-411]: His Life and Works*, Washington, 1945, p. 55). Is this "the faith of Rufinus, a priest of Palestine," or "a book of Rufinus concerning the faith of Palestine"?

⁴⁶ C. P. CASPARI, *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und Glaubensregel*, Christiania, 1866, vol. I, pp. 161 ff. Both are found in HAHN, pp. 294-98, but for the first one should also consult P. Nautin's presentation of the text in "Le lettre de Théophile d'Alexandrie à l'Eglise de Jérusalem et la réponse de Jean de Jérusalem," RHE 69 (1974) pp. 365-94.

Ps. 32, 6 (*Verbo Domini caeli firmati sunt...*), and the creation of man, point to the creative activity of the God as Triune. How John intended that the creation of man should demonstrate God as One and Triune is not explained in the surviving text, but it is not unlikely that he took it from the use of singular and plural (*dixit... faciamus, imaginem nostram*) in the account of the creation. Man was created as a composite of soul and earthly body. The soul is bestowed directly by God, and it is rational, with the gift of free will. The soul is not part of God (against the Manichaeans) nor a fallen angel (against the Origenists)⁴⁷.

There is probably a lacuna at this point in Jerome's presentation of John's profession of faith. Jerome goes on to speak of the real (*ueritate non putatiue*) passion, death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, without reference to the modality of the Incarnation. In the Syriac version we read that the Eternal Word, the only-begotten Son of God, was born of the Virgin and of the Holy Spirit, took flesh of the same nature as ours, and a rational soul like ours, in which, both in body and soul, he experienced real passion and suffering. With his Ascension Christ gave us the hope of our resurrection, when we shall also be raised up in glory in the same body in which we live now. Finally he will come to judge the living and the dead, and will render to each according to his merits.

It is unlikely that either of the two formulas attributed to John was ever used as a public liturgical profession of faith. The version found in Jerome is taken from a letter of John of Jerusalem to Theophilus of Alexandria in which Jerome summarizes an exposition of the faith given by John as a homily in the presence of Epiphanius of Salamis. In this John claimed to demonstrate adequately to both Epiphanius and Theophilus his orthodoxy in questions of theology, particularly in his attitude to Origenism. Jerome was not convinced and denounced it as a sham aimed at covering John's real heterodoxy. For the Syriac version, Caspari proposed a time soon after the Synod of Diospolis at the end of 415, but we do not know what might have occasioned the need for John to publish a Profession of Faith at that time.

Striking is the coincidence between the structure and content of John's creed and that of Rufinus. Rufinus's profession presents the

⁴⁷ So Epiphanius in his letter to John, translated in Jerome *Ep.* 51, 4 (CSEL 54, p. 402).

one triune God as creator, and the goal of the Incarnation is achieved in the Final Judgement. As in Rufinus, neither of the texts of the creed attributed to John suggests that his profession of faith included a separate clause that mentioned the Holy Spirit, the Church, or Baptism. Rufinus⁴⁸ cites Ps. 32 and the account of the creation of man as proofs that the creation is the work of the Trinity. He then discusses in turn the origin and nature of angels and man. Angels, too, were created by God (Ps. 104, 4: *qui fecit angelos suos...* - also cited by John). Both John and Rufinus underline that angels are capable of change, since they have free will, and herein lies the origin of the devil and his angels. Man, according to both, was created with body and soul, the latter given directly by God. It is rational and enjoys free will, is not part of God, nor is it a fallen angel. Following his presentation of the Triune God as creator, and including there his discussion of the creation, Rufinus then discusses the Incarnation. The Word of God took on a body and created for Himself a soul like ours. He was truly man, and as man He really suffered. Like Him we shall rise in the same body when He will judge and repay each one according to his merits.

The contacts between Rufinus and John's statement can be considered casual, but they raise some interesting suggestions about the intention of the *Liber de Fide*. In the above discussion we pointed towards an Antiochene or Syro-Palestinian background for the creed of Rufinus. A connection with the Province of Palestine is made in the colophon of the MS. There are a number of clear connections between the creed and theology of Rufinus and the thought expressed in the creeds attributed to John of Jerusalem. John was fending off charges of heterodoxy, particularly in the Origenist debate, the context for the creed that survives in Latin, but his stance on Arianism was never adequately clarified for some of his critics⁴⁹. He was a friend of Rufinus of Aquileia, who abjured the more objectionable views of Origen (to say the least) even if he did not accept all his ideas. The Pelagians, friends and successors of Rufinus of Aquileia, were defended by John. Somewhere in the course of this wrangle a *Liber de fide*, attributed to a certain Rufinus of eastern connections, and with distinctively eastern theo-

⁴⁸ The discussion of creation begins at c.16 and is explicitly anti-Origenist.

⁴⁹ See Y.-M. DUVAL, "Sur les insinuations de Jérôme contre Jean de Jérusalem: de l'arianisme à l'origénisme," RHE 65 (1970), pp. 325-37.

logy, emerged. It could have been in the aftermath of Diospolis when the Pelagians were propagating in the West the news of their success at that Synod, but it could also have been in the early years of the century in Rome when a selective anti-origenism was *de rigueur* and the Pelagians were finding ready authority in eastern thought. In either case, the *name* of Rufinus of Aquileia suggests itself as the link between east and west.

Pariator. La présence d'un mot rare dans les sermons de saint Augustin*

par

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(Leuven)

Cet article propose quelques remarques sur le substantif *pariator*, signifiant «celui qui se libère d'une dette» ou «celui qui est libre de toute dette»¹. Tout comme *pariatio*, ce mot est dérivé du verbe *pariare*. A son tour, il est à la base du substantif féminin *pariatoria*, dont la seule attestation connue figure dans l'oeuvre de saint Augustin (*In psalm.* 61, 4)². Selon l'article *pariator* du *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, datant de 1986³, le mot ne serait attesté que dans

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¹ Le *Oxford Latin Dictionary* et le *Dictionnaire Latin-Français* de Gaffiot ne mentionnent que la première signification («one who balances or squares accounts»; «celui qui se libère [d'une dette]»). J. PEYRAS, *Le Fundus Aufidianus: étude d'un grand domaine romain de la région de Mateur (Tunisie du Nord)*, dans: *Antiquités africaines* 9 (1975) p. 181-222 (en partic. p. 212) et *ThLL* 10¹, c. 386, l. 62 préfèrent la seconde («qui pares rationes habet (sc. qui debita solvit)»).

² *Pariatoria plenaria passionum omnium non erit, nisi cum saeculum finitum fuerit* (CCSL 39, p. 774, l. 25-26). Voir *ThLL* 10¹, c. 386, l. 74-81.

³ Voir *ThLL* 10¹, c. 386, l. 61-72. Les données de cet article du *ThLL* étaient déjà partiellement publiées par J. PEYRAS, *Le Fundus Aufidianus* [voir n. 1] p. 212.

quelques inscriptions⁴ et chez Julius Paulus (*Dig.* 35, 1, 81)⁵. Aucune attestation littéraire n'y est mentionnée⁶, excepté un renvoi à Aug., *Serm.* 256, 1 pour une leçon considérée comme fautive. Nous voudrions démontrer ici que cette dernière opinion ne tient pas, qu'Augustin a employé au moins deux fois *pariator* et, par conséquent, qu'il existe bien des attestations littéraires de ce mot rare⁷. En outre, nos recherches *pourront* avoir des conséquences qui dépassent l'intérêt purement lexicographique et nous renseigner sur la tradition manuscrite de deux sermons de saint Augustin (*Serm.* 153 et 256).

* * *

Le mot *pariator* apparaît une première fois dans le sermon 153 traitant d'un passage difficile des lettres de saint Paul (Rom. 7, 5-13). Ce sermon est conservé dans trois collections différentes: la campanienne (C), la sessorienne (S) et celle intitulée *de verbis Domini et Apostoli* (V). Les deux premières, italiennes, appartiennent aux collections dites antiques, c'est-à-dire à celles qui reflètent

⁴ Voir *CIL* III 7437, l. 9 (*par[iator,?] Aur[elius] Numisianus*); VI 33840, l. 3-4 (*in hodiernum pariator*); *Inscr. Année Épigr.* 1975 n. 883, l. 2-3 (*conductor pariatori, restitutori fundi Aufidiani*; J. Peyras, *Le Fundus Aufidianus* [voir n. 1] p. 212).

⁵ *vel pariatore vel reliqua habente*. R. RÖHLE, «*Pariator*», dans: *Labeo. Rassegna di diritto romano* 17 (1971) p. 51-52, considère la lettre -t- de *pariator*, aussi bien dans *CIL* VI 33840 que dans Paul., *Dig.* 35, 1, 81, comme une abréviation de *testat-* et lit respectivement *in hodiernum paria t[estat]ur* et *vel paria t[estat]ore vel reliqua habente*. Ne connaissant que ces deux attestations de *pariator*, il semble nier la présence du mot dans tous les témoins existants du latin antique. Cette argumentation n'a pas été retenue par le *ThLL* (voir *ThLL* 10¹, c. 386, l. 65; 67).

⁶ Ni le *Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts* - 4 (2000), ni la *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina* du *Cetedoc* (1999) n'offrent d'autre information sur *pariator*.

⁷ Comme nom propre, *Pariator* est probablement attesté dans une inscription africaine datant de la fin du deuxième ou du début du troisième siècle (voir *Inscr. Année Épigr.* 1985 n. 889, l. 1: *L[ucius] Domitius Pariator*). Selon l'éditeur, elle serait le seul témoin de *Pariator* comme nom propre. Il omet de mentionner que deux évêques africains du début du Moyen Âge ont porté ce même nom (*Pariator Hiltensis* et *Pariator Scilitanus*; voir J.-L. MAIER, *L'épiscopat de l'Afrique romaine, vandale et byzantine* [*Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana* 11, Roma 1973] p. 375; J. PEYRAS, *Le Fundus Aufidianus* [voir n. 1] p. 212 n. 1; *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*. Edidit R. RIEDINGER [*Acta Conciliorum oecumenicorum* 2.1, Berlin 1984] p. 91, l. 34; p. 93, l. 25).

le mieux des modèles africains actuellement perdus⁸. La campanienne est représentée par deux manuscrits, à savoir *Monte Cassino 17 (xi)* *Monte Cassino* et *Napoli Bibl. Naz. Vienn. lat. 14 (xi ou xii)* *Napoli San Severino*⁹, dont seul le deuxième contient le sermon en question. La sessorienne est représentée par quatre manuscrits (S¹ = *Roma Bibl. Naz. Vitt. Em. 1357 (viii ex ou ix)* *Campanie*, puis (?) *Nonantola*¹⁰; S² = *Firenze Bibl. Laur. Mugello 11 (xi)*; S³ = *Monte Cassino 11 (xi)* *Monte Cassino*; S⁴ = *Vat. Urb. lat. 77 (xv)*)¹¹, dont les relations mutuelles ne sont pas encore très claires¹². Le troisième ensemble contenant le sermon 153 appartient aux collections dites médiévales¹³. Il a probablement vu le jour en Italie du Nord dans la

⁸ Voir *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones de Vetere Testamento, id est sermones I-L secundum ordinem vulgatum insertis etiam novem sermonibus post Maurinos reperiis*. Recensuit C. LAMBOT (CCSL 41, Turnholti 1961) p. VIII-XIII; P.-P. VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin (Instrumenta patristica 12, Den Haag-Steenbrugge 1976)* p. 198-210. A. WILMART, *Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de s. Augustin*, dans: *Casinensia*, Vol. 1 (*Monte Cassino* 1929) p. 217-241 (en partic. p. 219 et 232) et C. LAMBOT, *Les sermons de saint Augustin pour les fêtes de martyrs*, dans: *Revue bénédictine* 79 (1969) p. 82-97 (en partic. p. 86-87) situent l'origine des collections campanienne et sessorienne en Afrique même.

⁹ Voir A. WILMART, *Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de s. Augustin* [voir n. 8] p. 222-232; C. LAMBOT, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones de Vetere Testamento* [voir n. 8] p. XII-XIII; P.-P. VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques* [voir n. 8] p. 209-210.

¹⁰ Précédemment *Dublin Chester Beatty Libr. 5*. Le manuscrit a été vendu en 1969, en même temps que tant d'autres manuscrits de la collection Chester Beatty. Pour son histoire, voir C. LAMBOT, *Les sermons de saint Augustin pour les fêtes de martyrs* [voir n. 8] p. 86 n. 1; *The Chester Beatty Western Manuscripts, Part 2. Catalogue of Thirty-eight Illuminated Manuscripts of the 8th to the 17th Century* (London 1969) p. 13-14; M. PALMA, *Nonantola e il Sud. Contributo alla storia della scrittura libraria nell'Italia dell'ottavo secolo*, dans: *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979) pp. 77-88; V. JEMOLO-M. PALMA, *Sessoriani dispersi. Contributo all'identificazione di codici provenienti dalla biblioteca romana di S. Croce in Gerusalemme (Sussidi eruditi 39, Roma 1984)* p. 9-21; 25 (n° 35).

¹¹ Voir P.-P. VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques* [voir n. 8] p. 201-202. Dans une autre contribution, nous préciserons la relation exacte entre ces quatre manuscrits et le représentant napolitain de la collection campanienne.

¹² Voir A. WILMART, *Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de s. Augustin* [voir n. 8] p. 218-231; C. LAMBOT, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones de Vetere Testamento* [voir n. 8] p. XI. Ces deux chercheurs suggèrent que les manuscrits S^{2,3,4} appartiennent à une autre branche de S que S¹.

¹³ Voir C. LAMBOT, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones de Vetere Testamento* [voir n. 8] p. XVI-XXIII; P.-P. VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques* [voir n. 8] p. 218-233. De cette collection, nous avons contrôlé les manuscrits suivants: *München Bay. Staatsbibl. Clm 14171 (ix)* *Reims, puis St. Emmeran*; *Orléans Bibl. mun. 164 (ix)*

première moitié du huitième siècle et fut la plus répandue des collections de sermons augustinien¹⁴. Pour notre sermon, il remonte probablement à la collection sessorienne¹⁵. Outre ces trois ensembles mentionnés, il existe encore un groupe de manuscrits qui semblent apparentés de diverses façons à la collection *de verbis Domini et Apostoli* (r)¹⁶.

Dans l'exorde du sermon, Augustin se présente comme *debitor*: comme chaque prédicateur, il doit s'acquitter d'une dette vis-à-vis de son public, dont les membres jouent le rôle d'*exactores*. Cette présentation, qu'on retrouve dans d'autres exordes augustinien¹⁷, est formulée de la manière suivante (notre texte est basé sur une nouvelle collation des manuscrits les plus importants):

Hanc itaque lectionem totumque ipsum molestum et obscurum, sed intelligentibus salubrem epistolae apostoli locum suscepimus, adiuvante misericordia Dei, exponere disserendo. Caritati vestrae debitores nos esse scio, exactores vos esse sentio. Quemadmodum nos, ut ista

Fleury; St.-Omer Bibl. mun. 268 (ix) St.-Bertin; Vat. lat. 474 (ix) St.-Vivant-sous-Vergy; Vat. lat. 8566 (x); Arras Bibl. mun. 60 (x ou xi) St.-Vaast; Berlin Staatsbibl. Preuss. Kult. Ms. Theol. lat. 2°665 (xi) Dijon, Saint-Bénigne; Einsiedeln Stiftsbibl. 140 (xi); Schaffhausen Stadtbibl. Min. 24 (xi) Allerheiligen; Vendôme Bibl. mun. 40 (xi); Basel Univ. AN IV 16 (xi-xii) Dijon, Saint-Bénigne; Angers Bibl. mun. 178 (xii); Angers Bibl. mun. 309 (xii) St.-Aubin; Charleville Bibl. mun. 202 vol. VIII (xii) Signy; Dijon Bibl. mun. 143 (xii) Cîteaux; Durham Cath. B II 18 (xii); Engelberg Stiftsbibl. 16 (xii) Engelberg; London Brit. Mus. Add. 10942 (xii) La Charité; London Brit. Mus. Royal 5.C.VIII (xii) Rochester; Paris Bibl. nat. lat. 12199 (xii) Corbie; St. Omer Bibl. mun. 77 (xii) St.-Bertin; Troyes Bibl. mun. 198.5 (xii) Clairvaux; Firenze Bibl. Laur. S. Cruc. Plut. XVIII.dext.5 (xiii); Paris Bibl. nat. lat. 12200 (xiii) St.-Maur-des-Fossés; Trier Stadtbibl. 129 / 1231 (xv) Trier.

¹⁴ Voir A. WILMART, *Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de s. Augustin* [voir n. 8] p. 233-236; C. LAMBOT, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones de Vetere Testamento* [voir n. 8] p. XVI-XVII; P.-P. VERBRAKEN, *La collection de sermons de saint Augustin «De verbis Domini et Apostoli»*, dans: *Revue bénédictine* 77 (1967) p. 27-46; P.-P. VERBRAKEN, *Études critiques* [voir n. 8] p. 218-225.

¹⁵ Voir A. WILMART, *Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de s. Augustin* [voir n. 8] p. 233-236; C. LAMBOT, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones de Vetere Testamento* [voir n. 8] p. XVI-XVII; P.-P. VERBRAKEN, *La collection de sermons de saint Augustin «De verbis Domini et Apostoli»* [voir n. 14] p. 40-41.

¹⁶ De ce groupe nous avons contrôlé les manuscrits suivants: Orléans Bibl. mun. 159 (x) Fleury; Grenoble Bibl. mun. 9 (110) (xii) Grande Chartreuse; Toulouse Bibl. mun. 1161 (xiii) Beauvoir; Trier Sem. 131 (xv) Trier; Trier Stadtbibl. 147/1192 (xv) Trier.

¹⁷ Comparer entre autres *Serm.* 4, 1 (CCSL 40, p. 20, l. 3-4): *Hesternae lectionis debitores nos esse meminimus. Sed sicut nos debemus sermonem, ita et vos debetis audientiam.*

percipiatis, oramus, sic et vos orate, ut ea vobis explicare valeamus. Si enim oratio nostra concordet, et vos facit Deus idoneos auditores et nos debiti huius fidelissimos pariatores. (Serm. 153, 1)

Le mot *pariatores*, en dernière position, n'est attesté que dans la collection campanienne (C) et, sous forme modifiée (*pariatores*), dans trois manuscrits de la sessorienne (S¹, S² et S⁴). La plupart des manuscrits contrôlés, c'est-à-dire S³, V et deux manuscrits r, transmettent *redditores* au lieu de *pariatores*¹⁸. *Redditores* figure également dans l'édition des Mauristes¹⁹. Enfin, dans trois manuscrits r, on lit la variante *solutores* au lieu de *redditores*²⁰.

Quoique le mot *pariator* soit très rare et ne figure que dans un des manuscrits contrôlés, nous préférons le retenir pour les raisons suivantes: 1) les collections campanienne et sessorienne sont considérées comme très proches de la tradition africaine des sermons augustinien; 2) *pariatores* est la *lectio difficilior* et le remplacement de *pariatores* par *paratiores* ou *redditores* est plus probable que l'inverse; 3) saint Augustin a employé le même mot rare et son dérivé *pariatoria* ailleurs (voir respectivement *Serm.* 256, 1 et *In psalm.* 61, 4).

Si notre raisonnement est correcte, nous pouvons proposer la reconstruction suivante des péripéties du mot *pariatores* dans la tradition du sermon 153: 1) le mot se trouvait dans l'archétype et a été conservé par le représentant napolitain de la campanienne; 2) le remplacement de *pariatores* par *paratiores* et par *redditores* a trouvé lieu au sein de la collection sessorienne; 3) cette dernière a transmis la variante *redditores* à la collection de *verbis Domini et Apostoli*; 4) les Mauristes, qui pour leur édition du sermon 153 n'employaient que *Roma Bibl. Naz. Vitt. Em. 1357* (S¹) (*paratiores*) et quatorze manuscrits de la collection de *verbis Domini et Apostoli* (*redditores*) ainsi que *Orléans Bibl. mun. 159* (*solutores*)²¹, n'ont pas connu *pariatores* et ont retenu *redditores*, qui est la variante la plus répandue dans la tradition manuscrite.

¹⁸ Grenoble Bibl. mun. 9 (110); Toulouse Bibl. mun. 1161. La variante *debitores vel redditores* ne figure que dans Paris Bibl. nat. lat. 12200 (xiii) et ne doit pas être prise en considération.

¹⁹ Voir Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi operum tomus quintus, continens sermones ad populum ... Opera et studio monachorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti, e congregatione Sancti Mauri (Parisiis 1683) c. 728 (PL 38, c. 826).

²⁰ Orléans Bibl. mun. 159; Trier Sem. 131; Trier Stadtbibl. 147/1192.

²¹ Voir C. LAMBOT, Les manuscrits des sermons de saint Augustin utilisés par les Mauristes, dans: Revue bénédictine 79 (1969) p. 98-114 (en partic. p. 108).

Bien que nous soyons conscients de la partialité de résultats obtenus par des constatations qui ne concernent qu'une variante dans la transmission de tout un sermon, nous sommes d'avis que le mot *pariatores* peut jouer un rôle dans une solution éventuelle à la question des relations entre les manuscrits de la collection sessorienne et à celle de l'origine de la collection *de verbis Domini et Apostoli*.

* * *

Pariator revient une seconde fois, à savoir dans le sermon 256. La transmission de ce sermon n'a pas encore été étudiée en détail. Par conséquent, les réflexions qui suivent ne peuvent que être provisoires. Néanmoins, nous pensons pouvoir proposer quelques remarques intéressantes à partir du premier paragraphe du sermon. Nous en citons ici une partie du texte d'après l'édition des Mauristes :

Hic ergo cantemus Alleluia adhuc solliciti, ut illic possimus aliquando cantare securi. Quare hic solliciti? Non vis ut sim sollicitus, quando lego, Numquid non tentatio est vita humana super terram [Job 7, 1]? Non vis ut sim sollicitus, quando mihi adhuc dicitur, Vigilate et orate, ne intretis in tentationem [Mc. 14, 38]? Non vis ut sim sollicitus, ubi sic abundat tentatio, ut nobis ipsa praescribat oratio, quando dicimus, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris? Quotidie petitores, quotidie debitores. Vis ut sim securus, ubi quotidie peto indulgentiam pro peccatis, adiutorium pro periculis? Cum enim dixero propter praeterita peccata, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris: continuo propter futura pericula addo et adiungo, Ne nos inferas in tentationem [Mt. 6, 12-13]. Quomodo est autem populus in bono, quando mecum clamat, Libera nos a malo? Et tamen, fratres, in isto adhuc malo cantemus Alleluia Deo bono, qui nos liberat a malo. (Serm. 256, 1; PL 38, c. 1191)

L'opinion du *ThLL* concernant Aug., *Serm.* 256, 1, à laquelle nous avons fait référence dans l'introduction, remonte à une note dans l'édition des Mauristes sur le mot *petitores* dans la phrase *Quotidie petitores, quotidie debitores*. Cette note précise :

Sic Victorinus codex. At Theodoricensis Sirmondo²² consentiens, parcitores. Regius, parcitores et petitores. Vaticanus, pariatores. Huic

²² Sirmond a publié ce sermon pour la première fois. Voir *S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi sermones novi numero XL studio et opera I. Sirmondi ex diversis antiquis exemplaribus collecti* (Parisiis 1631) p. 211.

nomini cognata est vox, pariatoria, Enarr. in Psal. 61, n. 4. (PL 38, c. 1191 n. 1²³)

A première vue, le choix de *petitores* pose de sérieux problèmes. Mis à part le fait qu'il n'est pas clair comment, par erreur de copie ou par conjecture, *petitores* aurait pu être changé en *parcitores* ou *pariatores*, la variante préférée par les Mauristes ne semble pas s'accorder au contexte. En choisissant *petitores*, ces derniers ont anticipé dans les mots *Quotidie ...tores, quotidie debitores* le *quotidie peto* de la phrase suivante. Toutefois, le passage cité est fortement structuré par la répétition anaphorique des mots (*non*) *vis ut sim*, ce qui suggère que les mots *Quotidie ...tores, quotidie debitores* forment un ensemble avec la phrase précédente plutôt qu'avec la suivante. Si cette supposition est correcte, le choix de *petitores* se heurte au fait que, dans ce cas, la première partie de *Quotidie ...tores, quotidie debitores* ne correspond pas à *sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*, alors que la seconde partie renvoie clairement à *Dimitte nobis debita nostra*.

Nos réserves vis-à-vis de la variante *petitores* semblent pouvoir être confirmées par une étude de la tradition manuscrite du sermon en question. Le *Vaticanus* dont parle la note des Mauristes (*pariatores*), est *Vat. lat.* 3835, c'est-à-dire le deuxième volume de l'homélaire dit d'Agimond²⁴. Ce manuscrit a été transcrit au huitième siècle par un certain Agimond, prêtre lié à la basilique Saints-Philippe-et-Jacques de Rome²⁵. Étroitement apparentés à l'homélaire d'Agimond sont les homéliaires *Vat. lat.* 3828 (x) *Flavigny* (?) (l'homélaire de Jouffroy)²⁶ et *Monte Cassino* 12 (xi) *Monte Cassino*²⁷. Dans ces deux manuscrits, qui n'ont pas été employés par

²³ Dans l'édition des Mauristes de 1683 [voir n. 19], le texte d'Augustin et la note se trouvent dans les colonnes 1054-1055 (1053-1054 n. b).

²⁴ Voir C. LAMBOT, *Les manuscrits des sermons de saint Augustin utilisés par les Mauristes* [voir n. 21] p. 103; 110 (n° XII).

²⁵ Voir A. WILMART, *Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de s. Augustin* [voir n. 8] p. 236-238; C. LAMBOT, *La tradition manuscrite des sermons de saint Augustin pour la Noël et l'Épiphanie*, dans: *Revue bénédictine* 77 (1967) p. 217-245 (en partic. p. 227); R. GRÉGOIRE, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux. Analyse de manuscrits* (*Biblioteca degli «Studi medievali»* 12, Spoleto 1980) p. 343-344; 354.

²⁶ Voir R. GRÉGOIRE, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux* [voir n. 25] p. 245-246; 253.

²⁷ Voir A. WILMART, *Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de s. Augustin* [voir n. 8] p. 236-238; C. LAMBOT, *La tradition manuscrite des sermons de saint*

les Mauristes, on lit respectivement *paritores* et *pariatores*. *Paritores*, qui n'a pas de sens dans le contexte, est sans aucun doute un substitut de *pariatores*. De même, la variante *paratores* dans *Vat. lat. 4951 (xii) Rochester* (l'homélaire de Rochester) et *London Brit. Mus. Harley 652 (xii)* - deux homéliaires appartenant à une famille de manuscrits anglais qui ont une lointaine origine italienne²⁸ - est dépourvue de sens dans le contexte et semble également remplacer *pariatores*. Les deux derniers volumes n'ont pas non plus été employés par les Mauristes.

Dans *Paris Bibl. nat. lat. 3798 (xii)*, le seul représentant de la collection dite colbertine, nous trouvons la variante *parcitores*, un mot qui n'est pas attesté par le *ThLL* et qui, comme dérivation de *parcere*, ne semble pas à sa place dans le contexte²⁹. A cause de traits communs avec entre autres l'homélaire d'Agimond, Verbraken situe l'origine de la colbertine en Italie³⁰. Selon Bouhot, la collection colbertine reflète un sermonnaire africain du cinquième siècle tardif. Passé en Italie, celui-ci aurait été le point de départ d'une évolution qui a vu s'ajouter d'autres sermons et qui a fini par produire plusieurs homéliaires, comme entre autres ceux d'Agimond, de Jouffroy et de Monte Cassino mentionnés ci-dessus. Selon cette hypothèse, le sermonnaire africain est à la base de la collection col-

Augustin pour la Noël et l'Épiphanie [voir n. 25] p. 227; A. CHAVASSE, *Le sermonnaire d'Agimond. Ses sources immédiates*, dans: P. GRANFIELD-J.A. JUNGSMANN, *Kyriakon. Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, Vol. 2 (Münster 1970) p. 800-810; R. GRÉGOIRE, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux* [voir n. 25] p. 344; 354.

²⁸ Pour *Vat. lat. 4951*, voir C. LAMBOT, *La tradition manuscrite anglo-saxonne des sermons de saint Augustin*, dans: *Revue bénédictine* 64 (1954) p. 3-8 (en partic. p. 7-8); *La tradition manuscrite des sermons de saint Augustin pour la Noël et l'Épiphanie* [voir n. 25] p. 231-232; *Les sermons de saint Augustin pour les fêtes de Pâques*, dans: *Revue bénédictine* 79 (1969) p. 148-172 (en partic. p. 160); M.P. RICHARDS, *Texts and their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Priory* (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 78.3, Philadelphia 1988) p. 110-119. Pour *London Brit. Mus. Harley 652*, voir C. LAMBOT, *Les sermons de saint Augustin pour les fêtes de Pâques* p. 160. Nous n'avons pas pu contrôler le texte du sermon 256 dans *Worcester Chapter libr. F 93 (xii)*, un manuscrit de la même famille (voir C. LAMBOT, *La tradition manuscrite anglo-saxonne* p. 7-8; *La tradition manuscrite des sermons de saint Augustin pour la Noël et l'Épiphanie* [voir n. 25] p. 231-232; *Les sermons de saint Augustin pour les fêtes de Pâques* p. 160).

²⁹ Voir *ThLL* 10¹, c. 328, l. 71: [*parcitor falsa var. l. pro pariator q.v.*].

³⁰ Voir P.-P. VERBRACKEN, *Études critiques* [voir n. 8] p. 225-226.

bertine d'une part et de ces homéliaires d'autre part³¹. Bien que *Paris Bibl. nat. lat. 3798* ait été employé par les Mauristes pour l'édition du sermon 256³², il n'est pas mentionné dans leur note citée ci-dessus. Car le *Theodoricensis*, qui selon cette note offre la variante *parcitores*, est *Paris Bibl. nat. lat. 12409 (xii) Reims St.-Thierry*³³. Ce manuscrit est un représentant des *Sancti catholici Patres*, un homélaire probablement né en France (Pontigny?) au douzième siècle³⁴. Dans les deux autres représentants contrôlés des *Sancti catholici Patres* (*Troyes Bibl. mun. 219 (xii) Clairvaux*³⁵; *Paris Bibl.*

³¹ Voir J.-P. BOUHOT, dans: *Revue des études augustinienes* 27 (1981) p. 352-353 (compte rendu de A. CHAVASSE, *Un homilaire liturgique romain du VI^e siècle. L'homilaire «augustinien» du «Parisinus» 3798*, dans: *Revue bénédictine* 90 [1980] p. 194-233).

³² Voir C. LAMBOT, *Les manuscrits des sermons de saint Augustin utilisés par les Mauristes* [voir n. 21] p. 103; 110 (n° X).

³³ Voir C. LAMBOT, *Les manuscrits des sermons de saint Augustin utilisés par les Mauristes* [voir n. 21] p. 100; 104 en combinaison avec J.-P. BOUHOT, *L'homilaire des Sancti catholici Patres. Tradition manuscrite*, dans: *Revue des études augustinienes* 22 (1976) p. 143-185 (en partic. p. 146 n. 9).

³⁴ Voir C. LAMBOT, *Les sermons de saint Augustin pour les fêtes de Pâques* [voir n. 28] p. 161-162; J.-P. BOUHOT, *Deux exemplaires de l'homilaire des «Sancti catholici Patres»*, dans: *Revue des études augustinienes* 19 (1973) p. 287-302; *L'homilaire des Sancti catholici Patres. Reconstitution de sa forme originale*, dans: *Revue des études augustinienes* 21 (1975) p. 145-196; *L'homilaire des Sancti catholici Patres. Tradition manuscrite* [voir n. 33] p. 143-185; *L'homilaire des Sancti catholici Patres. Sources et composition*, dans: *Revue des études augustinienes* 24 (1978) p. 103-158; R. ÉTAIX, dans: *Revue des études augustinienes* 25 (1979) p. 327-329 (compte rendu des deux derniers articles de Bouhot).

³⁵ Dans *Troyes Bibl. mun. 219*, on lit *in rasura* le mot *parcitores*, remplacé par *peccatores* (*parcitores* lui-même y remplace un mot dont n'est visible que la syllabe finale *-res*). Dans trois représentants contrôlés de la collection tripartite (*Oxford Bodley 204 (xiii) Nord de la France*; *Vat. lat. 480 (xv) Italie*; *Vat. Urb. lat. 77 (xv)*) - le dernier manuscrit appartient pour une partie à la collection tripartite et pour une autre à la sessorienne) figure également *peccatores* (pour la collection tripartite, voir A. Wilmart, *La collection tripartite des sermons de saint Augustin*, dans: *Miscellanea Augustiniana. Gedenkboek samengesteld uit verhandelungen over S. Augustinus bij de viering van zijn zalig overlijden vóór 15 eeuwen*. CDXXX-MCMLXXX [Rotterdam 1930] p. 418-449). Vu que cette collection remonte probablement aux *Sancti catholici Patres* (voir R. ÉTAIX, dans: *Revue des études augustinienes* 25 (1979) p. 327-328 [contre J.-P. BOUHOT, *L'homilaire des Sancti catholici Patres. Sources et composition* [voir n. 34] p. 117-130; 157]), il n'est pas exclu que la variante *peccatores* dans les trois manuscrits mentionnés ait son origine dans le remplacement de *parcitores* par *peccatores* au sein de cette dernière collection. Une autre possibilité est que le remplacement dans *Troyes Bibl. mun. 219*

nat. lat. 804 (xii-xiii) Montrieux), nous avons également trouvé la variante *parcitores*³⁶. Selon Lambot, la source des *Sancti catholici Patres* doit être très semblable à notre témoin de la collection colbertine³⁷, ce qui explique le fait que la variante *parcitores* est attestée tant par les trois derniers manuscrits que par *Paris Bibl. nat. lat. 3798*.

Le *Victorinus* (*petitores*) et le *Regius* (*parcitores et petitores*) dont parle la note des Mauristes, sont respectivement *Paris Arsenal 506* (xv) *Paris St.-Victor* et *Paris Bibl. nat. lat. 2030* (xv), deux manuscrits appartenant à la collection dite *Collectorium*³⁸. Cette dernière a été constituée à Paris au quatorzième siècle par Robert de' Bardi³⁹; les *Sancti catholici Patres* en sont la source directe ou indirecte⁴⁰. Un autre représentant de cette collection, le *Vat. lat. 479* (xv), offre la même variante que le *Regius* des Mauristes (*parcitores et petitores*)⁴¹.

soit le produit d'une collation tardive avec un représentant de la collection tripartite. Nous ne voulons prendre aucune décision en cette matière.

³⁶ Les Mauristes employaient encore un autre représentant des *Sancti catholici Patres* qui n'est pas mentionné dans la note critique sur *Serm. 256, 1*, c'est-à-dire un manuscrit perdu des Dominicains de Clermont-Ferrand. Voir C. LAMBOT, *Les manuscrits des sermons de saint Augustin utilisés par les Mauristes* [voir n. 21] p. 104; 110 (n° XIII, 5).

³⁷ Voir C. LAMBOT, *La tradition manuscrite des sermons de saint Augustin pour la Noël et l'Épiphanie* [voir n. 25] p. 240; *Les sermons de saint Augustin pour les fêtes de Pâques* [voir n. 28] p. 161. Comparer aussi A. WILMART, *La collection tripartite* [voir n. 35] p. 445.

³⁸ Voir C. LAMBOT, *Les manuscrits des sermons de saint Augustin utilisés par les Mauristes* [voir n. 21] p. 104; 110 (n° XV, 1; 2).

³⁹ Pour cette collection, voir A. WILMART, *La collection tripartite* [voir n. 35] p. 420; 445-446; C. LAMBOT, *La tradition manuscrite des sermons de saint Augustin pour la Noël et l'Épiphanie* [voir n. 25] p. 242; P.-P. VERBRACKEN, *Études critiques* [voir n. 8] p. 234.

⁴⁰ Voir A. WILMART, *La collection tripartite* [voir n. 35] p. 445-446; C. LAMBOT, *Les sermons de saint Augustin pour les fêtes de Pâques* [voir n. 28] p. 161; G. POZZI, *La «tabula» di Jean de Fayt al «Collectorium» di Roberto de' Bardi*, dans: *Miscellanea G.G. Meersseman (Italia sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica 15, Padova 1970)* p. 257-311 (*passim* et en partic. p. 262).

⁴¹ Ceci ne doit pas nous étonner vu que *Paris Bibl. nat. 2030* est aujourd'hui considéré comme une copie du *Vat. lat. 479*. Voir G. POZZI, *Il Vat. lat. 479 ed altri codici annotati da Roberto de' Bardi*, dans: *Miscellanea del centro di studi medievali, Serie seconda (Pubblicazioni dell'università cattolica del sacro cuore, N.S. 62, Milano 1958)* p. 125-165 (en partic. p. 132); *La «tabula» di Jean de Fayt* [voir n. 40] p. 260.

Il est clair que la variante retenue par les Mauristes (*petitores*) ne peut plus être acceptée, vu les problèmes mentionnés ci-dessus et parce qu'elle semble être typique d'une collection tardive, qui remonte aux *Sancti catholici Patres*, dans lesquels figure *parcitores*. Nous croyons que l'archétype du sermon 256 contenait *pariatores*, et ce parce que *pariatores* explique toutes les autres formes de la tradition: aussi bien *paratores* et *paritores* dans l'homélaire de Jouffroy et dans quelques homéliaires anglais d'origine italienne⁴², que *parcitores* dans la collection colbertine et dans les *Sancti catholici Patres* semblent être des substituts d'un mot inconnu aux copistes médiévaux. En outre, le texte que nous obtenons ainsi en tenant compte des relations entre les familles de manuscrits, évite le problème de contenu que pose la version des Mauristes. En effet, dans *Quotidie pariatores, quotidie debitores*, on retrouve les deux idées contenues dans la phrase précédente: chaque jour, le bon chrétien est en même temps un *debitor*, parce que Dieu doit lui pardonner ses fautes (*dimitte nobis debita nostra*), et un *pariator*, parce que en pardonnant aux autres, il se libère de ses propres fautes (*sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris*).

Si nos observations et l'hypothèse d'une origine commune entre la collection colbertine et les homéliaires d'Agimond, de Jouffroy, de Monte Cassino etc. sont exactes, nous pouvons proposer la reconstruction suivante des péripéties du mot *pariatores* dans la tradition du sermon 256: 1) le sermonnaire africain dont parle Bouhot (l'archétype), contenait *pariatores* et l'a transmis à un groupe d'homéliaires apparentés, au sein duquel *pariatores* a été remplacé par *paratores* ou par *paritores*; 2) le remplacement de *pariatores* par *parcitores* a eu lieu au sein de la collection colbertine, c'est-à-dire quelque part entre le sermonnaire africain de Bouhot et le seul représentant que nous possédions de cette collection (douzième siècle); 3) à son tour, la collection colbertine a transmis *parcitores* aux *Sancti catholici Patres*; 4) au sein du *Collectorium* ou quelque part entre les *Sancti catholici Patres* et cette dernière collection, *parcitores* a été remplacé par *petitores*; 5) les Mauristes, qui n'ont

⁴² Il n'est probablement pas sans intérêt de signaler que l'hésitation de ces manuscrits entre *pariatores*, *paratores* et *paritores* reflète une même hésitation entre *pariatoria*, *paratoria* et *paritoria* dans la tradition manuscrite de *In psalm. 61, 4*. Voir la note dans *PL* 36, c. 731 et l'apparat dans *CCSL* 39, p. 774, l. 25 (*pariatoria*) *quidam codd. Latinius (vel pariatio)*, *paratoria vel paritoria alii*, *parata vero coni. Ducange (sub verbo «Plenaria»)*.

employé qu'un corpus limité de manuscrits et qui ne connaissaient pas encore les relations entre eux, ont préféré la variante *petitores* du *Collectorium*, probablement parce que *petitores* constituait à leurs yeux la variante la plus sensée dans le contexte (anticipation de *quotidie peto* dans la phrase suivante).

* * *

Nous pouvons conclure en disant que, contre l'opinion du *ThLL*, il existe au moins deux attestations littéraires de *pariator*, à savoir dans les sermons 153 et 256 de saint Augustin. Dans les deux cas, la rareté du mot semble avoir causé dans la tradition manuscrite des essais de simplification vis-à-vis de l'archétype. Par conséquent, le mot n'était plus retenu dans l'édition des Mauristes, qui a servi de base à l'article *pariator* du *ThLL*. Quant au fait que *pariator* est employé dans les sermons d'Augustin, il n'est peut-être pas sans intérêt d'indiquer que le mot en question apparaît dans un genre qui reflète plus que d'autres une langue non littéraire, et que les attestations littéraires du verbe *pariare*, aussi bien dans la signification de *parem reddere* que dans celle de *parem esse/fieri*, sont presque toutes d'origine africaine⁴³.

⁴³ *ThLL* 10¹, c. 398-399 donne les attestations littéraires suivantes d'origine africaine: Vet. lat. Phil. 2, 6 (Tert., *Adv. Marc.* 5, 20, 3 [*CCSL* 1, p. 724, l. 24]; *De resurr.* 6, 4 [*CCSL* 2, p. 928, l. 18]); Tert., *Adv. Marc.* 4, 29, 6 (*CCSL* 1, p. 625, l. 3); *De anim.* 30, 5 (*CCSL* 2, p. 828, l. 1); 32, 9 (p. 832, l. 1-2); *De resurr.*, 53, 14 (p. 999, l. 50); Ps.-Fulg. Rusp., *Serm.* 18 (*PL* 65, c. 883 A). La seule attestation littéraire d'origine non africaine donnée par *ThLL* est Faustin., *De Trin.* 14 (1, 13) (*CCSL* 69, p. 308, l. 22). *ThLL* 10¹, c. 386, l. 54-60 n'offre aucune attestation littéraire pour le substantif *pariatio*.

Apollonius of Tyana in Jerome¹

by

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The figure of Apollonius of Tyana, who in the first century A.D. had lived the life of a wandering sage, enjoyed a certain vogue at the end of the fourth century: in particular he was exploited by the pagan reaction as a rival to Christ². Jerome's *oeuvre* contains four references to Apollonius. The divergent attitudes which these passages seem to evince have caused puzzlement to scholars, who accordingly charge Jerome with inconsistency: 'zu einem ausgeglichenen Urteil über Apollonius ist Hieronymus demnach nicht gelangt'³. The aim of the present article is to suggest that such allegations of 'disequilibrium' in Jerome's view of Apollonius are in fact unwarranted.

Two of these Hieronymian texts express disapproval. The first occurs in *Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum*⁴, where the treatment of Christ's ascension includes a reference to the way in which

¹ Citation of Latin works follows the method of *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index Librorum Scriptorum Inscriptionum* (Leipzig² 1990). Greek works are cited according to the conventions adopted in H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT and H. STUART JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford⁹ 1996) XVI-XXXVIII and in G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961-8) XI-XIV.

² On Apollonius' popularity in this period cf. most recently N. HORSFALL, *Apuleius, Apollonius of Tyana, Bibliomancy: Some Neglected Dating Criteria*, in: *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Maceratense*, ed. by G. BONAMENTE and G. PACI (Bari 1995) 169-177, on 171-173.

³ W. SPEYER, *Zum Bild des Apollonios von Tyana bei Heiden und Christen*, in: *Jahrb. f. Ant. u. Christ.* 17 (1974) 47-63, on 55 (= *id.*, *Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld: Ausgewählte Aufsätze* [Wiss. Untersuch. z. Neuen Test. 50, Tübingen 1989] 176-192, on 184).

⁴ This work belongs to the spring of 397; cf. P. NAUTIN, *Études de chronologie hiéronymienne (393-397)*, in: *Rev. Ét. Aug.* 18 (1972) 209-218, on 210-215.

Apollonius had vanished from Domitian's presence⁵. Here Jerome warns: *noli potentiam domini magorum praestigiis adaequare*⁶. The

⁵ *C. Ioh. 34: Apollonius Tyaneus scribitur cum ante Domitianum staret in consistorio, repente non comparuisse*. This episode is simply dismissed as an 'old chestnut' in the discussion of Jerome's familiarity with Apollonius by HORSFALL, *art. cit.* (n. 2) 172. However the tentative suggestion that here Jerome was in fact indebted specifically to Lactantius, *inst.* 5, 3, 9 had already been advanced by A. LUEBECK, *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit* (Leipzig 1872) 97 n. 4 ('unde ... sumpsisse videtur'); on the other hand H. HAGENDAHL, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers (Acta Univ. Gothob. 64.2, Göteborg 1958)* 168, merely refers to Philostratus, *VA* 8,5. More recently the detailed examination of this section of Jerome's treatise by Y.-M. DUVAL, *Tertullien contre Origène sur la résurrection de la chair dans le Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum, 23-36 de S. Jérôme*, in: *Rev. Et. Aug.* 17 (1971) 227-278, on 269 n. 184, has conjectured that 'il n'est pas impossible que Jérôme dépende ici de Lactance'. It would however seem possible to show that such dependence is in fact beyond question. Duval himself has demonstrated elsewhere that the opening of the fifth book of Lactantius' *Institutiones* exercised a particularly strong influence on works which Jerome produced during the mid-390's (*S. Cyprien et le roi de Ninive dans l'In Ionam de Jérôme*, in: *Epektasis: Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, ed. by J. FONTAINE and C. KANNENGISSER [Paris 1972] 551-570, on 555; cf. further the present writer, *Jerome on Tertullian: Epist. 58,10,1*, in: *Athenaeum* n. s. 87 [1999] 383-394, on 390-393). The Lactantian text currently at issue reads: *Apollonius, qui ut describis cum Domitianus eum punire vellet, repente in iudicio non comparuit*. Corroboration that in the present passage of the *Contra Iohannem* Jerome does indeed have this statement of Lactantius in mind is provided by the exact parallelism in the wording of the two texts, which both employ the phrase *repente non comparere*: no other instance of this particular collocation is supplied by *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 col. 2010, 10-62 (s. v. *comparere*), Packard Humanities Institute CD ROM #5.3 (1991), *Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts, CLCLT-3* (Turnhout 1996) or *Patrologia Latina Database* (Alexandria, VA 1995). In both authors this expression follows a *cum*-clause, which is in turn immediately preceded by a form of *scribere*: Jerome's imitation lends support to Heumann's emendation of the *describis* of the Lactantian MSS to *tu scribis*. Philostratus by contrast has simply καὶ εἰπὼν τὰτα ἠφανίσθη.

⁶ This use of *praestigiae* in conjunction with *magi* would also appear to be due to Lactantius, who in the next sentence but one after the phraseology discussed in the previous note had employed the words *praestigiis artis magicae* (*inst.* 5,3,11). According to *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 10,2 col. 937, 52-56 (s. v. *praest[r]igiae*) and the three electronic disks listed in the preceding note Lactantius is the only author before Jerome to combine *praestigiae* with the stem *mag-*. Jerome himself had already used the same collocation as the *Institutiones* in two passages of his *Commentary on Ephesians* (*prol.* p. 441^b and *lib.* 3 *praef.* p. 515^c), which belongs to 386 (so P. NAUTIN, *La date des commentaires de Jérôme sur les épîtres pauliniennes*, in: *Rev. Hist. Eccl.* 74 [1979] 5-12). Here too Jerome would seem to have

second disapprobatory passage is found in one of Jerome's *Tractates on the Psalms*, which cites Porphyry's equiparation of the apostles' miracles with those performed by Apollonius: *hoc enim dicit Porphyrius: homines rustici et pauperes, quoniam nihil habebant, magicis artibus operati sunt quaedam signa. non est autem grande facere signa ... fecit et Apollonius, fecit et Apuleius*⁷. To this argument the *Tractate* offers the following rejoinder: *fecerunt et alii signa magicis artibus: sed pro homine mortuo non sunt mortui* (ll. 233-234)⁸.

The other two references which Jerome makes to Apollonius seem by contrast to indicate approval. The earlier one is an entry in his *Chronicle: Apollonius Tyaneus et Eufates insignes philosophi habentur*⁹. In Speyer's opinion Jerome is here qualifying Apollonius

been indebted to Lactantius, since he can also be shown to have appropriated phraseology from this opening section of book V of the *Institutiones* in the mid-380's as well as a decade later; cf. the present writer, *Jerome as Centoist: Epist. 22, 38, 7*, in: *Riv. Stor. Lett. Rel.* 28 (1992) 461-471, on 466-467 (one might also adduce the similarity of Jerome's in *eccles.* 5,7 ll. 103-104 [*res vi geri*] to *inst.* 5,1,5 [*vi geritur res*] and of his *epist.* 21,13,4 [*carmina poetarum, saecularis sapientia, rhetoricorum pompa verborum ... suavitatem delectant et, dum aures versibus dulci modulatione currentibus capiunt, animam ... devinciunt*] to *inst.* 5,1,10 [*philosophi et oratores et poetae ... animos ... inretire possunt suavitatem ... carminum dulci modulatione currentium*]; this pair of borrowings will be discussed in greater detail elsewhere). It is therefore natural to suppose that the *magorum praestigiis* of the *Contra Iohannem* has likewise been inspired by the wording of *inst.* 5,3,11: in the same connection both texts also speak of 'equating' the deeds of Christ and Apollonius (*adaequare/comparare*). For the very large number of synonyms that were available instead of *praestigiae* cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 10,2 col. 936, 36-42 (s. v.). As the source of the *Contra Iohannem*'s *magorum praestigiis* DUVAL, *art. cit.* (n. 5; *Tertullien ...*) 268-269, had merely referred to Tertullian, *carn.* 5 l. 68: *magum hominem*.

⁷ *Tract. in psalm.* I p. 89 ll. 225-230. It belongs to the period between 401 and 410; cf. G. MORIN, *Études, textes, découvertes* (Maredsous and Paris 1913) 234.

⁸ Jerome's *Tractates on the Psalms* are merely a translation from Origen according to V. PERI, *Omélies origénienne sui salmi* (*Studi e Testi* 289, Vatican City 1980). However the present passage cannot be due to Origen himself, since a reference by him to Porphyry's *Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν* is precluded on chronological grounds; cf. T.D. BARNES, *Porphyry 'Against the Christians': Date and the Attribution of Fragments*, in: *Journ. Theol. Stud.* n. s. 24 (1973) 424-442, on 433-442. Doubts about Peri's case are expressed by P. JAY, *Jérôme à Bethléem: les Tractatus in Psalmos*, in: *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*, ed. by Y.-M. DUVAL (Paris 1988) 367-380.

⁹ *Chron. a. Abr.* 2112. Jerome had produced this work in 380-381; cf. F. CAVALLERA, *S. Jérôme: Sa vie et son oeuvre* 1, 2 (*Spic. Sacr. Lovan.* 2, Louvain and Paris 1922) 155.

as an 'ausgezeichneter Philosoph'¹⁰. Such a view would seem however to require modification: in this connection two points need to be made. In the first place the statement at issue has simply been taken over from Eusebius, since it is also found in the Armenian version of his *Chronicle*, which is the only extant source for the full Eusebian text¹¹. Secondly Speyer's rendering of *insignis* as 'ausgezeichnet' is seriously misleading, since it invests Jerome's formulation with a laudatory character that is in fact absent. Comparison of Eusebius' wording shows that here this epithet merely denotes celebrity: Karst translates the Armenian as simply 'waren ... gekannt'.

Jerome's fourth and final mention of Apollonius is also by far his longest; moreover this one occurs in the highly important fifty-third epistle¹². Here Jerome observes:

- Apollonius – sive ille magus, ut vulgus loquitur, sive philosophus, ut Pythagorici tradunt – intravit Persas, transivit Caucasum, Albanos, Scythas, Massagetas, opulentissima Indiae regna penetravit et ad extremum latissimo Phison amne transmisso pervenit ad Bragmanas, ut Hiarcam in throno sedentem aureo et de Tantalii fonte potantem inter paucos discipulos de natura, de moribus ac de siderum cursu audiret docentem; inde per Elamitas, Babylonios, Chaldaeos, Medos, Assyrios, Parthos, Syros, Phoenices, Arabas Palaestinam reversus Alexandriam perrexit, Aethiopiam adivit, ut gymnosophistas et famosissimam Solis mensam videret in sabulo.
- 5 Invenit ille vir ubique, quod disceret, ut semper proficiens semper se melior fieret. Scripsit super hoc plenissime octo voluminibus Philostratus¹³.
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¹⁰ SPEYER, *art. cit.* (n. 3) 54 (=183).

¹¹ For Eusebius' mention of Apollonius cf. J. KARST, *Eusebius Werke* 5 (GCS 20, Leipzig 1911) 218.

¹² Particular significance attaches to this letter for a number of reasons. On the one hand it opens Jerome's correspondence with his eminent fellow-author Paulinus of Nola, while on the other its review of all the books of scripture elevated it to the status of a general preface to the bible; at the same time the epistle is also noteworthy for its veiled attacks on Ambrose (cf. the present writer, *Taceo de meis similibus* [Jerome, *epist.* 53,7], in: *Vet. Christ.* 29 [1992] 261-268; *id.*, *Alii discunt – pro pudor – a feminis*: Jerome, *epist.* 53,7,1, in: *Class. Quart.* n. s. 44 [1994] 559-561). The date of the letter is 394; on this much-debated issue cf. most recently D.E. TROUT, *The Dates of the Ordination of Paulinus of Bordeaux and of his Departure for Nola*, in: *Rev. Ét. Aug.* 37 (1991) 237-260, on 253-259.

¹³ *Epist.* 53,1,4. The last sentence of the preceding paragraph (1,3: *habuit illa aetas inauditum omnibus saeculis celebrandumque miraculum, ut orbem totum ingressus alium extra orbem quaereret*) is also referred to Apollonius by I. HILBERG, *S. Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae* 1 (CSEL 54, Vienna² 1996) 444. However this interpretation has been rightly rejected by J. LABOURT, *S. Jérôme: Lettres* 3 (Paris

The respect for Apollonius which seems to characterize this passage has recently struck Horsfall as 'surprising'¹⁴. Horsfall's disconcertment at the incongruence between this apparent commendation and the disapproval which Jerome voices elsewhere is shared by other scholars¹⁵. Such 'surprise' is nonetheless unwarranted. This opening chapter of the epistle to Paulinus is concerned to impress Jerome's new and highly-cultivated correspondent with its author's own knowledge of secular literature: to this end anecdotes are retailed which involve Pythagoras, Plato, Livy and Apollonius respectively. At the same time this passage is also intended to encourage Paulinus to visit Jerome in Bethlehem; hence these four pagan case-histories of travel undertaken in the quest for learning are meant in addition to serve as *exempla* which Jerome's addressee is himself expected to follow. Since therefore Jerome is here using Apollonius both to advertise his own erudition and to inspire Paulinus to emulation, any note of criticism is effectively ruled out. In this connection it is also instructive to compare Jerome's treatment of Pythagoras and Plato, who stand at the beginning of his enumeration. Elsewhere Jerome is in the habit of reviling 'philosophers'¹⁶; here however his exemplificational and exhibitionist purpose necessitates an attitude of respect. Since moreover Jerome has just spoken favourably of Pythagoras, it is only natural that here he

1953) 9, who replaces Hilberg's *orbem totum ... extra orbem* with the *urbem tantam ... extra urbem* of most MSS and instead connects this sentence with the foregoing mention of *Gaditanus quidam* who came to Rome solely to see Livy.

¹⁴ HORSEFALL, *art. cit.* (n. 2) 172. He compares (*ib.* n. 28) the favourable estimates of Apollonius that are found in Synesius (*calv.* 6) and Eusebius (*Hierocl.* 5). It must however be said that Synesius was never a Christian in the full sense (cf. G. BARDY, *art. Synésius*, in: *Dict. Théol. Cath.* 14,2 [1941] 2996-3002, on 2997); moreover both he and Eusebius also qualify Apollonius as a γόης in the texts at issue.

¹⁵ Cf. P. COURCELLE, *Les lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore* (Paris 1948) 66; SPEYER, *art. cit.* (n. 3) 54 (= 183); M. DZIELSKA, *Apollonius of Tyana in Legend and History* (*Prob. e ric. di stor. ant.* 10, Rome 1986) 178. According to S. PRICOCO, *Sidonio Apollinare traduttore della 'Vita di Apollonio di Tiana' di Filostrato*, in: *Nuov. Didask.* 15 (1965) 73-98, on 85-86 n. 21, the unexpectedly approbatory tone of this passage is due to the circumstance that here Jerome views Apollonius as a simple human being without supernatural powers. Pricoco's explanation is however unsatisfactory: just as in the *Contra Iohannem* and the *Tractate on the Psalms*, here too Apollonius is qualified as a *magus* (l. 1).

¹⁶ Cf. A.S. PEASE, *The Attitude of Jerome towards Pagan Literature*, in: *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* 50 (1919) 150-167, on 161-162.

should also be prepared to entertain the 'Pythagorean' view of Apollonius: *sive philosophus, ut Pythagorici tradunt* (ll. 1-2).

One other factor is involved in Jerome's apparently laudatory mention of Apollonius in this epistle; unlike the afore-mentioned ones however it requires more extensive treatment. Scholars who are puzzled by Jerome's positive attitude invariably quote the sentence which sums up his long description of Apollonius' travels: *invenit ille vir ubique, quod disceret, ut semper proficiens semper se melior fieret* (ll. 10-11)¹⁷. As Jerome's source for the second half of this all-important statement Luebeck merely adduced a passage of Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii*¹⁸: ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ὃ τι αὐτῷ ἀπάξει ἐκεῖθεν, 'χαρίεν' ἔφη 'ὦ βασιλεῦ, δῶρον· ἦν γὰρ ἡ συνουσία τῶν ἀνδρῶν σοφώτερόν με ἀποφήνη, βελτίων ἀφίξομαί σοι ἢ νῦν εἰμι' (1,41). This text has only a single word in common with the letter to Paulinus, whose *melior* corresponds to the Philostratean βελτίων; since moreover this sentence of the *Vita Apollonii* reports the sage's valedictory remark to the King of Babylon before his departure for India, its reference is only to one particular episode, while Jerome is by contrast dealing with Apollonius' entire career. Jerome's acquaintance with Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii* would in any case appear to have been superficial¹⁹. It may therefore be questioned whether this passage of Philostratus has in fact served as Jerome's source here after all²⁰.

If then a debt to the *Vita Apollonii* in Jerome's wording is open to doubt, it would appear certain that this formulation has been influenced by a text of the bible: in spite of all the attention that has been devoted to this sentence, the borrowing has so far escaped

¹⁷ These words are cited in all the discussions documented in nn. 14-15 above. Horsfall misquotes *proficiens* as *profiscens*.

¹⁸ LUEBECK, *op. cit.* (n. 5) 97 n. 3.

¹⁹ Cf. the letter of Aldus Manutius which forms a preface to A. RINUCCINO, *Philostrati de vita Apollonii Tyanei libri octo* (Venice 1501-2) Apoll. 1 recto: *eum (sc. Hieronymum) arbitror ... ne octo quidem Philostrati de vita Apollonii libros accurate legisse*. He then goes on to list a number of discrepancies between Jerome's description of Apollonius' travels and the Philostratean account.

²⁰ While Luebeck's reference to VA 1,41 was repeated by HILBERG, *op. cit.* (n. 13) 445 (*ad loc.*), it is dropped from the *apparatus fontium* in the editions of the letter to Paulinus by both H. QUENTIN, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem, 1: Genesis* (Rome 1926) 7, and LABOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 13) 10.

notice²¹. Jerome had published his translation of the two books of Samuel from the Hebrew in the very year before his letter to Paulinus²². The Hebrew text of 2 Samuel 3,1 reads: *wedhawidh holekh wechazeq*²³. Jerome's own rendering of these words takes the following highly impressive form: *David proficiens et semper se ipso robustior*²⁴. This arresting phraseology has evidently inspired the language of the epistle to Paulinus: *semper proficiens semper se melior*. Vocabulary and word-order are identical; the new context has merely entailed the substitution of *melior* for *robustior*.

At the same time the phrasing of the letter to Paulinus marks a stylistic improvement over that of the bible: it was noted earlier that in this epistle Jerome is especially anxious to impress. The solitary *semper* of the Vulgate has been duplicated to produce an imposing anaphora, while the wording has in addition been streamlined by omission of *et* and *ipso*²⁵; nonetheless the clause still adheres to Behaghel's law²⁶. The result of these modifications is a very power-

²¹ Several reviewers of Hilberg's edition add to the biblical echoes identified in his *apparatus fontium* (viz. C. WEYMAN, in: *Woch. Klass. Phil.* 27 [1910] 1003-1013; E. KLOSTERMANN, in: *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 173 [1911] 192-197, on 193-195; A. SOUTER, in: *Journ. Theol. Stud.* 13 [1912] 148-151, on 150-151; A. VACCARI, in: *Biblica* 1 [1920] 386-390, on 389-390). However none of them deals with the present passage. The recent treatment of this section of the epistle to Paulinus by A. DE VOGÜE, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité, 1: Le monachisme latin; De l'Itinéraire d'Égérie à l'éloge funèbre de Népotien (384-396)* (Paris 1993) 364 with n. 78, merely compares the use of pagan *exempla* at *epist.* 52,1,2 and 52,3,5-6.

²² Cf. P. NAUTIN, art. *Hieronymus*, in: *Theol. Realenzykl.* 15 (1986) 304-315, on 310 ('393').

²³ The LXX is similar: καὶ ὁ οἶκος Δαυὶδ ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἐκραταλοῦτο. No Old Latin version is recorded by P. SABATIER, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae* 1 (Reims 1743) 525.

²⁴ The phrase *semper se ipso robustior* is a very bold and striking way to translate the simple term *chazeq*. Jerome's version of Exod. 19,19, where the Hebrew employs exactly the same locution (*holekh wechazeq*), is more diffuse and far less forceful: *paulatim crescebat in matus et prolixius vendebatur* (sc. *sonitus bucinae*). The same idiom involving participial *halakh* also occurs at the end of the verse currently at issue: in contrast to David the house of Saul was *holekchim wedhallim*. Here Jerome's translation runs simply: *decrescens cotidie*.

²⁵ The elimination of *ipso* also enhances the element of *adnominatio* in *semper se*.

²⁶ On this feature cf. M. VON ALBRECHT, *Masters of Roman Prose from Cato to Apuleius*, updated Engl. transl. by the present writer (ARCA 23, Leeds 1989) index s. v. 'law of increasing members'.

ful formulation indeed: it is not therefore surprising that scribes should have endeavoured to dilute its remarkable concision²⁷. Such enhancement of material that Jerome has appropriated from other sources has already been amply documented elsewhere; cases have been adduced where the provenance is the classics²⁸, the Fathers²⁹ and various works of Jerome's own³⁰. It is now possible to add an instance in which the source is the Vulgate: this passage would seem to be the first of such a kind to be identified.

Souter has observed that 'nothing is more important about Jerome than his connexion with the Latin bible; it is therefore desirable that every echo of biblical language in his writings should be carefully registered'³¹. The present instance is however strikingly different from the ones that Souter had in mind. In the first place it must be classified as a *Selbstzitat*. Since moreover Jerome is here concerned exclusively with flashy phraseology, the words in question have been completely dissociated from their original context and are now given an entirely new application³²: whereas military strength had been at issue in the bible, the reference in the letter to Paulinus is instead to intellectual improvement³³. Moreover

²⁷ One of Hilberg's MSS inserts an *et* before the second *semper*, while two leave out *se*. His earliest MS expands the whole clause; Hilberg fails to notice that the text in question here is in fact that of Defensor's *Liber scintillarum* (26,8). For such later amplification of succinct phraseology elsewhere in Jerome cf. the present writer, *Tertullian's De ieiunio and Jerome's Libellus de virginitate servanda*, in: *Wien. Stud.* 104 (1991) 149-160, on 154-155 with n. 23. Likewise initial *ut* should be preferred to Quentin's banalizing *et*, since the former sets off the anaphora of *semper* more effectively.

²⁸ Cf. (e.g.) the present writer, *Terence's Eunuchus and Jerome*, in: *Rhein. Mus.* 137 (1994) 187-195.

²⁹ Cf. (e.g.) the present writer, *Tertullian's De idololatria and Jerome*, in: *Augustinianum* 33 (1993) 11-30.

³⁰ Cf. the present writer, *Self-imitation in Jerome's Libellus de virginitate servanda*, in: *Athenaeum* n.s. 83 (1995) 469-485.

³¹ SOUTER, *rec. cit.* (n. 21) 149-150.

³² Such employment of borrowed material to serve a totally different purpose is documented in all the studies listed in nn. 28-30 of Jerome's imitation of classical and patristic texts as well as of his own; however the present passage would appear once again to be the first instance of this particular phenomenon to be identified from the Vulgate.

³³ An unjustifiable antithesis between the intellectual and moral spheres is introduced into the wording of this passage by the translation of L. SCHADE, *Des hl. Kirchenvaters Eusebius Hieronymus ausgewählte Briefe*, II. Briefband (*Bibl. d. Kirchenvät.* 2,18, Munich 1937, repr. Nendeln 1968) 244: 'ständig im Wissen

a biblical phrase is now paradoxically applied to a pagan. It would no doubt be fanciful to detect a species of 'christianization' in this procedure; nor is there any reason to suppose that Jerome is hereby endeavouring to counterbalance a plethora of classical allusion in a chapter from which scriptural citation is otherwise absent³⁴. The words in question turn out to be nothing more than yet another instance of Jerome's irrepressible urge to redeploy any kind of showy second-hand phraseology: their significance as a 'commendation' of Apollonius is in consequence proportionately slight.

One final observation should be made concerning Jerome's treatment of Apollonius in the letter to Paulinus. The very last sentence of this passage reads: *scripsit super hoc plenissime octo voluminibus Philostratus* (l. 11). Hilberg bracketed this statement as an interpolation. His interference with the text was however condemned by both Courcelle and Hagendahl³⁵. The view of these two scholars was then buttressed by Antin, who devoted an entire article to demonstrating that the words at issue had indeed been written by Jerome³⁶. The text of this letter published recently by Palla

und in der Tugend Fortschritte zu machen'. Schade evidently thinks that each of the terms *proficiens* and *melior* has its own separate reference; however comparison of 2 Sam. 3,1 shows that both words are synonymous. Moreover the theme of this particular chapter as well as of the letter in general is a progress which is exclusively intellectual; cf. 1,1 p. 443, 3-4 (Hilberg's ed.; *divinarum scripturarum studia*), 1,2 p. 443, 10-13 (*magister ... doctrina ... discipulus ... discere ... litteras*), 1,4 p. 444, 12-13 (*discipulos ... docentem*), 1,4, p. 445, 3 (*disceret*; this word stands immediately before the clause currently at issue) together with (e.g.) 3,1 p. 446, 8-10 (*discere ... discendi ... docibile ... doctore*). Any attempt to import a moral sense into Jerome's description of Apollonius must accordingly be rejected; apart from Schade such an inadmissibly 'moralizing' interpretation is also found in PRICOCO, *art. cit.* (n. 15) 86 n. 21 ('perfezionamento morale') and DZIELSKA, *op. cit.* (n. 15) 178 ('[J.]... emphasized their [*sc.* the travels'] moral aspect'). One further point may be made regarding the translation of this text. According to W.H. FREMANTLE, *The Principal Works of St. Jerome* (Sel. Lib. Nic. Post-Nic. Fath. 2,6, Oxford 1893, repr. Grand Rapids 1954) 97, *proficiens* in this passage signifies 'going to new places'; once again however it is clear from the parallel at 2 Sam. 3,1 that in the letter this term simply denotes non-spatial progress.

³⁴ For additional echoes of the classics here besides those identified in Hilberg's *apparatus fontium* cf. the present writer, *Jerome, Epist. 53,1,2-3: Cyprian, Horace, Vergil*, in: *Sileno* 23 (1997) 87-97.

³⁵ COURCELLE, *op. cit.* (n. 15) 66 n. 1; HAGENDAHL, *op. cit.* (n. 5) 187 n. 2.

³⁶ P. ANTIN, *Authenticité de Jérôme Ep. 53,1,4 (fin)*, in: *Sacr. Erud.* 10 (1958) 359-362 (= *id.*, *Recueil sur S. Jérôme* [Coll. Latomus 95, Brussels 1968] 367-370).

also recognizes the statement as genuine³⁷. The latest *prise de position* comes from Lardet³⁸, who is so confident of the sentence's authenticity that he actually cites it in order to elucidate Jerome's usage elsewhere. Despite this consentaneity the evidence adduced above would seem to invite a re-examination of the issue: the final sentence of this description of Apollonius can perhaps be shown to have been some learned reader's gloss after all.

Several considerations of a general nature may be advanced first. Antin's article is concerned exclusively with establishing that this sentence of the letter to Paulinus 'cadre avec le style de S. Jérôme'³⁹; to this end he adduces numerous parallels. Here the point may be made that the wording in question is unremarkable⁴⁰: such language might have occurred to any annotator⁴¹. Moreover inasmuch as Jerome does evince a partiality for statements of this kind, their frequency in his *oeuvre* might easily have inspired a glossator familiar with it to imitation. Of greater importance is the observation that the instances which Antin cites from Jerome's letters come without exception from ones devoted to exegesis. While unobjectionable in the *genus tenue* of exegetical technicality, a sentence as pedestrian in both style and content as the one currently at issue would be deplorably out of place in an epistle of such exalted literary pretensions as that to Paulinus of Nola.

As well as being a stylistic misfit the sentence is also superfluous. Jerome has already dealt with the question of sources in the phrase that introduces his treatment of all four pagan travellers described

³⁷ R. PALLA and C. MORESCHINI, *S. Gerolamo: Lettere* (Milan 1989) 340 (cf. also 91-92); Palla's reading is registered in the appendix to Hilberg's edition by M. KAMPTNER, *S. Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae 4 (Epistularum indices et addenda; CSEL 56, 2, Vienna 1996) 298*. Hilberg's brackets were also omitted by QUENTIN, *op. cit.* (n. 20) 7; cf. also P. NAUTIN, *Études de chronologie hiéronymienne (393-397)*, in: *Rev. Ét. Aug.* 19 (1973) 213-239, on 227.

³⁸ P. LARDET, *L'Apologie de Jérôme contre Rufin: Un commentaire* (Suppl. Vig. Christ. 15, Leiden 1993) 326.

³⁹ ANTIN, *art. cit.* (n. 36) 361 (= 369).

⁴⁰ For this use of *plene*, which is the only item that might have been thought significant, cf. *Oxf. Lat. Dict.* 1390 (s. v. 1a: 'in speaking, writing, etc.'). The *Thesaurus* article has not yet appeared.

⁴¹ It is noteworthy that Hilberg's earliest MS presents the words in a different configuration: instead of *scripsit super hoc plenissime octo voluminibus Philostratus* the text there reads *et scripsit Philostratus octo voluminibus plenissime*.

in this chapter: *legimus in veteribus historiis* ... (1,2)⁴². A precise reference to eight books of Philostratus would be at odds with the studied imprecision of this initial statement⁴³. Moreover mention of *veteres historiae* is intended to suggest Jerome's familiarity with works that were particularly recondite⁴⁴. Philostratus' *Vita Apollonii* however was not especially 'ancient'; furthermore it would appear to have been recently translated into Latin⁴⁵. Hence there was every reason for Jerome to avoid explicit mention of a text as unlikely to impress as Philostratus' 'Life'. On the other hand the preface to this work does refer to several other accounts of Apollonius (VA 1, 2-3): Jerome would evidently like the reader to conclude that it is from these *recherché* texts that he has derived his knowledge. Corroboration of this view is supplied by the immediately preceding anecdote about the person who came from Cadiz specially to see Livy (1,3). Here Jerome's source is unquestionably the Younger Pliny (*epist.* 2, 3, 8); however Jerome is here at pains to conceal his

⁴² Exactly the same phrase is redeployed shortly afterwards at *epist.* 57,3,2 with the identical purpose of introducing pagan *exempla*; there too no specific source is appended.

⁴³ Here it may be noted that the allusion to the *Vita Apollonii* is immediately preceded by mention of the table of the Sun (l. 9); however Jerome has not taken this information from Philostratus, but from Herodotus instead (cf. COURCELLE, *op. cit.* [n. 15] 69 n. 1).

⁴⁴ The same pretentious purpose is evidently served by the series of long and impressively asyndetic enumerations of the peoples whom Apollonius is alleged to have visited (ll. 2-3 and 7-8).

⁴⁵ Some scholars have in the past suggested that Nicomachus Flavianus, whose involvement at this period with the Philostratean 'Life' is attested by an ambiguous passage in Sidonius Apollinaris (*epist.* 8,3,1), merely copied out the Greek (so PRICOCO, *art. cit.* [n. 15]; A. LOYEN, *Études sur Sidoine Apollinaire*, in: *Rev. Ét. Lat.* 46 [1968] 83-90, on 83-87). Nicomachus would seem however to have produced an actual translation; cf. most recently N. HORSEFALL, *Two Problems of Late Imperial Literary History*, in: *Tria Lustra: Essays and Notes presented to John Pinsent*, ed. by H.D. JOCELYN (*L'pool Class. Pap.* 3, Liverpool 1993) 321-324, on 321-322; *id.*, *art. cit.* (n. 2) 172. There would appear to be an allusion to this rendering by Nicomachus in the *Historia Augusta* (*Aurelian.* 24, 8-9 and 27, 6; cf. [e.g.] C.P. JONES, *An Epigram on Apollonius of Tyana*, in: *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 100 [1980] 190-194, on 194); hence a *terminus ante quem* for the translation can perhaps be deduced. It has been argued recently that the *HA* is in turn echoed by Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis*; cf. the present writer, *The Historia Augusta and Jerome Again*, in: *Klio* 79 (1997) 459-467. Since Jerome's 'Life' would seem to have been published in 386 (so NAUTIN, *art. cit.* [n. 22] 306), Nicomachus' translation of the *Vita Apollonii* must accordingly have been produced before that date.

indebtedness to Pliny, since he wishes to create the impression of personal acquaintance with the more esoteric source to which Pliny himself refers⁴⁶.

The mention of Philostratus in the letter to Paulinus stands at the very end of Jerome's series of pagan *exempla* concerning Pythagoras, Plato, Livy and Apollonius which occupies the whole of the first chapter. These words should accordingly form a fitting climax to this crucially important section of the epistle: in the event their arid and banal insipidity creates an appalling anticlimax. Jerome refers in a contemporaneous letter to the striving for *per fines capitum singulorum acuta quaedam breviterque conclusa* (*epist.* 52,4,1). He is himself highly partial to rounding off a chapter with such epigrammatic cleverness: his use of this technique may involve both *Selbstzitate* and scripture⁴⁷. Evidence was adduced above to show that the formulation which Jerome has borrowed from his own Vulgate version of 2 Samuel 3,1 is a palmary case of such *acuta quaedam breviterque conclusa*: unlike the stodgy reference to Philostratus' eight volumes these words are therefore admirably suited to occupy a position *per fines capitum singulorum*. The inference may accordingly be drawn that this particular chapter was certainly meant to end with the clause *ut semper proficiens semper se melior fieret*; the bibliographic information about Philostratus on the other hand should be deleted as the gloss of an officious interpolator⁴⁸. The description Jerome gives of Apollonius in these

⁴⁶ Cf. A. CAMERON, *The Fate of Pliny's Letters in the Late Empire*, in: *Class. Quart.* n.s. 15 (1965) 289-298, on 293. It may also be observed in this connection that Jerome cites no authority for the extensive knowledge he displays of Plato's travels (1,2-3); on his likely sources here cf. C. KUNST, *De S. Hieronymi Studiis Ciceronianis* (*Diss. Philol. Vindob.* 12,2, Vienna and Leipzig 1918) 190-192.

⁴⁷ For a case entailing self-imitation cf. the present writer, *art. cit.* (n. 30) 473-474 (apropos of *epist.* 22,11,4); Jerome has enhanced the wording in question. Two biblical examples may be adduced from the same letter, where they conclude adjacent chapters (25,6 and 26,4). The afore-mentioned *Selbstzitat* is itself based ultimately on a scriptural text.

⁴⁸ The point may also be made that by concluding ch. 1 with the biblical phraseology of 2 Sam. 3,1 Jerome creates a better transition to ch. 2, which proceeds to deal with exclusively biblical *exempla* of travel for the sake of knowledge. Similarly *hominibus* in the opening clause of ch. 2 (*quid loquar de saeculi hominibus* ...) picks up *vir* at the beginning of the short sentence that ends with the echo of 2 Sam. (*invenit ille vir ubique* ...): the link is obliterated by interposing a reference to Philostratus.

words accordingly conforms to type as one of his characteristically scintillating codas to a chapter: for that very reason however it must forfeit much of its importance as an objective index of Jerome's estimate of the individual concerned. The 'approbation' which this meretricious and rehashed finale seems to accord to Apollonius cannot after all be regarded as seriously inconsistent with the judgments that Jerome passes on him elsewhere.

Studien zur lateinischen Fassung des Psalmenkommentars des Theodorus von Mopsuestia

von
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Die stilistisch höchst ambitionierte Bearbeitung des Julian von Aeclanum ist für Psalm 1-16 vollständig erhalten, für 17-40 in zwei auf Julian basierenden Rezensionen, von denen die eine den Juliantext in der Regel wörtlich, aber leider nur auszugsweise ausschreibt, die andere in der Sache vollständig, aber meist nur in Form einer Epitome¹, in der die Übersetzung Julians als Grundstock sprachlich tlw. nivelliert und inhaltlich mit sekundären Interpretamenten angereichert wurde. Für Psalm 41-150 ist lediglich diese Epitome erhalten. Darüber hinaus bildet bisweilen der Kommentar des Theodorus-Julian den Grundstock für ein neues Scholion-Gebilde, ein Umstand, der von den Herausgebern bislang als solcher nicht immer berücksichtigt wurde. Ich begnüge mich damit, lediglich eine Partie vorzustellen: In Psalm 87, 18 wird die feindliche Belagerung im Bild eines von Wassern Umgebenen veranschaulicht: *grandis est et a loco et tempore exaggeratio aerumnarum*:

- (a) *aqua siquidem nos ambiente nulla pars corporis intacta relinquetur, die in maerore consumpto non erit lucis tempus reliquum quod possit esse solacium;*
- (b) *ita me et iniquorum multitudo vallavit ut solent aquae facere.*

¹ Die Epitome setzt bereits in 16, 11^b ein, so daß für 16, 11^b-16 Ende Original und Epitome im Detail verglichen werden können.

(c) *Si in aquarum medium quis descenderit, ita eius omne corpus ambitur ut nulla pars esset intacta.*

Was die bisherigen Editoren als einheitliches Scholion drucken, ist in Wirklichkeit – wie oben durch die Buchstaben gekennzeichnet – ein Konglomerat verschiedenen Ursprungs: (a) geht wegen seines Gehaltes und seiner sprachlichen Ausformung auf Julian zurück, (b) ist eine mit (a) konkurrierende Erklärung, in der die Metapher schulmäßig aufgelöst wird (den gleichen Bearbeiter können wir etwa zu Psalm 89, 9^{b-c} [s. u. S. 93f.] oder 93, 5^{a-6} [p. 317, 27-29] greifen), und (c) schließlich stellt eine (a) voraussetzende und daraus schöpfende sekundäre Alternativnote dar.

Die Überlieferung basiert, abgesehen von einigen fragmentarischen Textzeugen, allein auf dem Ambrosianus C 301 inf., einem Codex irischer Herkunft aus der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts (CLA III Nr. 326). – Nach drei unbefriedigenden Editionen (Ascoli [1878], Stokes-Strachan [1901] und Devreesse [1939, wo zudem die Epitome nur im Auszug abgedruckt ist]) wird die erste kritische Ausgabe L. De Coninck verdankt (Turnholti 1978 [CC LXXXVIII A]), der auf Vorarbeiten von Baxter, Bouwman, Bulhart und Vaccari aufbauen konnte. Daß auch diese – gute – Edition an manchen Stellen noch gebessert werden kann, sollen die folgenden Noten belegen². Dabei wird sich zeigen, daß in vielen Fällen ein genauer Blick auf das für eine Reihe von Psalmen noch in den Catenen tlw. erhaltene griechische Original³ der Textgestaltung hätte förderlich sein können.

I 43 *parvulus enim per illud tempus, in quo <a> loada pontifice nutritus est etc.* Vgl. p. 5, 2 (*Ioas rex*) qui a loada principe sacerdotum ... nutritus est.

III 9 *velut deflens et conquerens beatus David inducitur, eo quod ad augendam tribulationem eius multiplicatus sit numerus persequentium, et ad bellum ei inferendum convenerint etiam hi qui prius non fuerant inimici, quorum quidem auxerit numerum partis adversae.*

² Zitiert wird nach der Nummer des Psalms und der Zeile bei De Coninck. Berücksichtigt wurden dort nicht die wertvollen Emendationen von Chr. Schaublin (*Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der antiochenischen Exegese* [Theophaneia 23], Köln-Bonn 1974 passim).

³ Ediert von R. DEVRESSE, *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les psaumes (I-LXXX)* [Studi e Testi 93], Città del Vaticano 1939.

Dem abschließenden Relativsatz fehlt ein Subjekt: Am ökonomischsten scheint *quorum quidem auxerit* <numerus> *numerus partis adversae*.

V 141 *iustum est illos sententiam damnationis excipere, quia convenienter pro vitae merito sustinebunt*. Künftige Höllenqualen sind nicht Grund (*quia*), sondern Folge des Richterspruches: *quam... sustinebunt*.

VI 65 (Tempusvertauschung) *nam pro eo quod est 'lavi' et 'rigavi', ut sequenter dicto superiori possit adiungi, 'lavabo' posuit et 'rigabo'*. Das für Literalexegese entscheidene Kriterium der inneren Logik wird bei Julian (wie in der Epitome) ausnahmslos mit *consequenter* wiedergegeben; aus gut 20 Belegen seien angeführt 2, 191 *consequenter ergo superioribus iunguntur ista quae subdidit* und 38, 96 *hoc ergo dictis superioribus consequenter adiecit*. Entsprechend sollte hier <con>sequenter hergestellt werden, liegt doch nur eine Haplographie (*u* *sequenter*) vor.

VI 90 *semper non <ero (add. Devr.)> ergo in angoribus quoniam exaudiet me Dominus*. Ein konklusives *ergo* ist inhaltlich funktionslos – nach dem Lemma geht ein *hoc <est> itaque* voraus –, und seine Stellung an der 3. oder 4. Position des Satzes ist höchst verächtlich. Daraus folgt, daß aus *ergo* ein *ero* herzustellen ist.

VIII 6 ... *quando prophetiae ac prophetato testimonium opera rediderunt*. Eine leere und rhetorisch funktionslose Tautologie! Erst mit *prophetiae* gewinnt der Passus Prägnanz. Die umgekehrte Verschreibung hat man bereits in XIII 36 behoben.

VIII 70 *atque ideo etiam beatus David, immo sancti Spiritus gratia, ita dispensavit, ut hic prophetia, quae in Christo dicta est, alia quae evidenter facta sunt miscerentur, etc.* Ein *prophetia* sprengt die Konstruktion des Satzes: Selbstverständlich ist *huic prophetiae* zu lesen.

X 76 (zu N. 4^b *iustus autem quid fecit?*) *schema interrogantis et velut quaerentis inducitur*. Aber *interrogantis* kann nicht durch ein *velut(!)* *quaerentis* fortgeführt werden. Es handelt sich um eine indignierte Frage: *velut querentis*. *Velut* deshalb, weil es selbst dem Gerechten nicht zusteht, bei Gott zu klagen. Vgl. III 9 *velut deflens et conquerens beatus David inducitur*.

XI 158 (zu 9^b *secundum altitudinem tuam elevasti filios hominum*)... *tu autem sublimior es et praestantior, qui nos de impiorum medio, velut in edito positos, possis eripere et in superioris loci munitione erutos collocare*. Schon aus dem Lemma ergibt sich, daß wir positus zu schreiben haben.

XII 29 *dicta sunt autem haec illorum maxime tempore, quo adversum eum Abessalon surrexit improbitas*. *Illorum* besitzt im Zusammenhang kein Bezugswort. Ich lese daher *illo*. Vgl. ebd. 90 *erant autem id temporis hi, quos in impugnationem eius Abessalon factio congregaret*.

XIII 56 *necesse est ut quorum studia ad effundendum sanguinem sunt semper intenta, [ut] eorum lingua sit ad decipiendum parata*.

XIII 99 'Nonne sciant omnes...'. Z. 101. 114 und 120 (jeweils *scient*) legen zwingend nahe, auch im Lemma das Futurum herzustellen.

XVIII 15 ('*opera manuum eius annuntiat firmamentum*'), '*firmamentum*' utique hoc caelum visibile quod intuemur, manu <eius> se propemodum formatum ipsa sui facie confitetur (ergänzt aus der Epitome).

XXXVIII 35 Unter den Gründen für ein unterschiedlich langes Leben: *compassiones* etiam, ut aliud membrum alterius membri sentiret vel incommodum vel dolorem, sensus iniecit (sc. Deus). Weder als Attribut noch als Praedikatsnomen kann *compassiones* verwendet werden. Ich lese *compassionis* (sc. sensus).

XL 6 *quod quidem <et> in aliis psalmis, qui sub hoc argumento scripti sunt, sollicite curat ostendere*. Die Ergänzung wäre erforderlich, auch wenn wir nicht das griechische Original besäßen: ὁ καὶ ἐτέρωθι πολλαχού ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης ψαλμοῖς ἐπισημνηνόμενος φαίνεται (p. 254, 2 Devr.).

Epitome

XVI 10 *consilia quae adversum me concipiunt[ur] praeparantque captioni, festinum defensionis tuae numen* (immo *munimen* [Iul. cod. R]) *excludat*. Ob man für die Epitome *munimen* bessern darf, kann nicht entschieden werden, da für Julian selbst hier der Ambrosianus nicht zur Verfügung steht. Zu bessern ist aber aus Julian *concipiunt*, wie aus dem parallelen *praeparant* ersichtlich ist.

XVII 14 (V. 3 *Protector meus et cornu salutis meae*) *A similitudine animalium cornu incurrentia proterrentium, vindicem sui divinam operam confitetur*. Doch wohl proterrentium (die Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts verzeichnet sechs Belege für *proterere* im exegetischen Corpus des Julian).

XVII 26 *totum autem <a> similitudine dicit parientis etc.* Verwiesen sei nur auf die gerade zuvor behandelte Stelle.

XVII 145 *quod mitis sit bonis et severus malis*. Im Psalm wird der Herr in der 2. Person angeredet. In der Paraphrase wird diese in Z. 143 *ad sanctos sancta facies* bzw. 144 *ages* beibehalten. Wir haben also auch hier sis herzustellen.

XVII 199 *nec pedem referrem, donec multi corruant et iniqui collapsi fuerant, conterantur, ac persequentem ferre non possint*. Ein Indikativ *fuerant* fällt aus der Konstruktion. Mit *et iniqui, <qui> collapsi fuerant, conterantur* kommt die Grammatik ins Lot.

XVIII 20 Die Natur offenbart ihren Schöpfer ohne Worte: *in laudem Dei naturalis elementorum attestatio et quaedam sine arte vox cunctis gentibus nota est, cum humani sermonis officia apud linguae ignaros muta plerumque sint*. Für das hier wenig sinnträchtige *arte* wird man art<iculation>e schreiben: Vgl. ebd. 26 *caelorum ergo, dierum ac noctium non talis est qualis articulatae vocis oratio* (und Julian XXXII 37 *consuevimus autem, cum verba proferimus, spiritum hunc, id est aerem, lingua percutientes articulatam vocem reddere*). Im übrigen scheint das gesamte Interpretament eine sekundäre Alternativfassung für die gedanklich und sprachlich präzisieren Noten zu Vers 3 und 5^a darzustellen. Der sekundäre Charakter zeigt sich auch darin, daß die Note nicht zum Lemma (Vers 4) paßt.

XX 20 *nam et tanti exercitus vastatio et solis praestatio atque regressio clarum eius apud gentes nomen effecit* (-ficit R De Coninck). Für das unverständliche *solis* lese ich salutis. Vgl. ebd. 6 *pro salute ex te praestita*.

XXI 45 (Lemma Vers 11^a) †*iniectus† sum ex utero*, was erklärt wird *tuae tutelae a parentibus commissus*. Das Lemma lautet also gemäß LXX und Hebr. *in <te pro>iectus*.

XXI 82 *omnia scrutati sunt opera, ex quibus rebus confiderem vel inniterer sollicitate quaesierunt*. Indes wäre *confidere ex aliqua re*

anstelle von *confidere* + Abl. für die Sprache unseres Epitomators singular. Aus der hier wörtlich ausgeschriebenen Vorlage (p. 110, 32) ist *et* zu bessern.

ebd. 89 *evangelista autem in Deo pro rerum similitudine hoc testimonio usus est etc.* Iohannes 19, 24 gilt Jesus am Kreuze (*diviserunt sibi vestimenta etc.*): Daß *Domino* gelesen werden muß, erweist der entsprechende Hinweis im argumentum Z. 2 *Domini ultima in cruce oratio docuit ad quem debeat hic psalmus referri.* Auch in der Theodorus-Übersetzung im Constitutum Vigili 24 (Coll. Avell. p. 258, 104 G.) findet sich natürlich *Domino: et evangelista quidem in Domino verba ex rebus adsumens eis usus est.*

XXV 35 *verentur, ne... mutarentur* (De Coninck: *moterentur A: motentur R*): Auch unser Epitomator folgt meist den Regeln der *consecutio temporum*. Statt per Konjektur einen Verstoß einzuführen, wird man aus dem zweiten (unabhängigen) Textzeugen *mutentur* gewinnen und somit eine hinsichtlich der Tempora der Vorlage (*ne... mutetur* [p. 123, 48]) entsprechende Fassung herstellen.

XXVIII 53 *dispersis et succisis Assyriis, quorum multitudo instar silvae erat, locum nudavit quem agmine suo occupaverat.* Wer ist Subjekt des abschließenden Relativsatzes? Doch wohl *Assyrii: occupavera<n>t.* Vgl. ebd. 60 *locum quem impleverant* (sc. *Assyrii*).

XXIX 25 *cum gratiarum actione omni memores eius estote semper.* Aber *gratiarum actio* erhält bei – mehr als dutzend Belegen – niemals ein Attribut. Der Psalmist fordert *alle* auf, dem Herrn zu danken (*CONFITEMINI*): *omnes*: Vgl. *omnes ad reddenda hortatur officia gratiarum* (ebd. zu 24 [PSALLITE]).

XXXIII 18 *vos quoque si conveneritis ad precandum Dominum pro nostris commodis, contingetur, et pro nostra illum defensione laudetis; et eritis meriti nostri participes, si fueritis consortes officii.* Da *pro nostris commodis* parallel zu *pro nostra ... defensione* aufzufassen ist (*pro* ist jeweils im Sinne von 'gemäß' zu verstehen), läßt sich aus dem unverständlichen *contingetur* allein durch eine Änderung der Interpunktion ein sinnvoller Ausdruck gewinnen: *vos quoque si conveneritis ad precandum Dominum, pro nostris commodis contingetur; et pro nostra etc.* Vgl. Theod. p. 160, 6 Devr. ἐξέσται γὰρ φησι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως προσελθοῦσιν αὐτῷ καὶ αἰτησαμένοις τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν τυχεῖν τῆς τε βοηθείας καὶ ἀντιλήψεως.

XXXVI 19 (Vers 3 *spera in Domino et fac bonum*) *quia finis est boni <operi>s spes in Deum, primum in Deum credendum est, deinde studendum est virtuti*. Vgl. Iulian ad loc. *ut non infructuose, sed propter spem in Deum positam boni operis voluntatem intentionemque succenderet*.

ebd. 43 *etsi ad breve tempus circa malorum operum homines ultio differatur, non tamen in longum perditionis eorum sententia protrahetur*. Lemma (*quoniam qui nequiter agunt, exterminabuntur*), Theodorus (δῶσουσι [p. 210, 11 Devr.]) und nicht zuletzt die Regeln der Syntax verlangen *protrahetur*.

XXXVII 28 (Vers 6 *computuerunt et putruerunt cicatrices meae*) *quoniam fuerunt importabilia <vulnera> sicut onus grave, ideo malum eorum immedicabile factum est etc.* Weil das grammatisch exakt entsprechende Bezugswort für *importabilia* und *eorum* weder im Lemma noch in den vorhergehenden Noten genannt worden ist, wird man das Nomen parallel zu Theodors Formulierung διὰ τοῦτό φησι γέγονε μεγάλα τὰ τραύματα μου οὐκέτι ἴασιν ἐπιδεχόμενα (p. 224, 15 Devr.) ergänzen.

XXXIX 5 *perseverantia[m] longanimitatis usum esse dicit se etc.* Auch der Epitomator pflegt *uti* mit dem Ablativ zu verbinden.

ebd. 63 Ein Dankeslied für die Befreiung aus der babylonischen Gefangenschaft: *quia de periculis mortis abduxeras* (De Coninck: *oboeduxeras* cod.). Die Korruptel weist m. E. eher auf *oboed<ientes ed>uxeras*. (*Ab*)*ducere* verlangt nach einem Objekt, und daß eben *oboedientes* herzustellen ist, legt die vorausgegangene Erklärung zum gleichen Vers nahe: *pro iusta defensione quam merebatur oboediens* (ebd. 60).

XL 66 Den Freund erkennt man in der Not: *quoniam tam apertos inimicos quam fictos amicos languoris mei tempora prodiderunt, tu, inquit, miserans me suscita [atque (del. De Coninck)] ab hac infirmitate, liberato ut persequar infideles animo ultione*. Diese Athetese empfiehlt sich allein schon nicht ob der in der Epitome beispieldosen Nachstellung von *ut*. Aus Theodorus (... σύ φησιν ἐλέησας ἀνάστησον καὶ ἀπάλλαξον τῆς κακώσεως [p. 258, 22 Devr.]) ist *suscita atque ... libera⁴, ut persequar etc.* zu gewinnen.

⁴ An einen Imperativ *liberato* wird man schwerlich denken können.

XLI 27 Erläutert wird ein *haec recordatus: cum ista scilicet audiens meminissem status prioris*. *Ista* gibt *haec* wieder, aber worauf bezieht sich *scilicet*? Aus Theodorus ταῦτα ἃ ἐξῆς μέλλει λέγειν. Ἀκούων γάρ φησι παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοιαῦτα καὶ ὑπομνησκοόμενος τῶν παλαιῶν κτλ. (p. 262, 5 Devr.) erhellt, daß in der Epitome, in der beide Erklärungen zusammengeschweißt sind, zu ergänzen ist: *cum ista – <sequentia> scilicet – audiens etc.*

ebd. 41 *qui supra dixerat '...', bene nunc subiecit '...'*. Der Sinn erfordert eine kausale Konjunktion entsprechend Theodorus ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν ἄνω (p. 263, 12 Devr.), wie ein Schreiber schon gefühlt hat, der am Rande des einzigen codex ein *vel quoniam* notiert. Ich lese *qui<a>*, was in diesem Zusammenhang die übliche Konjunktion darstellt (vgl. etwa unten zu Z. 63).

ebd. 63 *secutus est eam quam instituerat comparationis figuram, ut quia 'abyssos' nominaverat hostiles exercitus, per eandem tractationem, tamquam de mari loqueretur, 'excelsa' et 'fluctus' adiecit etc.* Nicht *per eandem tractationem*, sondern *per ... translationem* wird die *comparatio* fortgeführt. Vgl. LXVIII 75 *ERIPE ME DE LVTO per translationem verborum indicat mala etc.*

XLIII 13 *scilicet quae vel in Aegypto vel in eremo vel quae <in> ingressu terrae repromissionis effecta erant* (Haplographie). Drei Präpositionen finden wir auch bei Theodorus (p. 270, 3 Devr.) vor.

XLIV 10 *titulus quoque instar argumenti est: 'pro his qui commutati sunt' id est renovandi per Evangelium*. Sowohl die Paraphrase als auch der Titulus (*pro his qui commutabuntur*) empfehlen, *commutandi* zu bessern.

ebd. 125 Zu Vers 12^b *Quia ipse est Dominus Deus tuus et adorabis eum: bene et competenter Christus Ecclesiae etiam 'Dominus Deus' dicitur, quod inter homines non est*. In der überlieferten Fassung bleibt das letzte Kolon unverständlich. Inhalt der Psalmen-Perikope ist 'die königliche Braut, die sich dem Herrn verbindet', was laut Theodorus auf die *ecclesia* als Braut Christi zu beziehen sei, nicht auf die historische Gestalt des Salomon und seine irdische Braut. Folglich ist mit *Dominus Deus* Christus gemeint, nicht Salomon, dem dieser Titel bei den Menschen nicht zustehe: *quod inter homines <Salomon> non est*. Mit der Ergänzung gewinnen wir den entsprechenden Gedanken der Vorlage zurück: καὶ μὴν οὐκ

ἦν τῶν ιδίων γαμετῶν κύριος ὁ Σολομών, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀρμόττον (p. 293, 25 Devr.).

XLV 27 '*conturbati sunt*' – *ipsi reges* – '*montes in fortitudine eius*'. Wenn der um Kürze bestrebte Epitomator Erklärungen in das Lemma einschweift, so pflegt er diese ausnahmslos nach dem zu erklärenden Begriff zu postieren. *Ipsi reges* und *montes* sind also umzustellen.

ebd. 54 *Beatus Esaias... conversus ad gentes exprobranter loquitur... hic vero monitu erudit suos*. Mit fast den gleichen Worten, die Esaias gegenüber den Ungläubigen gebraucht hat, wendet sich *hic* an sein eigenes Volk. Aber wer? Aufschluß bringt Theodorus ὁ μὲν οὖν μακάριος Ἡσαίας ... ὁ δὲ μακάριος Δαυὶδ κτλ. (p. 304, 21 Devr.). Daß entsprechend der Vorlage aus *hic* der bisher in der Erklärung dieses Psalms noch nicht gefallene Name des *David* herzustellen ist, zeigt die analoge Interpretation Z. 63 *Esaias dixerat... David vero etc.*⁵ (auch wenn David dem Interpreten als Sänger aller Psalmen gilt, so wird er doch niemals mit einem Pronomen in absoluter Stellung als Redender eingeführt).

ebd. 73 ... *psalmus laude ipsius liberatoris obsignatur* (De Coninck: *obsignat* cod.), *per hoc asserens etc.* Nicht im Prädikat, sondern im angeblichen Subjekt *psalmus* liegt die Korruptel verborgen. Schon *asserens*, wozu sich schwerlich ein sächliches Subjekt fügt, rät an, eine Person als Subjekt zum überlieferten *obsignat* einzuführen und die Syntax vermittelt *psalmum... obsignat* (sc. der Psalmist; vgl. ebd. 12 *inquit*, 16 *dicit*, 24 *exprimeret* usw., stets absolut) in Ordnung zu bringen. So selbstverständlich auch Theodorus p. 305, 26 Devr. ἐπισφραγίζει τὸν ψαλμόν.

XLVIII 36 Am jüngsten Tag hat der Arme (*afflictus*) nur seine Schandtaten zu fürchten: ... *si iniqua hominem et indecora gesta circumdent, quibus solis ad [de]liberationem impeditur afflictorum divinum auxilium*. Behandelt wird die Voraussetzung einer ἀπαλλαγὴ (Theod. p. 318, 12 Devr.) *afflictorum*. Das falsche *deliberatio* ist lediglich Resultat eines Perseverationsfehlers aus Z. 32 *deliberans proponit*.

⁵ Diese Parallele schließt aus, die Korruptel mit einer Ergänzung *hic vero <David>* zu heilen.

XLIX 12 (*Deus ... vocavit terram a solis ortu usque ad occasum*)... *Dei persona <omnem / universam> terram evocantis inducitur* (πᾶσαν συγκαλῶν τὴν γῆν [p. 325, 3 Devr.]). In der Epitome selbst ist ebd. 15 *universam terram* und 20 *omnem terram ad audiendum vocaret* zu vergleichen.

L 4 (*prophetat quae supplicationis verba et liberationis verba facienda sint*). Unser Epitomator zeichnet sich durch prägnante Kürze aus und pflegt nicht zwei parallele Genetive identischen Nomina anzuschließen: Das zweite *verba* wird man entweder tilgen oder zu *vota* ändern.

LI 17 Über den Verräter: *Assyriis rem gessisse quam nobis*. Bulharts Ergänzung *<magis> Assyriis* wird vom jüngsten Herausgeber mit dem Argument zurückgewiesen, daß auch der (Bulhart noch nicht bekannte) zweite Textzeuge kein *magis* aufweise. Ein gewichtiger Grund ist wohl darin zu sehen, daß *quam* im Sinne von *magis (potius) quam* in der Spätantike geläufig ist (vgl. H.-Sz. 593f.).

IV 39 *DEVs, VITAM MEAM usque TIBI. omne secretum curarum mearum <tibi> tamquam potenti auxiliatori commisi*. Die genaue Position für die vom Sinn geforderte Ergänzung (vgl. Theodorus σοι ἀνεθέμην, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμαυτὸν σοι ἐπέρριψα [p. 366, 18 Devr.]) läßt sich nicht ausmachen.

LVII 27 ... (*dicuntur*) 'errasse' *idem qui incedere* (De Coninck: *intercedere* cod.) *nequierunt*. Der Irrende vermag sich sehr wohl noch fortzubewegen, allein von dem rechten Weg (des Gesetzes) ist er abgekommen: *qui iter <legis in>cedere nequierunt* (ex. gr.). Vgl. Theod. ἐξότε φησὶν ἐτέχθησαν, πλανώμενοι διατελοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδέποτε τοῖς αὐτοῦ δόγμασιν ἐμμένοντες (p. 377, 4 Devr.).

ebd. 79 Innerhalb der Interpretation von Vers 12 ('Wenn dem Gerechten ein Lohn ist, wird der Herr ihm helfen') wird der Sinn des Konditionalsatzes erklärt: *determinatorie legendum, dubitatione exclusa; est prorsus Deus qui agit curam piorum et omne quod erga eos est iusta lance disponit, ulciscaturque illos qui vexare cupiunt innocentes*. Ein im Konjunktiv Präsens zum Ausdruck kommender Wunsch *ulciscatur* stünde im Widerspruch zur Intention des Exegeten, interpretiert er doch den Konditionalsatz im Sinne einer sicheren Gewißheit (*determinatorie legendum, dubitatione exclusa*): Zwingend erforderlich ist also neben *disponit* ein ulciscitur.

LVIII 49 (Nach dem Lemma:) *vel certe: non simplici etc. – intereat*. Es handelt sich um eine alternative Erklärung, der ihr ursprünglicher Platz nach dem ersten Interpretationsvorschlag (Z. 51 *per interrogationem legendum* – 54 *tuae*) wiederzugeben ist.

LXI 4 (David spricht in diesem Psalm *ex persona Machabaeorum*) ... *id temporis cum vel sacrificare <idolis> vel a Dei notitia deviare ab Antiocho rege cogere*ntur. Die Opferhandlung allein stellt noch keine Abwendung von Gott dar. An entsprechender Stelle lesen wir bei Theodorus: θῦσαι τοῖς εἰδώλοις (p. 401, 20 Devr.).

LXIV 21 *nos vero ista quae patimur pro eo quod impie in te egimus, iuste omnia sustinemus, sed reatum nostrum veniae impetratione* (*impetratione* v. l.) *dissolve*. Gnade zu erfordern, wäre ein Widerspruch in sich; Gnade wird geschenkt (*impertitione*). Vgl. etwa p. 244, 7 *in tribulationibus positus opem miserationis impertiat*; 255, 7 *ut velox mihi adiutorium festinus impertias*. Substantivisches *impertitio* ist für Julian ap. Aug. c. Julian. op. imperf. 5, 9 belegt (*i. beneficii*).

ebd. 40 *nihil per se aut ex aliquo, sed <omnia> tua operatione et virtute subsistunt*.

LXV 85 ... *et a malis, quae urgebant me, liberavit*. Me ist in Wahrheit Akkusativobjekt zu *liberavit*: ἀπήλλαξέ με τῶν κατεχόντων κακῶν (p. 425, 20 Devr.).

LXVIII 2 *in tempore Machabaeorum profetali spiritu hoc carmen scribitur et personis causisque eiusdem aetatis conveniens aptatur oratio*. David singt nicht zur Zeit der Machabaeer, sondern kündigt Ereignisse dieser Zeit: Es muß *in tempora* heißen, wie etwa p. 231, 4 *in Machabaeorum tempora etiam istam dirigit prophetiam* und v. a. p. 205, 2 *in tempora Machabaeorum carmen istud... praecinitur* erweisen.

ebd. 75 *ERIPERE ME DE LVTO VT NON HAEREAM per translationem verborum indicat mala quae patiuntur*. Abstrahere me, inquit, etc. Auch der Epitomator pflegt *pati* nicht passivisch zu verwenden. Angesprochen sind, wie Lemma und die zweite Paraphrase zeigen, die Leiden nur einer Person (*patitur*): vgl. 91 *considera mala, quae patior* und 98 *quae patior*.

ebd. 94 ... *saltem adversariorum ad miserationem nequam te conatus impellat*. Während des ganzen Psalms sprechen Psalmist und

Interpret von Anfeindungen der Feinde, ja, im ganzen Corpus findet in diesem Zusammenhang ausnahmslos pluralisches *conatus* Verwendung: Wir sollten also *impellant* bessern.

ebd. 99 'So sehr leide ich unter den Angriffen', *ut deiecta in terram facie insolentias exprobrantium ferre non possim* (correxī: -sum cod.).

LXXI 65 *QVIA LIBERAVIT PAVPEREM A POTENTE causa cur currit tanto honore sublimis*. Von irgendeiner Art der Fortbewegung ist nicht die Rede: Mit V ist *sit* (*est* (?) R) zu lesen, wie ebd. 78 *erit ergo honoratus etc.* anrät. Die Lesart *currit* resultiert lediglich aus einer Dittographie.

LXXII 72 Zweifel an der ausbleibenden Bestrafung des Unrechts führen zur Frage nach Gott selbst: *putasne, est providentia si non est vindex? hoc est enim quod ait: quomodo scit si non ulciscetur? ut sequatur: qui non punit nescit, neque est proinde*. Die Frage kann nur lauten: Kennt Gott das Unrecht, wenn er nicht straft (*ulciscitur*)? Ein Futur widerstrebt der Logik.

LXXIII 68 *quam ad finem exprobrantes nobis et alia loquentes, quae te possint in vindictam iustissime commovere, securos esse patieris?* Aufgrund einer Randglosse *finis incerti generis est* drucken die Herausgeber den exquisiten Barbarismus *quam*. Da aber im ganzen Corpus ausnahmslos, wie nicht anders beim Sprachkünstler Julian und seinem Epitomator zu erwarten, *finis* generis masculini gebraucht ist, ist *quam* lediglich auf eine triviale Verschreibung von a/e zurückzuführen. Der Passus erfordert noch eine weitere Korrektur: Entsprechend τοιαῦτα bei Theodorus (p. 494, 2 Devr.) wird man <t>*alia* herstellen (Haplographie).

ebd. 103 *Etham regio est per quam meat Iordanes, cuius provinciae rex filium suum gratulatum cum muneribus ad David misit, quia aemulum eius rex exstinxit*. Man braucht nicht 2 Rg 8, 10 nachzuschlagen, um festzustellen, daß *rex* nicht richtig sein kann: David erhält Dankesgeschenke dafür, daß er Adadezer, des Königs Nebenbuhler, aus dem Wege geräumt hat. Die beste Lösung stellt nicht ein *regem*, sondern die Tilgung der Glosse *rex* dar.

LXXVII 41 *ET MANDATA EIVS EXQVIRANT dum memores sunt quae fecit, solliciti sunt ad cognoscenda, quae iussit*. Überliefert ist *quae eius sunt*, was ein Blick auf das Lemma als eindeutig richtig erweist.

Man muß lediglich, ebenfalls aus dem Lemma, das Subjekt ergänzen: *quae eius sunt <mandata>*, welcher Ausdruck dem προσέταξεν der Vorlage (p. 520, 6 Devr.) ebenso gut entspricht wie ein *iussit*.

LXXVIII 74 *pro his ergo omnibus ... opprobriis, quibus nos moliebantur aspergere, meritissimi[s] obruantur*.

LXXIX 78 (Erläutert wird ein *dirige*) *statum pristinum reforma[t] totius absolutione culpae* (Dittographie).

LXXX 68 (Gott beklagt die Abkehr seines Volkes) *si vel paruiisset praeceptis vel credidisset promissis, illata* (de Coninck: *inlaborata* cod.) *fuisse adversus omnes hostes mea pro plebe defensio*. Auch hier verbietet sich ein Eingriff: *Inlaborata* ist die Übersetzung des entsprechenden παδίως (p. 560, 17 Devr.). Eine Reihe von Belegen für *illaboratus* bei Julian hat Baxter, ALMA 21 (1951), 32f. gesammelt.

LXXXIII 31 ... *secum expostulant, cur in illis pactis non manserint* (correxi: -runt ω) *quae apud patres in Lacrimarum valle firmata sunt*. Auch der Verfasser der Epitome pflegt im abhängigen Fragesatz den Konjunktiv zu setzen (ebenso wie er im relativischen Nebensatz zweiten Grades regelmäßig den Indikativ gebraucht).

LXXXV 8 (Bitte um Hilfe: *quoniam egenus*): *exercituum me ob seditione consumpto; ergo impar viribus sum, te convenit adiuvere*. Mittels einer anderen Interpunktion läßt sich ein geschlossenes und stilistisch befriedigendes Satzgefüge gewinnen: *exercituum me o. c. – ergo impar viribus sum – te convenit adiuvere*.

ebd. 77 Unsere Feinde haben uns verspottet, weil sie sahen, daß unser Gott nicht geholfen hat, jetzt aber sollen sie sehen (*videant*): *cum adiuvari nos viderint; quod cum irrisione desperarent* (*desperaverant* R: -verunt V). Der Sinn erfordert *quos ... despexerant*. Der so gewonnene Ausdruck entspricht 85, 38 *quem Assyrii blasphemando despexerant*.

LXXXVIII 124 ... *faciam eos ignavorum more spem salutis in [fugiendo] pedibus collocare*. *Fugiendo* ist ein Glossem zu *pedibus*.

LXXXIX 46 *ita omnis vita nostra sine mora consumpta est, ut facile araneorum ossa rumpuntur*. Der Psalmist spricht aber nicht von 'Knochen', sondern von 'Gespinst' (*orsa* [R]). So auch das als sol-

ches von den Herausgebern nicht abgetrennte zweite Scholion zur Stelle, *sicut 'aranae' quippe 'meditabuntur', id est festinant in telas sedulo - sic aetas nostra instantium malorum assiduitate detrita est, nullas per hostes indutias adepta est laboris*. Dieses zweite Scholion geht, wie allein schon der sprachliche Ausdruck bekundet, auf Julian selbst zurück, während die erste Note sprachlich und sachlich ein Werk des gleichen schulmeisterlichen Überarbeiters ist, dessen Hand wir schon in Ps 87, 18 (s. 81f.) kennengelernt haben.

XC 74 e[z] *magnitudine caedis hostilis servato populo parabo gloriam* (wiedergegeben wird ein *eripiam*).

XCi 39 *Merito tu 'altus' es 'in aeternum', quando peccatorum momentanea est celsitudo quidem, [peccatorum est temporalis prosperitas et poena perpetua], tu autem gloria longe dissimilis, cuius magnitudo et sublimitas nullis aevi finibus terminatur*. Ich habe das Kolon *peccatorum - perpetua* als sekundäres Glossem ausgeschieden, in dem (mit dem gleichen Neuansatz von *peccatorum est*) der präziöse Ausdruck *momentanea est celsitudo* aufgelöst wird. *Celsitudo* hat seine Entsprechung im folgenden *sublimitas* und wird somit als ursprünglich erwiesen.

ebd. 58 *vult ergo ostendere quod sunt adiutoria Dei laxata, quae etiam in praesenti tempore adhibita in tanta* (de Coninck: *ita* cod.) *dignitate populum custodierint*. Vielmehr wird man *ita* als Dittographie tilgen.

XCV 61 *in honorem itaque Dei omnia quam laetitia quam timore compleantur*. Doch wohl *tam* - *quam*.

XCVII 2 *argumentum psalmi <praesentis gratiarum actio pro> soluta captivitate est; iungitur exhortatio etc.* Ohne eine Ergänzung wäre der Satz nicht sinnvoll konstruierbar. Der übliche Ausdruck für 'Danksagung' stellt in den Einleitungen eben *gratiarum actio* dar, was sich auch stilistisch passend zum folgenden *exhortatio* fügt. Ich habe daneben entsprechend der Gepflogenheit der Einführungen ein Attribut zu *psalmi* ergänzt (vgl. etwa CVII 2 *argumentum praesentis psalmi*). Möglich wäre auch ein *huius*.

CI 111 (Lob Gottes) *admiratione operum tuorum in unum ad colendum te externi populi congregabuntur et domini gentium religiosae servituti regna subiciant*. Es handelt sich um zwei parallele Weissagungen: *subicient*.

CII 92 (Die Herrschaft Gottes) ... *et inaccessibili imperio praeditus, cui quod voluerit sit factu[m] facile*. Vgl. etwa Expos. Iob. p. 65, 61 *factu facilia*.

ebd. 101 Die *invisibiles naturae* werden *virtutes* und *angeli* genannt: '*angelos*' *eo quod multa devotione praecepta Dei implere festinent*, '*virtutes*' *quia naturae eorum si<t> proprium in faciendo opere nullum virtutis sentire defectum*.

CIII 5 *convenit ergo <ut> talia dicturus a Dei praeconio sumat exordium*.

CIII 60 Die Gabe des Wassers: *qui facis de lateribus montium expressas aquas in planitiem et in loca subiecta decurrere. Non minus hominibus quam beluis usurpandi*. Der letzte Satz ist nicht konstruierbar. Man wird *usurpandas* lesen und den Punkt vor *non minus* streichen.

ebd. 94 Die Natur ist das Werk Gottes, so auch die Pflanzung der Zedern des Libanons: *Ad Dei praecipue spectat industriam quicquid humanus cultus abiecerit; ideo Deus silvas plantare dicitur, cum mortales pomorum feraces arbores in ordinem digerant*. Der Sinn erfordert *adiecerit*: 'was auch immer menschliche Baumpflanze (zum Wirken Gottes) beigelegt haben mag'.

CVI 89 Nach dem Sturm läßt der Herr nicht vollständige Ruhe auf dem Meer einkehren ... *relinquitur aura quae cursum dirigit navigantium, ne molestius quies segnia vada det et inhaeret properantes quam tempestas hactenus saeva iactaverat*. *Segnia* hatte Ascoli für sinnloses *signa* hergestellt, *vada det* ist Konjekture von De Coninck für überliefertes *vadet*. Gegen letzteren Vorschlag spricht erstens, daß *vada* im Sinne von *mare* (und dies eher pluralisch) dichter-sprachlich ist und keine Parallele im Corpus besitzt, und daß zweitens *vada* aus sachlichen Gründen ausscheiden muß: Eine Brise ist Voraussetzung für den Segler, nicht für den Ruderer, dem *segnia vada* keineswegs Mühen verursachen. Wir haben aus dem überlieferten *vadet* ein *v<el>a det* herauszuziehen, zudem im Finalsatz den Konjunktiv zu setzen (*inhaereat*).

CIX 9 Dieser Psalm künde nicht von irgendeinem beliebigen Herrn, sondern von Christus: *cessant ergo falsae opiniones Iudaeorum qui aut Abrahae servi personam de domino suo loquentem introduci putant etc*. Aber indikativisches *cessant* erscheint sinnlos,

gefordert ist der Adhortativus cessent, so bereits eine Randnotiz *imper(ativum)*. Vgl. August. serm. 265 A p. 393, 10 Morin cessent ergo et conquiescant cogitationum indigna phantasmata.

CXII 24 Gott erhöht die Schwachen: *grandi rerum convers[at]ione quos respexit attollit* (32 erscheint in gleichem Zusammenhang das Stichwort *commutat*). Die Verbindung *rerum conversio* ist viermal im Psalmenkommentar belegt.

CXV 24 *non patiaris eos fortuito velut viles perire, sed ereptam cas[s]ibus, velut multi pretii, observas vitam tuorum*. Für eine Tierfangmetapher ist kein Platz: *Ereptam casibus* bildet das Pendant zu *fortuito*.

CXVIII 27 *diutius ab ea separando terra, in qua solum licebat sacros ritus obire et voluntatibus* (De Coninck: *vultibus* cod.) *inservire divinis*. Man fragt sich, warum es im babylonischen Exil nicht erlaubt gewesen sein soll, dem Willen Gottes zu dienen. Zudem ist der Ausdruck *voluntatibus inservire* (man würde eher einen Ausdruck für 'gehorschen' erwarten) sprachlich bedenklich. Ich lese *cultibus... divinis*, womit *sacros ritus* passend fortgeführt wird. Vgl. Expos. Iob. p. 22, 25 *divinis operam cultibus damus*. Im Singular begegnet die Verbindung u. a. Expos. Ps. p. 374, 5 und 392, 18.

CXXIV 32 *PAX SVPER ISRAHEL addictis profanis nobis bona pacis contigua largieris*. Aber wie soll ein Frieden *addictis profanis* eintreten? Aus der varia lectio *adiectis* ist *abiectis* herzustellen.

CXXXVI 44 ... *in captivos saeviens* (De Coninck: *serverus* cod.) *et immitis fuisti* (sc. *Babylon*). De Coninck verweist auf ebd. 52 *quod in nos saeviens tu fecisti* (wo allerdings *sevens* überliefert ist), paläographisch einfacher erscheint *severus*. Vgl. 7, 67 *in universos adversarios tuos severus existe* und 9, 183.

CXXXVII 33 *cum sit excelsus et in altissimis habitat, tunc in inferioribus positas procurat res humanas* (sc. *Dominus*). Obgleich konzessives *cum* nebst Indikativ belegt ist, wird man wohl zu *habitet* verbessern und zugleich statt *tunc* mit RV *tamen* lesen, wird doch zu dem gleichen Psalmenvers 137, 6 im Amos-Kommentar ausgeführt: *cum igitur ita sit throno sublimis et sceptro eumque non solum sidera, sed caeli caelorum cum tremore suscipiant, tamen ad infima oculos suae pietatis inclinat, et 'humilia' ita 'respicit', ut nullam creaturam providentiae suae gubernatione destituat* (p. 323, 161).

CXXXVIII 58 *Deus autem in quo nullae tenebrae sed omnia in quo lux sunt, sine ullo impedimento cuncta praevidet*. Zu *sine ullo impedimento* fügt sich allein ein pervidet: Vgl. in Hiob. p. 74, 38 *occultas naturas ... pervideret*.

CXLVI 25 Gottes Zielsetzung, als er den Kreislauf der Natur in Bewegung setzt: *nubibus igitur densatis paratur pluvia graminibus, alendis effunditur herba iumentis*, [esui (AR: om. V: del. De Coninck)] *iumenta hominum usui destinata sunt* (die drei Hss. sind selbständige Überlieferungsträger, folglich bietet der Archetypus *esui*). Alle Probleme erledigen sich bei einer sinnvollen Interpunktion: ... *paratur pluvia graminibus alendis⁶, effunditur herba iumentis esui⁷, iumenta hominum usui destinata sunt*. In bewußter Ponderierung (*alendis* - *esui* - *usui*) besitzt jedes Kolon eine finale Angabe, wie sie in der Einleitung angekündigt war: *finis singularum rerum effectusque aperit*.

⁶ Vgl. in Amos p. 285, 123, wo ebenfalls vom Kreislauf des Wetters gehandelt wird: *fluenta... denuo suspensa de nubibus... ita demum terris sitientibus reddentur, sicque alendis frugibus... ubertas admiranda contingeret*.

⁷ Einen Dativ *esui* verwendet Julian in Amos p. 312, 26 *quae sunt vero esui apta decerpunt*.

Zum mittelalterlichen Nachleben der spätantiken Genesisversifikation 'Alethia' des Claudius Marius Victorius¹

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Die Genesis-Versifikation 'Alethia' des Claudius Marius Victorius (gestorben nach Gennadius unter den Kaisern Theodosius und Valentinian, also zwischen 424 und 450) gehörte nicht zu denjenigen Bibeldichtungen, die aufgrund ihres theologischen Gehalts von kirchlicher Seite geschätzt wurden. Gennadius urteilt in seiner Fortsetzung von Hieronymus' literaturgeschichtlichem Werk 'de viris illustribus' folgendermaßen über die 'Alethia' (cap. 61):

... tres versu edidit libros Christiano quidem et pio sensu, sed utpote saeculari litteratura occupatus homo et nullius magisterio in divinis scripturis exercitatus levioris ponderis sententiam figuravit.

Aus diesem ungünstigen Urteil über den theologischen Gehalt der 'Alethia' dürfte sich auch die schmale Überlieferung des Werks erklären, von dem sich nur eine einzige Handschrift bis in die Gegenwart erhalten hat, nämlich der auf das neunte Jahrhundert datierte Parisinus latinus 7558, der sich in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts in der Bibliothek des heiligen Julianus in Tours befand². Im Gegensatz dazu sind die geradezu kanonisch geworde-

¹ Die vorliegende Arbeit entstand im Zusammenhang mit einer von der Fritz-Thyssen-Stiftung großzügig geförderten mittellateinischen Forschungsunternehmung.

² Vgl. die Praefatio der Ausgabe von P.F. HOVINGH, *Corpus Christianorum ser. lat.* CXXVIII, S. 117, und den dort zitierten P. LEJAY.

nen Bibelepiker Iuvencus, Sedulius, Avitus und Arator wesentlich breiter überliefert³.

Dementsprechend scheint die 'Alethia' auch nur geringe poetische Nachwirkung gefunden zu haben. Karl Schenkl läßt in der Praefatio seiner Ausgabe (CSEL xvi p. 356 s.) nur die drei spätantiken Autoren Paulinus von Pella, Avitus und Dracontius als Imitatoren der 'Alethia' gelten und schließt seinen Überblick über die Wirkungsgeschichte des Werks mit den Worten "id certe constat paucos mediae aetatis homines id carmen cognovisse neque saepius eis temporibus illud descriptum esse".

Einer jener "pauci" dürfte der in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhundert als Lehrer der Theologie in Paris und Montpellier tätige Alanus ab Insulis sein. Am Anfang seines wohl ungefähr auf den Zeitraum zwischen 1181 und 1184 zu datierenden⁴ allegorischen Epos 'Anticlaudianus in Antirufinum'⁵ beschreibt er den zauberhaften Wohnsitz der allegorischen Figur Natura, dessen paradiesische Züge sich an mehreren Stellen auffällig mit der Beschreibung des Gartens Eden bei Claudius Marius Victorius berühren. Die blumenbedeckte Erde im Wohnsitz der Natura wird bei Alanus ab Insulis metaphorisch mit dem Glanz des Sternenhimmels gleichgesetzt (Anticl. I 61 - 63):

*In quo (sc. loco) pubescens tenera lanugine florum,
Sideribus stellata suis, succensa rosarum
Murice, terra novum contendit pingere celum*⁶.

³ Allgemein zur Kanonbildung in der lateinischen Bibelepik vgl. R. HERZOG, *Die Bibelepik der lateinischen Spätantike. Formgeschichte einer erbaulichen Gattung*, Band 1, München 1975, S. XIX - XXV.

⁴ Zu dieser Datierung vgl. jetzt Christine RATKOWITSCH, *Descriptio Picturae, Die literarische Funktion der Beschreibung von Kunstwerken in der lateinischen Großdichtung des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Wiener Studien, Beiheft 15), Wien 1991, S. 213 f.

⁵ Ediert von R. BOSSUAT, *Alain de Lille, Anticlaudianus*, Paris 1955.

⁶ Im folgenden beschreibt Alanus das Blühen unvergänglicher Rosen (Anticl. I 64 - 68):

*Non ibi nascentis expirat gracia floris
65 Nascendo moriens; nec enim rosa mane puella
Vespere languet anus, sed vultu semper eodem
Gaudens eterni iuvenescit munere veris.
Hunc florem non urit hyems, non decoquit estas.*

Die Junktur *aeternum ver* (Anticl. I 67) begegnet auch bei Claud. Mar. Victor. Aleth. I 228 *aeternum paribus ver temperat* (sc. *limes solis*) *horis*; vgl. ferner Drac. laud. I 185 *Illic floret humus semper sub vere perenni* und I 199 *Ver*

Die bei Alanus breit ausgemalte Metaphorik wird in der 'Alethia' bereits angedeutet (I 233 f.):

*Tellus sidereos vibrat distincta colores
Semper flore novo⁷ ...*

Ferner befinden sich im Garten der Natura ausschließlich fruchtbare Bäume (Anticl. I 87 - 91):

*Exilium patitur arbor quaecumque tributum
Germinis et fructus Nature solvere nescit,
Cuius mercari fructu meliore favorem*

ibi perpetuum communes temperat auras. Im ganzen dürfte aber die Vorstellung der nie verblühenden Rosen im Zusammenhang eines paradiesischen Ortes von der ἑκφρασις des Gartens Eden bei Avitus beeinflusst sein (spirit. hist. gest. I 233 - 236):

*Lilia perlucet nullo flaccientia sole
Nec tactus violat violas roseumque ruborem*

235 *Servans perpetuo suffundit gratia vultu.
Sic cum desit hiems nec torrida ferveat aestas, / ...*

(vgl. ferner spirit. hist. gest. I 222 *Hic ver adsidium caeli clementia servat*). Weitere sprachliche Details ergeben sich aus einer Umkehrung der Beschreibung der üblichen Vergänglichkeit von Rosen in dem in der Appendix Vergiliana überlieferten, häufig dem Ausonius zugeschriebenen Gedicht 'de rosis nascentibus' (vgl. GREEN S. 669 - 671, Sonderausgabe von G. CUPAIUOLO, Rom 1984), 33 - 46:

*Haec modo quae toto rutilaverat igne comarum
Pallida collapsis deseritur foliis.*

35 *Mirabar celerem fugitiva aetate rapinam
Et dum nascuntur consenuisse rosas.*

*Ecce et defluxit rutili coma punica floris,
Dum loquor, et tellus tecta rubore micat.*

*Tot species tantosque ortus variosque novatus
Una dies aperit, conficit ipsa dies.
40 Conquerimur, Natura, brevis quod gratia florum;
Ostentata oculis ilico dona rapis.*

*Quam longa una dies, aetas tam longa rosarum;
Quas pubescentes iuncta senecta premit.*

45 *Quam modo nascentem rutilus conspexit Eous,
Hanc rediens sero vespere vidit anum.*

Die bei Alanus folgenden Verse Anticl. I 69 f.

*Non ibi bacchantis Boree furit ira, nec illic
Fulminat aura Nothi, nec spicula grandinis instant*

beruhen dagegen auf Drac. laud. I 191 - 193:

*Nec coniuratis furit illic turbo procellis,
Non glacies destrecta domat, non grandinis ictus
Verberat aut gelidis canescunt prata pruinis.*

⁷ Die Junktur *flore novo* begegnet auch Anticl. I 81.

- 90 *Contendens aliasque suo precellere dono*
Quelibet et semper de partu cogitat arbor.

Der Gedanke begegnet mit der gleichen Reichtumsmetapher in Aleth. I 229

Illic quaeque suis dives stat fructibus arbor.

nicht jedoch in der biblischen Version, wo der Schwerpunkt nicht auf die Fruchtbarkeit als solche, sondern auf den Nutzen für den Menschen gelegt wird (vet. lat. gen. 2, 9 *et produxit adhuc deus de terra omne lignum formosum ad aspectum et bonum ad escam*, vulg. *produxitque dominus deus de humo omne lignum pulchrum visu et ad vescendum suave*).

Vor allem klingt aber die Beschreibung einer von reinen Elementen strömenden Quelle bei Alanus (Anticl. I 101 *Ad puri remeans elementi iura* sc. *humor*) an die auf gen. 2, 10 - 14 beruhende dichterische Ausmalung der vier im Paradies entspringenden Flüsse in der 'Alethia' an. Vgl. Anticl. I 103 - 106

- Pregnantis gremium telluris inhebrat iste*
Potus et ad partus invitat vota parentis;
 105 *Arboribus similes tellus non invida potus*
Donat et affectum pariendi suggerit illis

und Aleth. I 268 - 275

- At (Schenk: Ad cod.) gremium sacri nemoris, quod silva coronat⁸,*
Fons rigat et diti prolem virtute maritat⁹,
 270 *Quadrifido tumidum laetus caput amne resolvens,*
Ditior oceano: iugi nam gurgite promptus
Hic proprios donat latices, ille accipit omnes
Et non sentit aquas; minor est qui crescere tantis

⁸ Vgl. Anticl. I 84 *Ambit silva locum* und I 97 *In medio lacrimatur humus* (gemeint ist die im folgenden beschriebene Quelle).

⁹ *maritare* scheint hier nicht in dem üblichen Sinne "begatten", sondern in der singulären Bedeutung "begattend hervorbringen" gebraucht zu sein; Alanus ab Insulis bleibt im Rahmen derselben Metaphorik, vereinfacht sie aber zu *ad partus invitat vota parentis*. Avitus orientiert sich bei seiner Beschreibung des Nils (vgl. gen. 2, 13) offenbar ebenfalls an der Ausdrucksweise des Claudius Marius Victorius, insbesondere dem metaphorischen Gebrauch von *maritare*, normalisiert aber die in der 'Alethia' vorliegende singuläre Bedeutung des Verbs (Avit. spir. hist. gest. I 277 f.):

At postquam largo fecundans germina potu
Lympha maritavit sitientis viscera terrae, / ...

Fluctibus infusis quam qui decrescere nescit
 275 *Amnibus effusis ...*

Vor diesem Hintergrund muß man auch die Einleitung der Beschreibung von Naturas Wohnsitz auf den spätantiken Bibeldichter zurückführen. Alanus läßt den Ort durch Naturas Gnade die Vorzüge aller anderen Orte in sich vereinen (Anticl. I 57 - 60):

Iste (sc. locus) potest solus quicquid loca cetera possunt¹⁰;
Quod minus in reliquis melius suppletur in uno ;
Quid prelargata manus Nature possit et in quo
 60 *Gracius effundat dotes, exponit in isto¹¹.*

In der 'Alethia' ist es dagegen Gott, der die Vorzüge, die die Natur an allen möglichen Orten erfahren hat, in einem vereinigt (I 243 f.):

Namque hic cuncta deus pariter, quae singula certis
Accepit natura locis, conferta regessit.

Also entwickelt sich die recht fortschrittliche, nicht primär religiös orientierte Natura-Vorstellung des Alanus letztlich aus der bewußten Modifikation eines theologischen Vorbilds.

An einer weiteren, poetologisch bedeutsamen Stelle des 'Anticlaudian' läßt sich eine deutliche Nachwirkung des Claudius Marius Victorius nachweisen. Der göttliche Teil der Himmelsreise beginnt mit einem fast in der symmetrischen Werkhälfte stehenden Binnenproemium (Anticl. V 265 - 269):

265 *Hactenus insonuit tenui mea Musa susurro,*
Hactenus in fragili lusit mea pagina versu,
Phebea resonante cheli; sed parva resignans
Maiorem nunc tendo liram totumque poetam
Deponens usurpo michi nova verba prophete.

¹⁰ Vgl. Claud. carm. 3 (Ruf. I), 111

Solus habet scelerum quicquid possedimus omnes.

¹¹ In den beiden Schlußversen wirkt wohl die enkomiaistische Beschreibung, die der englische Dichter Laurentius von Durham (gestorben 1154) in seinem stark autobiographisch geprägten Spätwerk 'Dialogi' (ed. J. RAINE, Durham 1880) von seinem Geburtsort Waltham gibt, III 335 - 338:

Nec puto turpe mihi natale solum profiteri,
Quo Natura decus dat speciale sibi;
Quae pariens quid possit ibi studiosa probavit.
Vestiit et vario larga decore locum.

Das fünfzeilige Binnenprooemium entspricht in Aufbau und Kernbegriffen genau dem Auftakt des zweiten Alethia-Buchs:

- Hactenus*¹² *arcanam seriem, primordia mundi,*
Ut sincera fides patuit, sine fraude cucurri,
Dum dignis leto vitiis terrena carerent.
Nunc hominum mores et iam mortalia versu
 5 *Ingressum fas sit veris miscere poetam.*

Während Claudius Marius Victorius von der göttlichen Schöpfung zur Geschichte der menschlichen Versündigung herabsteigt und darin eine Lizenz für größere poetische Freiheit sieht, erhebt sich Alanus aus der Sphäre des Sterblichen in den Bereich des Göttlichen (vgl. Anticl. I 270 *Celesti Muse terrenus cedit Apollo*) und wird vom *poeta* zum *propheta*. Formal gemeinsam ist beiden Partien die metonymische Verwendung des Begriffs *poeta* i.q. "Tätigkeit eines Dichters".

¹² Zum Beginn eines neuen Buches mit rekapitulierendem *Hactenus* ist in der antiken Dichtung vor allem Verg. georg. II 1 f. zu vergleichen (*Hactenus arborum cultus et sidera caeli*;/ *Nunc te, Bacche, canam* ...). Weiteres Material bei Chr. LUCKE, P. Ovidius Naso. *Remedia amoris*. Kommentar zu Vers 397 - 814, Bonn 1982, zu rem. 397, wo der Abschluß eines Exkurses mit *Hactenus* Anlaß gegeben hat zu der falschen Abgrenzung eines zweiten Buchs, die sich in einem Teil der mittelalterlichen Überlieferung durchgesetzt hat (vgl. LUCKE, Einleitung, a.a.O. S. 39 - 41). Die oben ausgeschriebene Stelle aus Claudius Marius Victorius wird imitiert auch bei Avitus, spirit. hist. gest. V 1 - 5:

Hactenus in terris undas potuisse canenti
Terram inter fluctus aperit nunc carminis ordo.
Illic diluvium quos perderet, ante petiuit,
Nunc ad diluvium pleno succensa furore
 5 *Sponte sua current periturae milia gentis*
 (vgl. Alexander ARWEILER, *Die Imitation antiker und spätantiker Literatur in der Dichtung 'De spiritalis historiae gestis' des Alcimus Avitus. Mit einem Kommentar zu Avit. carm. 4, 429 - 540 und 5, 526 - 703* [Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte, Band 52], Berlin/ New York 1999, S. 20 Anm. 23). Vgl. auch Prud. Symmach. II 1 - 4 und Paulin. Petric. vit. Mart. II 12 - 14.

Thirteen Years of Athanasius Research (1985-1998):

A Survey and Bibliography¹

by

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(Leuven)

INTRODUCTION

Since Kannengiesser's Forschungsbericht of 1985², a torrent of new publications on Athanasius has seen the daylight. Among these we notice more than 10 monographs and quite a few (as yet) unpublished dissertations. Moreover some modern critical editions appeared of works which were previously not or insufficiently edited. On some aspects of the study of Athanasius considerable progress has been made. One can think here of his *Festal Letters* and his ascetic writings. On many other aspects the last decade has brought good synthesizing work. The "definitive" biography of Athanasius has still to be written, but valuable attempts in that direction have been made and I would say that the foundation for such an enterprise is now solidly there.

Because of the massive and important scholarly output, I thought it would be worthwhile to give a survey of the research on Athanasius conducted between 1985 and 1998. With the first date

¹ I would like to thank Boudewijn Dehandschutter, Jacques Haers, Peter Van Deun (all K.U. Leuven) and James Ernest (Boston College), for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article. G. Van Belle, the compiler of the annual bibliography in the *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, provided me with important bibliographical references.

² C. KANNENGIESSER, *The Athanasian Decade 1974-1984: A Bibliographical Report*, in *Theological Studies* 46 (1985) 524-541.

I link up with Kannengiesser's report. Material published after 1998 will not be systematically included, which makes it possible to be fairly exhaustive. Everyone knows how difficult it is to choose what should be included and what should not. I have tried to be as consistent as possible in applying the following rules: (1) All the literature specific on Athanasius is included; (2) Literature on Pseudoathanasiana³ is included in the bibliography, but not in the survey (3) The vast amount of scholarly output on Athanasius' background (historical studies, studies on monasticism, broader studies on the theological developments of the fourth century) is not included. An exception is made for book length studies with large sections devoted to Athanasius.

The bibliography is based on references retrieved from various sources. The most important are the annual bibliography of the *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, the ATLA-database and the *Bibliographia Patristica*⁴. Moreover, there is of course the bibliography compiled by C. Butterweck⁵. This magnificent tool has a wide scope in time (including virtually all the existing material up to the first years of the nineties) as well as content (incorporating no small part of the literature on related issues as e.g. Arianism and monasticism). Besides the secondary literature, the work also lists virtually all existing editions and translations. Rich indexes make it easy to consult. To me it has been a welcome help to avoid omissions.

³ I know the authenticity of some writings, e.g. the *Vita Antonii* and the *Contra Apollinarium*, is disputed. For reasons of consistency I took as a criterium the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, in which the first is listed under the authentic works, the second under the spuria.

⁴ The publication date of the most recent issue of all these bibliographical tools varies: *ETL* of 1999 contains a lot of references to publications from 1998; *ATLA* of 1999 was not yet at my disposal but the 1998 release contains a substantial number of the publications of that year; the most complete tool, the *Bibliographia Patristica*, so far reaches the year 1990.

⁵ C. BUTTERWECK, *Athanasius von Alexandrien. Bibliographie* (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein - Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 90), Opladen, 1995. Another useful tool, though less complete, is the bibliographic survey by L.A. SANCHEZ NAVARRO, *Atanasio griego, actualización bibliográfica*, in *Revista Agustiniiana* 34 (1993) 1053-1094. For references to Japanese literature, I relied on *Recent Studies of Patristics in Japan (1986-1996)*, in *Association Internationale d'Études Patristiques. Bulletin d'information et de liaison* 29 (1997) 108-129, esp. p. 118. For Italian publications, see Camplani-Vian (1998).

This article consists of two parts: a critical survey and a bibliography. According to the rules set out above, the bibliography (Part II) gives a virtually exhaustive list of publications for the years 1985-1998. It is chronologically ordered and for each year the arrangement of the references is in alphabetical order. The literature on the Pseudoathanasiana is given at the end of each year. This bibliography can be used as a separate tool and thus constitutes for the recent years a supplement to Butterweck's work. It is however primarily meant to be an auxiliary tool to the other part of this contribution: the survey (Part I). This survey structures the material of the bibliography thematically and gives a status quaestionis of the research on Athanasius at the end of the twentieth century. The survey is divided in three sections: Biography (§1), Writings (§2) and Theology (§3). To save space, full bibliographical references are not given; it will be sufficient to use the author's name and the date of the contribution placed between brackets. If an author has published more than one contribution on Athanasius in the same year, a keyword from the title is added.

§1 ATHANASIUS' BIOGRAPHY

1. Introduction: Overcoming Oppositions

In his bibliographical essay Kannengiesser concluded that 'the 20th century draws to a close without having produced, at least until the mid-80's, any comprehensive biography of Athanasius'⁶. His suggestion did not fall on deaf ears. Contrary to the past, when a mass of detailed studies appeared, the recent scholarly output dealing with Athanasius' biography is characterised by a general approach. To the category of what I call "general biographical studies" belong of course articles in encyclopaedias or general introductions⁷ as well as more general assessments on Athanasius' life, theology, spirituality and significance⁸. But besides these, several

⁶ C. KANNENGIESSER, *Athanasian Decade*, p. 528.

⁷ Atiya (1991); Stead (1992), art *Athanasius*; Kannengiesser (1993), art *Athanasius*; Pasquato (1993); Pettersen (1995), p. 1-19.

⁸ In this category one might mention Cunningham (1987); Farag (1991), Williams (1998) and, of course, a lot of publications by Kannengiesser: *inter alia* (1987), *Heutiger Sicht*; (1987), *Literarische Leistung*; (1988), *Rediscovered*; (1988), *Paradigm*; (1993), *Un certain Athanase*; finally also the volume in the series *Connaissance des Pères de l'Eglise* which is devoted to Athanasius (1995).

synthetic studies that cover in great detail the entire life-span of the Alexandrian patriarch have appeared during the last thirteen years⁹. Two other monographs have a more limited scope¹⁰. Only one of these works styles itself a biography¹¹. All the others, while also providing a detailed account of Athanasius' biography, have a particular angle of approach. I will first turn to these studies, highlighting Athanasius as a player in international politics and as the leader of Egyptian Christianity. Afterwards I will present research on more specific topics. This approach provides an assessment of the broad outline and the detailed studies of Athanasius' biography. But first, I want to sketch two evolutions in Athanasian studies that provide the framework for this part of my essay.

The first evolution involves the image of Athanasius in the scholarly literature. Since he is one of the towering figures in fourth-century history and has left a large literary legacy, Athanasian scholarship already has a long history. During the past centuries the picture scholars have made of Athanasius has varied greatly¹². In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the verdict was in general very favourable for the Alexandrian bishop. Authors such as Moeller, Robertson and Newman sung his praise in often hagiographical tones. Newman's life and theology, in particular, were deeply influenced by him. In his *Decline and Fall* Gibbon also drew a favourable portrait of Athanasius, which largely sprung from his own powerful imagination. In his footnotes though, he showed an awareness of the less positive sides of Athanasius' personality as well as for the ex parte nature of many of his arguments. And contrary to his claim of having carefully examined all the original materials relevant to his subject, he relied heavily on the work of others, such as Le Nain de Tillemont. But one can say that in the scholarship of the nineteenth century Athanasius emerges generally speaking as the defender *par excellence* of the orthodox faith. At the turn of the

⁹ Riall (1987), *Politics*; Badger (1990); Barnes (1993); Brakke (1995) and Martin (1996).

¹⁰ Arnold (1991), *Career*, and Barnard (1992).

¹¹ Riall (1987), *Politics*. In the abstract he styles his work "a source-critical biography".

¹² For general surveys of this evolution, see Arnold (1991), *Career*, p. 11-24 and Arnold (1991), *Historiography*, as well as Kannengiesser (1993), *Un certain Athanase*, p. 428-433. For Newman see also Strange (1988) and Canévet (1992); for Gibbon see Barnard (1985); (1992) and Barnes (1994).

century this positive reception changed to open hostility, ventilated especially in the works of very influential German scholars such as Seeck, Schwartz and Opitz. In their works the Alexandrian bishop was often depicted as a ruthless *Kirchenpolitiker* with an eye for his own interests only. In the last decades a more moderate course was followed. Now and then a scholars' indignation is still awakened by Athanasius' behaviour, e.g. the violence he exercised in his early years as bishop¹³, but on the whole his picture is no longer exclusively drawn in black and white. Hübner (1993), however, shows that in some books, written for a wider readership, this image still prevails.

Along with the evolution in the portrayal drawn by scholars of Athanasius, there is also a tendency to a more "holistic" view. Consistent with the main lines of Schneemelcher's programmatic essay of some decades ago¹⁴, the artificial separation between the theologian and the church politician, between an entirely "historical" c.q. "theological" approach to Athanasius has been done away with during the last years¹⁵. Not all of the book length studies we now examine, do this to the same extent, but all of the authors are well aware that understanding the "real" Athanasius and his role as an Egyptian bishop and in international ecclesiastical politics is only possible by interweaving both approaches.

2. The General Approach

The first biographical study we want to mention is that by Riall: *Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria: the Politics of Spirituality*¹⁶. He gives a straightforward and detailed account of Athanasius' 45 years as Alexandrian bishop. Riall focuses on showing how Athanasius' uncompromising adherence to what he considered "the true faith" brought him in collision with the Arians and the Melitians as well

¹³ The comparison with a modern American gangster or big city-boss by T.D. BARNES, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge (Mass.) - London, 1981, p. 230, repeated in (1989), p. 397 is a famous one. See for other examples Arnold (1991), *Career*, *passim*.

¹⁴ W. SCHNEEMELCHER, *Athanasius von Alexandrien als Theologe und als Kirchenpolitiker*, in ZNW 43 (1950/1) 242-255.

¹⁵ As an example of such a biographical attempt one can mention the first chapter, "Une christologie vécue", of Kannengiesser (1990), p. 23-82.

¹⁶ It is his unpublished doctoral dissertation, submitted at the University of Cincinnati in 1987.

as with the imperial efforts, especially of Constantius, to dictate an empire-wide homogeneous ecclesiastical policy. He ends his work with a chapter on "Athanasius as a Bishop". Here he deals with the theological ground of Athanasius' intransigence, namely his conviction that what he defended was "the true faith"; but we also meet the pastor who in his sermons exhorts his people to contemplate the divine mysteries and leads a life of moderate asceticism. In the valuable appendices at the end of his work Riall proposes well-argued solutions for problematic issues in reconstructing Athanasius' biography and on the date c.q. authenticity of his writings. He is not afraid to take a personal stance: as far as I know, few scholars so far have defended 333 as a date for Arius' death (App. 5).

Although it largely covers the same ground, T.D. Barnes' *Athanasius and Constantius. Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire*¹⁷ is a completely different book. At the end of his work, Barnes writes that he 'has attempted to understand what Athanasius wrote about his career and why he wrote as he did, and, at the same time, to analyse what he wrote in order to disentangle the true course of events from the subtle misrepresentations with which he deliberately covered and obscured his controversial career'¹⁸. This puts what one could call Athanasius' apologetic technique on centre stage: the conglomeration of very different means by which the Alexandrian bishop presented facts to suit him best¹⁹. Consequently his historical-polemical writings get most of Barnes' attention. On the basis of these and all other available sources, he reconstructs Athanasius' career, puzzling together the existing scraps of information into a convincing reconstruction that is uniquely his own. This is clearly a historian's book, not a theologian's, though the author is quite well informed on these matters too.

Besides the detailed reconstruction of Athanasius' career and an analysis of how his apologetic technique works, I would point to three more contributions of this book to Athanasian scholarship. First I mention Barnes' "deconstruction" of some Athanasian writings. He distinguishes several stages in their composition and often provides these with a suitable historical context. Secondly

¹⁷ Harvard University Press, Cambridge (Mass.) - London, 1993.

¹⁸ Barnes (1993), p. 165.

¹⁹ Cf. *infra* sub §2Ca.

there are two concise closing chapters, on "The Emperor and the Church, 324-361"²⁰ and "Bishops and Society". Finally there are the highly useful appendices. Most of these will be mentioned further²¹ on but here I would like to point to his reconstruction of the intricate career of Paul of Constantinople (App. 8) and to two valuable tools: a survey of "Imperial Residences and Journeys, 337-361" (App. 9) and one on "Creeds and Councils, 337-361 (App. 10).

After some preparatory studies²², Arnold published in 1991 *The Early Episcopal Career of Athanasius of Alexandria*²³. The author's aim is twofold: to attempt to clarify the events which took place during the first seven years of Athanasius' episcopate and on the other hand to explain the impact of these events on our understanding of the Alexandrian bishop. As a consequence of this two-fold purpose, the material is not presented in a straightforward chronological account. The first part of the book ("Questions of Character and Context") is largely devoted to an examination of these sources that contributed to critical judgments on the Alexandrian bishop, mainly the controversy around his consecration and the events recorded in *Papyrus London* 1914 (cf. infra). In Section II the Synod of Tyre and what preceded it is treated in great detail, going back to the meeting between Athanasius and Constantine at Psamathia in 331/2. All in all the general argumentation of the work is that Athanasius has been judged too hard and that the evidence for his "misbehaviour" finds little support in the sources. We come back on this later.

The second historical study with a more limited scope is the commentary Barnard wrote on the *Apologia Secunda contra Arianos*, incorporating much of the research he had done on Athanasius in the past decades²⁴. His starting point is the same as Barnes': the *Apologia Secunda* is a defence and thus a one sided document. He follows the text chapter by chapter trying to unravel historical reali-

²⁰ Parts of the material of this section were reused in Barnes (1998).

²¹ Cf. infra sub §2C.

²² See Arnold (1989), *Reconsideration*; (1989), *Meletians*; (1990); (1991), *Historiography*.

²³ A revised version of his doctoral dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Theology of the University of Durham.

²⁴ L. W. BARNARD, *Studies in Athanasius' Apologia Secunda* (Europäische Hochschulschriften XXIII/467), Bern, 1992.

ty by checking Athanasius' information against other available sources. The running commentary is followed by seven appendices: three on Church-State relations, three on the Council of Serdica and a last one on Gibbon's portrayal of Athanasius in his *Decline and Fall*.

In Riall's and Barnes' studies as well as in Arnold's and Barnard's, the focus was largely on Athanasius' role in international ecclesiastical affairs. In the three following monographs the spotlight is on the Alexandrian bishop as the leader of Egyptian Christianity. I want to start with Annick Martin's long awaited monograph *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Eglise d'Égypte au IV^e siècle (328-373)*²⁵, because her scope is the widest, thus providing a framework for the studies by Badger and Brakke.

Martin shows how under Athanasius' leadership Egyptian Christianity evolved into a solid, structured church community and a bastion of the Nicene *homoousion*. By assessing Athanasius as the defender of the homoousion who unified his Church around this catchword, Martin integrates the theologian and the bishop in Athanasius and thus overcomes the difficulty of choosing between an historical or a theological approach. We will meet a similar viewpoint in Brakke's monograph. At the same time it is clear that the main interest of both authors is that of an historian, not that of a theologian.

Athanasius inherited a Church with a firmly entrenched hierarchical structure: most of the cities in Egypt and in the two Lybia's already had bishops and part of the mission in the *chora* was already accomplished. He managed to get this structure under his control and to enhance the unity of a Church community that during the first decades of the fourth century became rapidly divided. First there were the challenges of the Arian crisis and the Melitian schism that he inherited from his predecessor. But besides these, there was the at that time surely unclear phenomenon of a rapidly growing multifaceted ascetic movement both in Alexandria and the *chora*. It was thus a far from light challenge to mould these movements into a unified hierarchical structure. Shaping this unity meant shaping a community that excluded all non-orthodox influ-

²⁵ Published as nr. 216 in the series Collection de l'École Française de Rome, Rome, 1996. See the long review by Camplani, in *Augustinianum* 39 (1999) 187-222.

ences, especially Arian and Melitian. Martin stresses the origins of the Melitian movement and Athanasius' dealings with it, showing that his position, when he succeeded Alexander in 328, was by no means secure and was seriously challenged, certainly during the first decade of his reign.

How did Athanasius enhance this initially fragile unity? Many intertwining factors can be mentioned: (1) The existence of a network of suffragan bishops who enabled the Alexandrian bishop to keep in touch with the local communities, a goal also served by his pastoral journeys in the *chora* and by the time he spent there in exile; (2) With his *Festal Letters*, Athanasius' writings, dogmatic as well as other, were an efficient instrument against the heterodox forces. All members of the orthodox community (lay, monks, clerics, virgins, ...) were invited to contribute to an orthodox community that had no links with pagans, Jews, heretics or Melitians; (3) The local communities were served by clerics who were far better educated than is often believed. The same holds true for superiors of monasteries and for some of the monks. This made practical arrangements easier, but also promoted the instruction of the mass of faithful in the orthodox message; (4) The role monasticism played in the network of solidarity, e.g. help for widows and the poor, which also contributed to a sense of unity; (5) The liturgy, especially the forty days Lent accompanied by the yearly episcopal message in his *Festal Letter*; (6) The impetus that went out from monastic movements (monks, virgins, eremites, ...) that, while to some extent under episcopal control, were examples of virtuous and ascetic life²⁶; (7) The manifold contacts between Alexandria and the *chora*. All these elements, which Martin studies in great detail, helped forge the different strands in Egyptian orthodox Christianity into a well-structured unity with the Alexandrian bishop at its head. The bishop's stubbornly defended belief that the radical difference made by the faith in Jesus Christ must entail His being *homoousion* with the Father, was the cause of his troublesome episcopacy but was also the cement and the heart of the message that held the Egyptian Church together.

This brief overview of the main lines of Martin's argumentation does insufficiently justice to her 900-page masterwork. Not only

²⁶ For the role Athanasius' biography of Antony played in this regard, see also Martin (1997).

has she developed each of the above-mentioned elements in great detail, but her book also contains many other important features. The first 200 pages are devoted to a description of the organisation of the Egyptian Church before Athanasius. She studies the development of episcopal sees between Demetrios and Athanasius and the Christian community in Alexandria²⁷ (ecclesiastical structure, its relation with Egypt and its organization). A second part (p. 219-303) is devoted to the origins of the Melitian Schism up to the Council of Nicea. The third part (p. 303-393) deals with Athanasius' difficult succession and his first years as bishop up to his first exile. The fourth and the fifth parts are respectively devoted to the years 337-346 (p. 393-451) and 346-373 (p. 451-637). The final chapter of the book, "Athanasios et la chrétienté d'Égypte au IV^e siècle" (p. 637-764) contains a good synthesis of Athanasius' use of Scripture, of the organization of the local Christian communities, the social provenance of clerics and monks, the organization and practice of the churches' social role.

From the above it is clear that Martin has not only given us a study about the relation between Athanasius and the Egyptian Church, but that she has also treated both these subjects in depth. Regarding Athanasius this means that her work contains a detailed sketch of his life. In her work the Egyptian Church is more than the background to the bishop's activity; in many parts of her book it is an object of study of its own. A witness to this is the prosopographical information in the book (e.g. lists of the clergy of Alexandria and of that of Egypt during the fourth century; a corpus of the Egyptian bishops from the mid-third until the end of the fourth centuries)²⁸. To all this must be added that the author is in complete control of the ancient sources and the vast mass of secondary literature on her extended subject. One may safely assume that this book will remain a goldmine of information for all scholars studying the Egyptian Church of the fourth century.

²⁷ With regard to Alexandria and the tensions caused by the many different religions of its inhabitants, we refer to C.J. HAAS, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (Ancient Society and History), Baltimore-London, 1997 and his articles *The Alexandrian Riots of 356 and Georges of Cappadocia*, in *GRBS* 32 (1991) 281-301; *The Arians of Alexandria*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 47 (1993) 234-245.

²⁸ This information will surely find its way into the *Prosopographie chrétienne de l'Égypte*, which is in progress.

Martin studied Athanasius' role in the formation of a single Catholic Church in Egypt, which was to be uniform in theology and hierarchical in structure under the leadership of the Alexandrian bishop. This is also the topic of Brakke's work *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*²⁹. While their basic question is the same³⁰, Brakke's title reveals two differences with Martin's book. First of all he limits the scope of his research to the question how the bishop integrated the various ascetic movements into the structure of the episcopal church. The role of the clergy (bishops, priests and lower clergy) in establishing a Catholic Church is not studied. Brakke shows how Athanasius designed his ascetical policies in such a way that the ascetic institutions would be ancillary to the episcopal network, but the network as such is not studied. A second difference is that in speaking of a "politics" of asceticism Brakke attributes Athanasius with a stronger role than Martin and many other scholars do³¹. The reason may be that Brakke's research is centred more on Athanasius' writings than Martin's is. But all in all he produced a stimulating monograph. Before turning to a presentation of its contents, I would like to summarize briefly an article of 1998 in which Brakke pursues his line of inquiry and highlights another aspect of Athanasius' politics of asceticism: the Alexandrian bishop's rejection of practices (such as pilgrimages, the martyr cult or the cult of the holy dead) whereby the holy was located in specific persons or places. What caused this rejection, which is not only out of step with the communis opinio of his contemporaries but also with the implications of his own thought? To address this question Brakke draws especially on the *Vita Antonii*, on the *Festal Letters* 41 and 42 and on a letter, frag-

²⁹ A revised Yale dissertation, published in 1995 in the series Oxford Early Christian Studies. This position is shared by Kühneweg (1997).

³⁰ See in this context also his interpretation of Athanasius' *Festal Letter* of 367, in which he defines the limits of the canon of Scripture. Brakke interprets this closing of the canon as an attempt to cut the wings of movements rivalling his authority by denying legitimacy to the sources of revelation these were thriving on. In particular he thinks at two movements: the study circles, of which intellectual freedom and a bonding to the Teacher were important features and the martyr cult, where the martyr's corps developed into a source of revelation as well as books which Athanasius himself considered apocryphal (Brakke (1994), *Canon Formation*). See Brakke (1997) for a similar reasoning with regard to the cult of the dead in *Festal Letters* XXXIX-XLI.

³¹ E.g. Kannengiesser (1993), *Asceticism*.

mentarily preserved in a Latin translation, written by Athanasius to his supporters in 356 (?). Of the three last documents Brakke appended a fresh English translation. The red thread and bottom line of his argumentation is 'that Athanasius, who battled all his life for certain ideas, mapped holiness cognitively, as a function of belief in the incarnate Word, not locatively, as a function of God's continued presence on earth' (p. 445). But let us now turn to Brakke's monograph, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*.

In the first two chapters Brakke deals with Athanasius' relations with concrete ascetic groups in his efforts to attach these to the episcopal structures and detach them from rivalling movements. In Ch. 1, which is (partly) based on a perceptive reading of the *Letters to the Virgins*³², he studies Athanasius' efforts to control the life of the virgins in the city of Alexandria. It contains a wealth of information on how these women lived and how they were organized³³. To get control of these women, who lived in very diverse ways, Athanasius tried to detach the virgins from competing groups by issuing regulations that fostered a lifestyle isolated from the contentious public life of the city, yet connected to the parish churches administered by the Athanasian episcopate³⁴. He resisted Hieracas' efforts to establish communities of ascetic men and women totally separate from married Christians. In response he portrayed virginity as a virtue analogous but superior to marriage, trying to steer

³² An English translation of the *First Letter* (from the Coptic) and the *Second Letter to the Virgins* (preserved in Syriac) are given in the appendix, on pp. 274-302. They are followed by translations of his *On Virginity* (pp. 303-310), *On Sickness and Health* (p. 310-314), *Fragments of the Moral Life* (pp. 314-320) and the *Festal Letters* XXIV, XXIX, XXXIX and XL (pp. 320-334). Brakke (1998) contains fresh translations of the *Festal Letters* XLI and XLII as well as of a letter, fragmentarily preserved in Latin, which Athanasius wrote to his supporters (*PG* 26, col. 1189-1190).

³³ See for the institutionalizing of ascetic movements in the fourth century, focusing on Asia Minor and Egypt, also S. ELM, *'Virgins of God'. The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford Classical Monographs), Oxford, 1994. See esp. Ch. 11, Athanasius of Alexandria and Urban Asceticism, pp. 331-373.

³⁴ A similar reading of the *First Letter to the Virgins* was developed by Elm (1993). She determined that the audience of this Letter, which she dates later than Brakke (ca. 350-370), were the Alexandrian ascetics and congregation whose support he needed in his struggle for supremacy against the Arians: 'Athanasius wrote as a competitor against Arian views with the intention to convert a potential majority of ascetics subscribing to these Arian views to his own position' (p. 183).

these women away from a practice of the ascetic perfectionism of spiritual liberation. He also tried to dissuade the virgins from participating in academic study circles led by Arian teachers, which resisted the episcopal authority and stood outside the hierarchical ecclesiastical structure. He put forward an interpretation of the virgins' traditional title "brides of Christ" to bring virgins to a submissive lifestyle. In Ch. 2 Brakke turns to Athanasius' relations with the different groups of male monks in the Egyptian desert, showing how he manages to subordinate them to his episcopal authority. Brakke's reading of the *Letter to Amoun* and *Of Sickness and Health* shows Athanasius using his episcopal authority as interpreter of Scripture to encourage monks towards moderation in sleeping habits and nocturnal emissions³⁵. Another policy Athanasius frequently adopted to secure the allegiance of monks to the episcopal Church was to give them an episcopal see, thus ensuring the loyalty of entire monastic communities. Finally, the Alexandrian bishop gradually managed to get some influence within the internal politics of the Pachomian communities³⁶.

The ascetic life, however, was not a privilege of monks and virgins; for Athanasius every Christian had to become an ascetic to some extent³⁷. Athanasius depicted the Christian life as an ascent to heaven and as appropriation of the Incarnate Word's victory over moral and physical corruption. This could, in his view, only be realized through a life of ascetic renunciation in which imitation of the saints and study of Scripture were key concepts in the ascetic identity of every Christian. All this became concrete (maybe too concrete for some Christians ...) in his *Festal Letters* where the bishop tried to motivate "ordinary" Christians to adopt an ascetic programme during Lent and Easter. This seasonal ascetic regimen included a renunciation of sex, a restricted diet, a renunciation of wealth expressed by acts of charity and a program of Scripture study to discern and imitate the virtues of the biblical saints. The

³⁵ See for this topic also D. BRAKKE, *The Problematization of Nocturnal Emissions in Early Christian Syria, Egypt and Gaul*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3 (1995) 419-461, esp. p. 433-446.

³⁶ See about Athanasius' relations to the Pachomians now Barnard (1997). On his relations with monks in general, see Yanney (1996) and Kühneweg (1997).

³⁷ 'This integration of ascetic Christians into a comprehensive Church in practical terms was accompanied by an integration of asceticism into a comprehensive view of the Christian life on the theoretical level' (p. 12).

Vita Antonii served the same purpose in epitomizing Athanasius' ascetic programme (Ch. 4). The monk is presented as the perfect instance of human appropriation of the Word's victory over sin and death. Antony's body is in the full control of his soul which is in the full control of the Word of God. By publishing the *Vita Antonii*, Athanasius hoped to foster the formation of the Church as a shared way of ascetic life.

Brennan (1985) offers another reading of the *Vita Antonii*, also for the purpose of showing how this text contributed to Athanasius' efforts to unify various strands in the Egyptian Church. He depicts Antony as a charismatic figure according to the Weberian sociological model: he received spiritual education, his deeds have an anti-economical nature, his charisma and special status are recognized by all. Brennan reads the *Vita Antonii* as what Weber calls the "routinization" of that charisma: "the waning of the pure form of charismatic domination and its transformation into an institutional form within a larger structure"³⁸. Indications of Antony's domestication in the existing ecclesial structures of the Egyptian Church are his presentation as a humble man reverencing the law of the Church and the bishops Athanasius and Serapion (of Thmuis) becoming his spiritual heirs by inheriting his cloak.

Badger's work, *The New Man Created in God. Christology, Congregation and Asceticism in Athanasius of Alexandria*, may be the most original book-length study to be mentioned in this section³⁹. As his preface and footnotes indicate, the work was an important source of inspiration for Brakke. I believe the two are worthy companion volumes that, in more than one way, complement each other. While Brakke's book is more historically orientated without excluding attention for theology, the opposite must be said about Badger's work. His approach is to look for key-concepts of Athanasius' soteriology in his theological treatises and in a second step to see how these rather abstract ideas are given flesh and bones in some of his pastoral writings such as the *Festal Letters* and the *Epistula ad Marcellinum*. His work is thus an inquiry into the pastoral implementation of these theological ideas. But the work also contains a good overview of the ascetic movements in Alexandria

³⁸ Brennan (1985), p. 220.

³⁹ It is his unpublished dissertation, submitted in 1990 to the Department of Religion of the Graduate School of Duke University.

and Egypt and Athanasius' relations with them. All in all it is a beautiful attempt to keep together the theologian and the pastorally concerned bishop that Athanasius was⁴⁰.

Badger starts by explaining how the Incarnation reopens the way to God closed to humanity as a consequence of the Fall. More specifically he looks into two effects of the Incarnation which are key-soteriological themes in Athanasius' theology, viz. the manifestation of knowledge about God (relating to the mind) and the reversal of corporeal corruption (relating to the body). In the double work *Contra Gentes-De Incarnatione Verbi* Athanasius characterizes the achievement of Christ as "the two ways God had compassion on us". In the *Contra Arianos* the accent is on the body of Christ. The salvific functioning of Christ's assuming a human body is highlighted under two aspects. The Incarnation *in se*, like a kind of automatic infusion of divine essence into dissipating humanity, is only the structure of the saving act. It is through the progressive history of the Incarnated Word's achievements up to cross, resurrection and ascension that grace is established in the assumed body. This assumed body, with its accumulated grace so to speak, becomes the medium and the conduit for human salvation. By our connection with it we become capable of becoming "similar to Christ". Christ has thus restored for us the gateway to the heavenly feast, but we still have to travel the road towards it. Parts II and III of Badger's dissertation look at how Athanasius conceived this pathway *in concreto* and how he communicated it to his people.

The communication of this process of becoming "similar to Christ" happens so to speak on two different wavelengths. In Part II Badger explains how Athanasius translated the previously discussed soteriological and christological themes into a pastoral program for the ordinary Christian and communicates it via his *Festal Letters*. Athanasius outlined how this feast should be seen as a process, by which the believer lays hold of grace. It is a key medium both for the individual believer and the community to "advance" in the Christian, *i.e.* the ascetic life. In his *Festal Letters* he incited Christians to imitate the saints and strive along the way to the heavenly feast. He showed how everyone can appropriate the bene-

⁴⁰ The study of Lyman (1993), which I will discuss in § 3, goes the opposite way. She focuses on Athanasius' theology but does not completely leave out of sight its historical background.

fits achieved in Jesus' incarnate ministry. The imitation of the saints is rooted firmly in Christ's own achievement. In the *Festal Letters* we find an anagogy with noetic (meditation, scripture) as well as corporeal (ascetic discipline) elements which are translated into concrete pastoral exhortations, into Athanasius' conception of the "easy" and "secure" way to the heavenly feast. In Part III the scope widens to include various ascetic movements in Egypt and Alexandria. Here Badger shows that the same christological framework lies behind Athanasius' concrete practice. His pastoral aim is to give ascetics confidence in their calling, but through the christological formation of this confidence he reformulates the basis for holiness and its power. These dynamics have the pastoral tendency to criticize radical models of holiness expressed in extreme withdrawal, in favour of a socially integrated place for ascetic striving, theologically based on the role of the incarnate Christ and the way the believer appropriates His "triumphs."

It would be very interesting to see whether this christological framework also emerges in his homilies. The indications Riall gives⁴¹ seem to point in this direction. A systematic study of Athanasius' homilies remains at this moment perhaps the greatest desideratum in Athanasius research. Badger's framework could provide a focus for such a study and enhance a "holistic" interpretation of the Alexandrian bishop.

3. More in detail

By their vast scope and integration of the rich literature on the historical background of Athanasius' life (imperial politics, the relation between Church and State, Egyptian ascetic movements, social-economic history, religion in Late Antiquity, ...) the studies presented above give the impression that we know very much about Athanasius of Alexandria. In a sense this is true: the general outline of his biography is fairly well known. However, when one goes into greater detail the gaps in our knowledge soon become evident. This is also the conclusion from the following discussion of a few *capita selecta* pertinent to the reconstruction of Athanasius' biography. In particular and *exempli gratia* we deal with the events of

⁴¹ Riall (1987), *Politics*, p. 307-313.

the years 334-339, since most of the detailed contributions concern the prelude to and the aftermath of Athanasius' first exile⁴².

Alexander of Alexandria died on 17 April 328 and on 8 June, after a much disputed election, Athanasius was enthroned as his successor. The Melitians heavily contested this election and would continue to do so for many years. What exactly happened remains partly a matter of conjecture⁴³. It seems clear, however, that the Melitians' main grudge was their inferior status after the decisions of Nicea. Their discontentment led them to join forces with the Eusebians. This coalition's first attempt to discredit Athanasius in the eyes of Constantine failed. Athanasius went to the imperial court in 331/2 to defend himself against the charges they had brought against him and succeeded in clearing himself. The Melitians persisted. They wrote to Constantine repeating their charge that Athanasius had ordered Macarius to break Ischyra's chalice and they added an even more serious one: the Alexandrian bishop was charged with having arranged the murder of Arsenius, the bishop of Hypsele. In the spring of 334, the Emperor ordered an episcopal Council to be summoned in Palestinian Caesarea to investigate these indictments. Athanasius refused to attend. A new Council was convoked in Tyre in the summer of 335⁴⁴.

Papyrus London 1914, a letter from the Melitian monk Callistus to his brothers Paieous and Parabeit⁴⁵, is generally interpreted against the background of the situation in Alexandria at the eve of this Council. Callistus narrates some violent outrages committed by Athanasius' "adherents" (οἱ διαφῆροντες) as well as by Athanasius himself. The facts happened in the Alexandrian suburb Nicopolis in the month of May of an unspecified year. Bell dated the text by way of elimination in 335, albeit with a question mark. The text is often quoted as proof of Athanasius' violent behaviour against his enemies. Arnold questions both the dating of the text

⁴² The following articles deal with the later period of Athanasius' life: Fernandez (1985); (1997); Lienhard (1993); Tetz (1988); Forlin-Patrucco (1988); Barnard (1989); Camplani (1997).

⁴³ About Athanasius' election see Fernandez (1985); Riall (1987), *Politics*, 13-31; Arnold (1991), *Career*, p. 25-62; Martin (1996), 321-339.

⁴⁴ See for the events between 328-335 Leemans (1991), 73-171.

⁴⁵ H. I. BELL, *Jews and Christians in Egypt. The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy*, Milan, 1977 (= London, 1924), 53-72. See on this important papyrus now also DiMaio (1996).

and the assertion that it proves Athanasius' violent conduct⁴⁶. In my opinion he is right to question the date in Bell's edition. I see no reason why the papyrus must be dated in 335. Bell's arguments are certainly not conclusive. Yet, Arnold's argumentation that the text does not prove violent behaviour of Athanasius is weaker. He points to the confused and fragmented structure of the Egyptian Church which was constituted of many different groups, not just Melitians and "orthodox". The "adherents" might as well be Melitians who changed sides to the orthodox party or Colluthians. Another objection to using the papyrus as proof of Athanasius' violence is Bell's "sacrilegious worm who has eaten part of the papyrus". As happens often, it is a crucial part because in the missing text there might be a change in the subject of the sentence. Athanasius clearly is the subject of the text before the break, but it is by no means sure that he still is thereafter. This means that it is not sure whether he committed the violence described in the text. Moreover, Arnold points to the document's ex parte character and to some passages where Athanasius himself condemns violence as a means of persuasion⁴⁷. On the other hand, we should not forget, as Arnold admits, that there are other texts bearing testimony to the Alexandrian bishop's acts of violence⁴⁸.

On 11 July 335⁴⁹ Athanasius left Alexandria for Tyre accompanied by many Egyptian bishops who supported him, among them former Melitians. The Council did not proceed as Athanasius had hoped. Especially the mission, in August and early September⁵⁰ of a commission to the Mareotis to investigate the Ischyra question was very dangerous since this committee was composed exclusively of his enemies. Athanasius left Tyre on a raft and travelled by boat

⁴⁶ Arnold (1989), *Reconsideration* and Arnold (1991), *Career*, p. 71-89.

⁴⁷ *Apologia Secunda* 2.2 (ed. H.G. OPITZ, *Athanasius' Werke. II.1. Die Apologien*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1939, p. 88, l. 16-17); *Historia Arianorum* 33.1-2; 67.2 (ed. OPITZ, p. 201, l. 15-19; p. 219, l. 39-220, l. 1)

⁴⁸ The Acts of the Council of Tyre, in Sozomenus, *HE* II, 22 and 25 (ed. SC, 306, Paris, 1983, pp. 318-323; 334-347, *passim*) and the Synodical Letter from the Orientales at Serdica, preserved by Hilarius, *Collectanea Antiariana* A IV (ed. CSEL, 65, p. 48,9-67,20, *passim*).

⁴⁹ *Festal Index* 8 (ed. SC, 317, p. 232-235).

⁵⁰ The protest of Athanasius' partisans, presumably issued when the commission was already active, is dated September 8. The text of the letter is preserved in *Apologia Secunda*, 76 (ed. OPITZ, p. 155-156)

to Constantinople⁵¹, presumably to seek Constantine's support. The inauguration of the Church of the H. Sepulchre in Jerusalem took place in mid-September⁵². On that occasion a Council, largely consisting of the same bishops who assembled at Tyre, readmitted Arius to the communion of the Church. Athanasius arrived in Constantinople on 2 Hathyr (30 October)⁵³. Athanasius had one (or two) meeting(s) with Constantine. According to the *Festal Index* one meeting took place on 10 Hathyr (7 November), the day he was exiled. And in the *Apologia Secunda* he quotes a letter in which Constantine describes his meeting with Athanasius in the streets of the capital. The Emperor was on horseback, Athanasius accosted him and complained that he was treated unjustly by the bishops of the Council of Tyre. He persuaded Constantine to summon them so he could be given a fair hearing in the Emperor's presence⁵⁴. Some of the Eusebian leaders also arrived in the capital and were heard by the Emperor as well. The outcome was exile for Athanasius without losing his episcopal see. On 7 November⁵⁵ Athanasius sailed for Gaul. This is the sequence of events as far as it can be reconstructed with certainty. Yet many details remain unclear and numerous solutions to these problems have been proposed in recent literature⁵⁶. Besides the question of chronology there is also the question why Constantine exiled Athanasius while prohibiting anyone else from replacing him as bishop of Alexandria.

(1) A first difficult point is the sequence of Athanasius' flight from Tyre, the final stage of the Council of Tyre and the Council of Jerusalem. Drake thinks Athanasius left Tyre ca. 1-10 September in reaction to the Mareotis commission which carried out its inquiries in August-September. He situates Athanasius' condemnation ca. 1

⁵¹ *Festal Index* 8 (ed. SC, 317, p. 232-233) and Martin (1996), p. 377-378 with note 156.

⁵² Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* IV, 43-47 (ed. GCS, Berlin, 1974, p. 138-140).

⁵³ *Festal Index* 8 (ed. SC, 317, p. 232-235).

⁵⁴ *Apologia Secunda*, 86.2-12 (ed. OPITZ, p. 164-165). A slightly different version of the text of Constantine's letter is printed in Gelasius, *HE* III, 18 (ed. GCS, Leipzig, 1918, p. 179-181). For a penetrating analysis of both texts, see Barnes (1993), p. 30-32 and Martin (1996), p. 380-381 with note 164.

⁵⁵ *Festal Index* 8 (ed. SC, 317, p. 234-235).

⁵⁶ Drake (1986); Riall (1987), *Politics*, p.82-89; Arnold (1991), *Career*, p. 160-173; Barnes (1993), p. 22-24; Martin (1996), p. 374-389.

October, leaving it in the middle whether the bishops returned to Tyre or stayed in Jerusalem. According to Riall and Martin the convocation in Tyre was rounded off before mid-September with the condemnation of Athanasius who by then had taken flight. The bishops then went to Jerusalem. In Arnold's and Barnes' reconstructions, on the other hand, the bishops returned to Tyre to hear the report of the Mareotis commission and finish their business. Athanasius did not await his condemnation: he left when the bishops left for Jerusalem (Arnold) or at another moment (Barnes).

(2) When did Athanasius see the Emperor? In Drake's opinion the meeting on the street, which was the first of two meetings, took place on the same day Athanasius arrived in the capital (30 October). On ca. 5 November his enemies, who had guessed his destination, also arrived from Tyre in Constantinople. On the following day there was a formal interview with Constantine who ordered the Alexandrian bishop into exile. On 7 November Athanasius sailed for Gaul. Riall agrees but situates the formal hearing – in his view also the second time Athanasius met the Emperor – on November 7 which he thinks is the corresponding date for the 10 Hathyr mentioned in the *Festal Index*.

Arnold presents a slightly different reconstruction. Athanasius went to Constantinople to seek the Emperor's support but he did go not on a raft as an escaping prisoner but as someone sent in some manner of protective custody. He places Athanasius' arrival somewhere in late October (not on the 30/10 as the *Index* states). On 30 October he met the Emperor in the street. Constantine agreed to send summons to Tyre for a fair hearing which gave Athanasius time to mollify Constantine. On 6 November the Eusebians arrived in the capital and the formal interview took place that led to his exile. Martin reconstructs the sequence of events in the same way, only situating the second interview on 7 instead of 6 November.

Barnes brings all the events together in a much shorter time span. Athanasius arrived in the capital on 30 October. Constantine was absent at that moment. He returned on 6 November. That same day Athanasius met him in the street. Yet within a few hours Athanasius' enemies, who had guessed his destination, also arrived in the capital. There they discovered that Constantine had already, in effect, annulled their carefully planned condemnation and deposition of Athanasius. The ensuing exchange led to Athanasius' exile.

(3) What exactly did happen during the second, "formal", interview? What made Constantine decide to exile Athanasius? Athanasius says that his enemies, as soon as they understood that the Emperor knew of their foul play with the biased constitution of the Mareotis commission, brought up another charge against him: he is to have threatened to prevent the grain fleet from leaving Alexandria for Constantinople⁵⁷. However, it is very unlikely that if this charge had been true the sentence (deposition without losing the right on his episcopal see) would have been so mild. It is more probable that ten years after Nicaea Constantine finally wanted religious unity in his Empire and therefore agreed with Arius' readmission in the Church⁵⁸. If Athanasius refused to agree with the decision of the Council of Jerusalem, as he surely would have done, then it is very probable that the Emperor lent more credence to the complaints of Athanasius' enemies about his intransigent c.q. violent behaviour than to the bishop's complaint that he did not get a fair hearing at Tyre⁵⁹. Just like Drake, Riall dismisses the grain fleet accusation as the reason for Athanasius' exile. However he also excludes the possibility that it had something to do with a refusal to acknowledge Arius' readmission. Riall sees as the only reason the Emperor's wish for religious unity which led him to endorse the decisions made in Tyre. This would also explain the relatively light sentence. Martin agrees. The "new charge" regarding the grain fleet as well as the refusal to recognize Arius' readmission⁶⁰ are Athanasian embellishments of and apology for the originally simple historical fact that Constantine endorsed the Tyre decisions. Barnes tells the events leading to Athanasius' exile with a great sense for drama whereby the grain fleet question, Athanasius intransigence regarding Arius' readmission and both Athanasius' and the Emperor's losing their tempers played a role.

⁵⁷ *Apologia Secunda* 87.1 (ed. OPITZ, p. 165-166).

⁵⁸ Socrates (*HE* I,35) writes: "There are those who say the Emperor has done this with the aim of unifying the Church, since Athanasius avoided all communion with the Arians" and Sozomenus, *HE* II, 28.14 regarded concern for unity also as a possible explanation.

⁵⁹ Drake (1986).

⁶⁰ It should be noted that in Martin's reconstruction Arius was never formally readmitted in the Church by the Council of Jerusalem (335). He died just before, but after he had presented to the Emperor in Constantinople a profession of his faith. See at length in *Le fil d'Arius: 325-335*, in *RHE* 84 (1989) 297-333.

Arnold sees in Constantine's decision "a temporary measure, the result of an imperial edict issued in an effort to restore peace within the Christian community"⁶¹. Taking a Letter of Constantine II at face value, he even considers the possibility that the Emperor's decision was inspired by a desire to put Athanasius under "protective custody" to shield him from his enemies⁶².

It is clear that the information in the sources allow different reconstructions. An honest *nescimus* is in place here. The only certainties seem to be the precise chronological indications of the *Festal Index*, difficult to interpret though they sometimes may be. An example: on the basis of the indications in the *Index* scholars in general agree that Athanasius' first exile began on 10 Hathyr (7 November). Yet even this detail is contested. In 1868 Sievers⁶³ proposed to read 10 *Mechir* (5 February 336) instead of 10 Hathyr as the start of Athanasius' first exile. His suggestion has found little support except for Barnard, who firmly dates the beginning of Athanasius' first exile in February 336⁶⁴. This leaves more than enough time for Constantine to summon the bishops assembled in Tyre to the capital. It stretches the time available and makes a more logical sequence of events possible. The first meeting between Athanasius and Constantine can then have been on 30 October, on the street; the second formal interview would have taken place with the Eusebians who had in the meantime been summoned and had arrived. Barnard takes the corn supply charge very serious, making it the main reason for the exile. He also notes that with this comparatively moderate sentence the emperor may have wanted to appease the Eusebians without alienating Athanasius' supporters.

Constantine died on 22 May 337⁶⁵. A letter from Constantine II allowed the Alexandrian bishop to return home. From the same letter we know that Athanasius left Trier on a 17 June⁶⁶. He returned to the city in great triumph on a 23 November⁶⁷. During the years

⁶¹ Arnold (1991), *Career*, p. 173.

⁶² *Apologia Secunda* 87.4-7 (ed. OPITZ, p. 165-166).

⁶³ G. R. SIEVERS, *Athanasii vita acephala: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, in *Zeitschrift für die Historische Theologie* 37 (1868) 89-163, 98.

⁶⁴ Barnard (1992), p. 23-24.

⁶⁵ *Festal Index* 10 (ed. SC, 317, p. 236-237).

⁶⁶ *Apologia Secunda* 87.4-7 (ed. OPITZ, p. 166).

⁶⁷ *Festal Index* 10 (ed. SC, 317, p. 236-237).

337-339 he had two presumably successful meetings with Constantius: one in Viminacium and one in Cappadocian Caesarea⁶⁸. In the summer of 338 Athanasius convened a Council in Alexandria⁶⁹ to justify the resumption of his see and to react against a Council in Antioch⁷⁰ that had deposed him and appointed the Arian Pistus in his place. That same summer, probably at the end of July, Antony visited the city for a few days⁷¹. In the winter of 338/9 a Council in Antioch⁷² deposed Athanasius once again, this time designating Gregory of Cappadocia as his successor. In March 339 the bishop had to flee and on the 22 of the same month Gregory made his entrance into the city⁷³. On 16 April⁷⁴ Athanasius sailed for Italy, where he would spend his second exile.

Most scholars agree with this outline⁷⁵. The two main issues of dispute are (1) Did Athanasius leave Trier in 337 or 338? (2) What is the context of the two meetings with Constantius?

(1) Given the very short time for the news of Constantine's death to reach Trier one could also date Constantine II's Letter from 17 June and Athanasius' return home in 338. Except for Barnard⁷⁶, this solution has found little support among scholars. He brings forward the following three arguments to make his case:

(a) Antony's visit to Alexandria in the summer of 338, mentioned in *Festal Index* X and the passage in *Vita Antonii* 71.1 which states that "When he (Antony) was departing, and *we* were setting him forth on his way, as *we* arrived at the gate, ..." brought scholars to conclude that Athanasius was in the city. This would prove that

⁶⁸ *Apologia ad Constantium* 5, l. 9-12 (ed. SC, 56bis, Paris, 1987, p. 96-97).

⁶⁹ The synodical letter is quoted in *Apologia Secunda* 3-20 (ed. OPITZ, p. 88-101).

⁷⁰ *Apologia Secunda* 19.2; 20.1; 24.1 (ed. OPITZ, p. 101-102; 105); *Historia Arianorum* 9.1 (*ibid.*, p. 188); *Epistula Encyclica* 6.2 (*ibid.*, p. 175).

⁷¹ *Festal Index* 10 (ed. SC, 317, p. 236-237).

⁷² *Apologia Secunda* 29.3; 30.1 (ed. OPITZ, p. 108-109); Socrates, *HE* II,8 (ed. GCS, Berlin, 1995, p. 97-98) and Sozomen, *HE* III,5 (ed. GCS, Berlin, 1960, p. 105-107).

⁷³ *Festal Index* 11 (ed. SC, 317, p. 236-239).

⁷⁴ *Festal Index* 11 (ed. SC, 317, p. 236-239) with *Historia Acephala* 5.8 (*ibid.*, p. 164-165). See Martin (1996), p. 407 with note 65.

⁷⁵ Riall (1987), *Politics*, p. 95-120; Barnard (1992), p. 25-31; Barnes (1993), p. 34-47; Martin (1996), p. 393-408.

⁷⁶ Barnard (1992), p. 25-31.

Athanasius returned on 23 November 337. But Barnard⁷⁷ points out that neither passage substantiates that Athanasius and Antony met on the occasion(s) described. Antony's visit of July/August 338 is no proof for Athanasius' presence in the city at that moment. With further arguments Barnard⁷⁸ also tried to show that Athanasius did not know Antony at all, which has consequences for the evaluation of the *Vita Antonii* as an historical source and for the authenticity of the work⁷⁹.

(b) *Festal Letter X*, written for Easter 338, contains many references to a distance between the author and his readers, which according to Barnard can best be explained by assuming that Athanasius was still in Trier when he wrote it. In Barnes' reconstruction these references are explained by assuming that the Letter was written on the way to his second meeting with Constantius. Riall and Martin situate the composition of the Letter in Alexandria.

(c) In the text of *Historia Acephala* 5.8⁸⁰, which sums up the lengths of Athanasius' different periods of exile, the duration of the first exile seems to have dropped out. From the text it can be deduced that this was a period of 2 years, 4 months and 11 days. If this period is added to 5 February 336, which Barnard holds to be the beginning of the first exile, than one arrives almost exactly at 17 June 338 instead of 337. Martin accepts that this period has been dropped from the text. However, if one calculates from 11 July 335 (Athanasius' leaving Alexandria for Tyre) onwards, the result is 22 November 337, one day before Athanasius' return.

All in all Barnard's argumentation is not impossible but in my opinion it is not weighty enough for the conclusion he wants it to bear. Moreover, if one accepts with Barnard that Athanasius returned from his exile only in November 338, there is precious little time between his arrival and his withdrawal and flight to Italy in the spring of 339.

(2) *Apologia ad Constantium*, 5 mentions three meetings between Athanasius and Constantius, subsequently in Viminacium,

⁷⁷ Furthermore, Camplani showed in a recent article that the sources do not inevitably lead to this conclusion: A. CAMPLANI, *Did Athanasius Know Antony? A Response to Leslie D. Barnard*, in *Christian Orient* (Russia) 1 (1999) 296-301.

⁷⁸ Barnard (1994).

⁷⁹ Cf. *infra* sub §2 D1.

⁸⁰ SC, 317, p. 164 with p. 209, note 50.

Cappadocian Caesarea and Antioch. The first two of these meetings are to be situated in the years after the end of his first exile. Except the fragmentary information in the sources about both Athanasius' and Constantius' whereabouts, there are no indications when exactly these meetings must be situated. This remains largely a matter of conjecture with two equally possible solutions: both meetings happened before Athanasius' arrival in Alexandria or one happened before and one after.

Barnard and Martin place both meetings with Constantius before Athanasius reentered Alexandria in November 338. Presumably these interviews with the Emperor reigning over the Eastern half of the Empire were important to regain his confidence and receive permission to travel back to Alexandria. Riall and Barnes place the one in Viminium in the summer or the early autumn of 337. The second meeting they bring into connection with the decisions of the Council of Antioch (winter 337/8) which deposed Athanasius and installed Pistus as his successor. On Constantius' request Athanasius went to Cappadocia to defend himself against the charges of murder and treason brought forward by his enemies.

This survey of publications dealing with Athanasius' biography leaves behind feelings of both contentment and frustration. Contentment because the synthetic studies of the last thirteen years have offered detailed reconstructions of Athanasius' biography. Moreover, they have done a great deal to enhance our understanding of the Alexandrian bishop, as the leader of Egyptian Christianity and as a participant in the complex ecclesiastical politics of his time. The general outline of his career we know quite well. And the current flowering of studies on the roots of Egyptian Christianity highlight the background of his life. On the other hand, the all too brief analysis of the recent scholarship on the events of 334-339 has shown painfully that one often comes no further than a well-founded but still hypothetical reconstruction. Fortunately, Athanasius also left a rich and multifaceted heritage of writings. It is to these that we now turn.

§2 ATHANASIUS' WRITINGS

In this part I will treat the research on Athanasius' writings. It includes new editions and translations, discussions on date and

authenticity and all those publications dealing with just one of Athanasius' works. I deal successively with his earliest writings (A), the *Orationes contra Arianos* (B), the historical-polemical and ascetical writings (C and D), the Letters and homilies (E and F).

A. ATHANASIUS' EARLIEST WORKS

1. *Henos Somatos*

I start my survey by briefly mentioning a "new work" of Athanasius. It concerns the Letter "*Henos somatos*", which until Stead proved otherwise in 1988, was generally considered to be written by Athanasius' predecessor, Alexander, to whom the manuscript tradition attributes it. A comparison of style, vocabulary and treatment of Arianism in the two letters ascribed to Alexander, viz. *Hè philarchos* and *Henos somatos*⁸¹, proved that they cannot be from the same hand and that *Henos somatos* with regard to these same criteria is perfectly consonant with the undisputed works of Athanasius, while *Hè philarchos* is not. He concludes that the first is by Athanasius, the second work is from Alexander's hand.

2. *Contra Gentes* and *De Incarnatione Verbi*

This work is (most probably) Athanasius' first main theological treatise. *Contra Gentes* (CG) is an apologetic writing in which the traditional arguments against polytheism and idolatry are brought forward. *De Incarnatione Verbi* (DI) emphasizes human frailty and the Incarnation of the divine Word as the needed and appropriate saving act. Usually the CG-DI are called a "double work". Athanasius indeed clearly conceived the two books as two halves of one work. However it is less clear whether he did so from the outset of their composition or brought together in one work two originally independent writings. Stead opts for the first possibility but Meijering shows that the CG and the DI form a harmonious unity. The first part was written with the second already in mind and vice versa⁸².

⁸¹ *Henos somatos* is edited as Urk. 4b in H.G. OPITZ (ed.), *Athanasius' Werke. III.1. Urkunden zur Geschichte des Arianischen Streites 318-328*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1934, p. 6-11; for the text of *Hè philarchos* see *ibid.*, nr. 14, p. 19-29.

⁸² Meijering (1991); Stead (1992), art. *Athanasius*.

a. Text and translations

As editions most widely in use, I mention the ones Thomson (CG-DI) and Kannengiesser (only DI) published more than twenty years ago⁸³. The last thirteen years have provided no new edition, but several translations should be mentioned. Staniloae (1987) published a Roumanian translation of the CG-DI. In 1989 and 1992 Spanish translations of respectively the DI and the CG were published in the series *Biblioteca di Patristica*. Meijering (1989) gives a German translation of the DI. One more detail: as a translation of the difficult passage DI 4.5⁸⁴ O' Brien proposes the following: "Si, en effet, ayant pour nature de ne pas être à un moment, c'était par la présence du Verbe et par son amour à leur égard qu'ils (sc. les hommes) furent appelés à l'être". This translation diverges from the two most commonly used, viz. those by Thomson and Kannengiesser⁸⁵.

The two mentioned scholars made an important contribution to the study of the textual transmission of the DI⁸⁶. This work survived in a short recension and a longer one. The latter is the text as Athanasius composed it, the former is the result of a later revision. The "short recension" (SR) is attested in four ms.: three Greeks (C, D and d) and one Syriac (cod. Vatic. Syr. 104). The Syriac text offers several hundreds of textual variants which appear in neither the three Greek ms. nor the long recension. Some of these variants, such as the systematic elimination of the words ὀργανον and νοῦς to designate the humanity of Christ, are very significant. Relying on these variants Thomson postulated that the four witnesses reflect the true traditional text of the SR, and that the variants in

⁸³ R. W. THOMSON (ED.), *Athanasius. Contra Gentes and De Incarnatione* (Oxford Early Christian Studies), Oxford, 1971; C. KANNENGIESSER (ED.), *Athanasie. Sur l'Incarnation du Verbe* (Sources Chrétiennes, 199), Paris, 1973.

⁸⁴ Εἰ γὰρ, φύσιν ἔχοντες τὸ μὴ εἶναι ποτε, τῇ τοῦ Λόγου παρουσίᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἐκκληθήσαν ... (ed. PG 25, col. 104 B-C).

⁸⁵ O' Brien (1989). Thomson (*op. cit.*, p. 145) translates: "For if, having such a nature as not ever to exist, they were summoned to existence by the advent and mercy of the Word, ...". Kannengiesser (*op. cit.*, p. 277-299) translates: "En effet, si leur nature était autrefois le néant, et s'ils furent appelés à l'être par la présence et la philanthropie du Verbe, ...".

⁸⁶ R. W. THOMSON, *Some Remarks on the Syriac Version of Athanasius' De Incarnatione*, in *Le Muséon* 77 (1964) 17-28; Kannengiesser (1987), *Témoin syriaque*.

the Syriac text were introduced later because of the Monophysite controversy. Kannengiesser in reaction to him pointed out that the three Greek ms. of the SR do something similar to the Syriac ms.: they systematically replace "ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπῳ" with other formulas of their choice while leaving the text unchanged at the places where the Syriac ms. did change the text. He explains this dual phenomenon by a doctrinal and literary revision of the DI. On the basis of a florilegium that had already the changed text, this revision should, in his opinion, be dated around the end of the fourth century and not later.

b. Date

The date of the CG-DI is one of the notorious cruxes of the research on Athanasius. The past decade has given due attention to this question and seems to move more and more towards the acceptance of a "late date". Yet a definitive and entirely convincing solution seems far way if not impossible, given the variety of mutually exclusive arguments⁸⁷. The following arguments should be taken in consideration: (1) The Alexandria-centredness in CG 23 and DI 51; (2) Some vague allusions to historical facts; (3) A possible dependence on Eusebius' *Theophaneia*; (4) The absence of overt references to Arius and his followers; (5) Thematic analogies with other works.

Meijering defends an early date. He considers CG-DI an introduction to Christian faith that collects arguments from traditional anti-pagan apologetics. As a date he proposes the years shortly before the Council of Nicaea. Slusser dates the work in the 330's, but surely before Athanasius' exile in Trier, while Riall dates the work during this exile. Pettersen goes no further than to suggest a date somewhere between 328-335. These scholars thus place the work relatively early in Athanasius' career. Beatrice (1990), who dates the work much later (between 356-362), opts for an alternative approach.

⁸⁷ For a status quaestionis and survey of the arguments, see C. KANNENGIESSER, *La date de l'Apologie d'Athanase "Contre les païens" et "Sur l'incarnation du Verbe"*, in *RechSR* 58 (1970), 383-428, 383-402; Riall (1987), *Politics*, p. 393-400 and Meijering (1989), pp. 11-21. The main contributions which we will discuss are Pettersen (1985); Slusser (1986); Riall (1987), *Politics*, p. 393-400; Meijering (1989); Beatrice (1990) and Meijering (1991), p. 325 note 1.

We start our examination of contributions to the debate with Slusser (1986), who points to the geographical *tours d'horizon* Athanasius gives his readers in CG 23 and DI 51. These clearly have Alexandria as their centre and show no awareness of the Western part of the Empire. This leads to a date before 335. After his exile in Gaul this narrow geographical scope disappeared from his works, as is shown by passages from later writings. Against Slusser, Meijering⁸⁸ points to passages in DI 33, 36 and 37 where Egypt is called ἐκεῖ and ἐκεῖθεν, which would seem to indicate that the author is not in Egypt and not the opposite, as Slusser would have it. Riall (1987) also dismisses Slusser's argument. According to him, it should be applied to Athanasius' readership, rather than to the author himself.

Riall relies on the few references to historical facts in the CG-DI and on its dependence on the *Theophaneia* to determine its date. As a terminus ante quem he uses the passage in CG 9 mentioning the apotheosis of emperors, which he assumes to bear on Constantine. So the death of Constantine in 337 is the terminus ante quem. For a terminus post quem he relies on CG-DI's marked dependence on Eusebius of Caesarea's *Theophaneia*, which he dates in the period when Constantine had become sole emperor (from 324). So, his terminus post quem is just before the Council of Nicaea⁸⁹. All this leads to a date between 324 and 337, seemingly excluding an early date.

However, the value of the argument of the dependence on the *Theophaneia* can be called into question. The date Riall accepts for the *Theophaneia* is far from established: the work might as well be dated in 335. Moreover Meijering points out that the *Theophaneia* is a compilation of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* and the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, Eusebius' two main writings composed before the Council of Nicaea. Athanasius could have drawn inspiration directly from these writings. Furthermore, the parallels with Eusebius are often parallels with other, earlier, apologetes whose works Athanasius may also have read.

⁸⁸ Meijering (1991), p. 325 note 1.

⁸⁹ Other indications Riall adduces to establish a terminus post quem are some vague references to historical facts. These are: a reference to Constantine's victory over the Sarmatians and the Goths which took place in 332 (DI 52) and a possible echo of Constantine's anti-pagan laws dated between October 324 and April 325 or of his edict from ca. 331 to overthrow pagan temples (CG 1).

Another element often brought forward in the debate is the famous remark in CG 1 that Athanasius had no books available where he was writing. Riall thinks this means Athanasius was in exile when he wrote the work, but Pettersen and Meijering argue that the text should not be taken at face value. Moreover, Athanasius' being in exile does not necessarily mean that there were no books available. This is proven by quotations from Origen and Theognost in the *Fourth Letter to Serapion*, which he also composed while in exile.

The absence of any overt reference to the Arian question in the CG-DI and in his *Festal Letters* is also an important element in the debate. Kannengiesser⁹⁰ developed this point thoroughly. Riall agrees with him but Meijering is more critical. Kannengiesser's main argument is the famous passage at the end of DI 24 where it is said that Christ did not undergo the death of John, nor that of Isaiah, "in order that he might keep his body intact and whole in death, and that there be no pretext for those who wish to divide the Church"⁹¹. *Festal Letter V and VI* (333 and 334) mentions "those who tear Christ's tunic" (i.e. the unity of the Church). In the *Festal Letter* of 338 Athanasius reuses this same image. However, this time it is much clearer that it concerns the Arians. Kannengiesser therefore thinks that the allusions in the *Festal Letters* of 333 and 334, as well as some in the other *Festal Letters*, were also to the Arians, and that Athanasius, for diplomatic reasons, spoke about them only in veiled terms until after Constantine's death (337). Given the context, Meijering does not see an allusion to the Arians and Pettersen rightly shows that the allusions in the *Festal Letters* suit the Melitians far better but this does not diminish the value of Kannengiesser's argument. After all there simply are no overt references to Arius and his followers before 338. Together with the parallelism between DI 24 and the *Festal Letters* of 333 and 334, this remains a valuable indication that a date in the 330's is probable. But it is by no means necessary to place its composition during his exile in Trier. Any other occasion in this period when Athanasius was away from Alexandria and had no books at hand

⁹⁰ C. KANNENGIESSER, *Le témoignage des Lettres Festales de saint Athanase sur la date de l'Apologie contre les païens, sur l'Incarnation du Verbe*, in *RechSR* 52 (1964), 91-100.

⁹¹ R. W. THOMSON (ed), *Athanasius. Contra Gentes and De Incarnatione*, p. 195.

(cf. the reference in CG 1) is a good alternative, as Kannengiesser himself admits.

Besides the passage in DI 24, the CG-DI contains some other vague references to heretics, who are not mentioned by name (CG 6; 30; DI 2). The question is whether these too are Arians. Meijering, following and expanding Van Winden's argumentation⁹², argues that this is not the case. In CG 6 and DI 2 the Marcionites are Athanasius's target, while in CG 30 "τινες ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων" refers to heretics who deny the existence of the human soul. That CG-DI nowhere mentions Arius and his followers as heretics fits well with Van Winden's and Meijering's proposal to date the work before Arianism was a formal heresy, i.e. before the Council of Nicaea. Pettersen objects to this interpretation: that the Arians are not included into the "τινες ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων" does not lead to the conclusion that Arianism was not a heresy at the time of the composition.

As already said, Beatrice follows an entirely different path of inquiry. He does not situate the composition of the CG-DI before or during the first exile, but much later. His main arguments are: (1) The reference to imperial apotheosis gives, in his interpretation of the passage, as terminus post quem Constantine's death in 337; (2) Athanasius' references to a declining paganism suit the situation under Constantius II better than that under Constantine; (3) The many analogies with Antony's oration to the pagans in *Vita Antonii*, 74-80 where the hermit expresses theological thoughts similar to CG-DI. Beatrice also contends that CG-DI should be read as a response to Porphyry's attack on Christianity in the second half of the third century. He proposes to date CG-DI towards the end of Athanasius' second exile or even during his third exile. Martin (1996) adopts this opinion, qualifying his analysis as "tout à fait convaincante"⁹³.

c. Other studies

The only further study on the CG to be mentioned here is Ferrari's interesting analysis of the prologue. A comparison with the

⁹² J.C.M. VAN WINDEN, *On the Date of Athanasius' Apologetical Treatises*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 29 (1975) 291-295.

⁹³ Martin (1996), p. 485, note 128.

prooemium of Origen's *Contra Celsum* reveals that a distinctly different perspective on apologetics had emerged: it stepped out the explicit dialogue with pagans and Jews and turned inward to fulfill a pedagogical role within the Church⁹⁴. About the DI more studies were published. First, we mention Meijering's commentary⁹⁵. The book contains the Greek text⁹⁶ with a new German translation. The exemplary and thorough commentary is an indispensable tool for the reading and interpretation of the DI. Besides the comments on theological, philosophical and philological issues, I value highly the numerous references to Athanasius' other works (esp. the CG) as well as to other pagan and Christian writers.

The DI contains many elements of a theological anthropology⁹⁷. Here, Athanasius expounds that God created everything out of nothing through his Word, showing a special predilection towards mankind by making him in His image, with the capacity to remain forever in felicity. But man choose to transgress the law that God had given him and consequently became subject to mortality. The redemption of mankind happens through the Incarnation, the focal point of Athanasius' theology, which restores to him his participation in the divine Image. Interlarding his text with numerous testimonies from the Scriptures, Athanasius sketches in great detail the drama of man's creation, his fall and redemption. Several scholars used this theological content to structure the treatise. Smith (1991) recognizes a life-of-Christ-structure in the DI and McMahon (1998-99) sees a parallel with the structure of Phil. 2,6-11. Torjesen (1985) discusses DI 20-32. In this part of the work Athanasius argues that the Incarnation in itself with its overcoming of death and corruption was insufficient as redemption. The Logos had to teach to the entire human race that redemption had taken place. He had to restore the Image of God to a race that, having sunk into the material world, found its gods among the idol demons and dead heroes. This "reeducation programme" comprises three steps: (1) Through the works of his human body the

⁹⁴ Ferrari (1996).

⁹⁵ Meijering (1989). A sequel to his *Athanasius: Contra Gentes. Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Philosophia Patrum, 7), Leiden, 1984.

⁹⁶ It is the text printed in Migne, with the changes by Thomson and Kannengiesser. Where these two differ, the text is briefly discussed in the commentary.

⁹⁷ Contreras (1990); Stavrou (1992).

Logos shows his divinity; (2) By his death and resurrection the Logos teaches visibly, by embracing death with his body, that he is Life and that the power of death and corruption had been broken; (3) Beyond the visibility of the triumph of Life over death in his own body, this message becomes also evident in the witness of the martyrs and their fearlessness when facing death.

Finally I want to mention Sanchez-Navarro's original contributions from the angle of semantic analysis. In 1993 he published a thorough structuralist analysis of the semantic field of the verb "to see" in the CG. To this end he structures the data according to the three dimensions of the verb: (1) visual capacity in an absolute sense; (2) visual intention of the subject; (3) visual perception of an object by a subject. Within each of these categories he establishes a relationship between the data, thus building out a coherent interpretative structure. In 1996 he adopted a similar approach to the study of the word "τό πρόσωπον" in the entire Athanasian corpus. A complete survey of the material clearly showed a quite considerable number of the more "literal meaning" (mask) as well as a (numerically) more explicit use of the metaphorical "person". An application of this method to other semantic fields, especially those with theological relevance, can be very fruitful for patristic studies. Electronic tools such as the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* make this kind of analysis much less time-consuming than in the past. On the other hand, a complete survey of all the data is not necessarily the most fruitful approach. A fuller understanding of a particular work might be better served by concentrating on the contrasts between two sets of meanings, e.g. "to see" and "to be blind".

B. ORATIONES CONTRA ARIANOS

The *Three Orations against the Arians* (CA) are Athanasius' main theological work. Here he defends the proposition that the Son is like the Father in all respects, essence included, against the Arian contention that He is unlike the Father, even foreign to Him with respect to essence. That the CA are Athanasius' main theological work can be concluded from a telling detail: in later Athanasian iconography the bishop is depicted holding a codex of this work⁹⁸.

⁹⁸ Cf. J. MYSLIVEC, art. *Athanasius von Alexandrien*, in E. KIRSCHBAUM - W. BRAUNFELS (EDS.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 5, Rome - Freiburg - Basel - Vienna, 1973, col. 269-271.

a. Text and translations

At present, the most recent edition of the entire work (CA I-III) is to be found in the *Patrologia Graeca*. Kannengiesser is preparing a new edition of the CA⁹⁹ and very recently a new edition of CA I-II was published by the Patristische Arbeitsstelle Bochum der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften under the direction of Martin Tetz¹⁰⁰. Metzler and Simon, two contributors to the latter project, published a few preparatory studies in the form of a series of essays dealing with various issues concerning grammar and style¹⁰¹. Metzler deals with the fragments of Arius' *Thalia* preserved in the CA I and in the *Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae*¹⁰². She also wrote an article on the contamination in the manuscript tradition, in particular in the ms. T (Codex Patmiacus 4)¹⁰³. Simon provides a contribution on the early Latin translation of Athanasius' works preserved in the Codex Laurentianus San Marco 584¹⁰⁴. Since 1985 the only *translation* of the entire work that appeared is one in Roumanian by D. Staniloae (1987). A German translation of the CA III is included in Meijering's recent three volume commentary, on which we come back later.

b. Authenticity and date

It has long been clear that Athanasius did not write the *Fourth Oration against the Arians*. The authenticity of the *Third Oration*

⁹⁹ Cf. *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. II, p.11 and the preface in C. KANNENGIESSER, *Athanase d'Alexandrie, évêque et écrivain. Une lecture des traités Contre les Ariens* (Théologie historique, 70), Paris, 1983.

¹⁰⁰ Metzler-Savvidis (1998). For the research project behind the edition and its history, see J. LEEMANS, *The Critical Edition of "Athanasius' Werke" Continued*, in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 75 (1999) 133-142.

¹⁰¹ Collected in Metzler-Simon (1991).

¹⁰² Other studies on the *Thalia* in Athanasius' writings are Williams (1985), a more general account on the research on the *Thalia*; Hall (1985), on the Athanasian fragments; Kannengiesser (1985) and Palumbo Stracca (1990) on *De Synodis* 15 and Pardini (1991), on CA I, 5-6. See also C. STEAD, *Arius in Modern Research*, in *JTS* 45 (1994) 24-37, 24-31.

¹⁰³ Metzler (1990).

¹⁰⁴ See on this ms. also Gain (1993) and B. GAIN, *Traductions latines de Pères grecs: la collection du manuscrit Laurentianus San Marco 584. Edition des lettres de Basile de Césarée* (Publications Universitaires Européennes XV/64), Frankfurt, 1994, esp. 38-73. Costa (1990) edits and studies the Latin translation in this ms. of the Pseudoathanasian *Contra Apollinarium*.

(CA III) stood unchallenged until 1983, when Kannengiesser in his book *Athanase, évêque et écrivain*¹⁰⁵ denied Athanasius' authorship and proposed his pupil Apollinaris of Laodicea as possible author. This started a lively scholarly debate. Since then Kannengiesser defended his position in two further articles (1993) and (1995) while other scholars continued to defend the Athanasian authorship¹⁰⁶.

The question of the work's authenticity is connected to that of its date. On the basis of its contents, the CA III is best dated between 337-341. The only indications in the work are Arius' death (CA I, 3) and that the work is written under the reign of Constantius II (337-361) (CA I, 10 and III, 28). A further argument is furnished by Athanasius' use in the CA of the terms "ἀπαράλλακτος εἰκὼν" and "ὁμοίος κατ' οὐσίαν" (I, 26 and I, 20 resp.) to denote the relationship between the Father and the Son. These terms are also key christological terms in the second creedal formula of Antioch 341 and in the Macrostich formula from just after 341. Since after this date Athanasius would have been taking a risk by using these terms because they would give the impression that he agreed with this council's Christology, a date between 337-341 is a safe assumption¹⁰⁷.

The use of the word "τύπος" in CA I,3, to denote the essence of the Christian fellowship shared by everyone with whom Athanasius has fellowship, points also to such a date. In this context, "τύπος" means "rule of faith", the message of Jesus in general. It is significant that Athanasius does not insist on adherence to the Nicene definition, something he increasingly does from the 350's onwards. So this is one more indication for an earlier date¹⁰⁸.

Kannengiesser's main argument against Athanasius' authorship of the CA III is its doctrinal and stylistic difference with CA I-II. The first two orations reveal a pastoral-catechetical style and concern whereas the third has a more abstract, intellectual, scholarly

¹⁰⁵ C. KANNENGIESSER, *Athanase d'Alexandrie évêque et écrivain. Une lecture des traités Contre les Ariens* (Théologie historique, 70), Paris, 1983.

¹⁰⁶ Kannengiesser (1993) and (1995). Among the works defending Athanasius' authorship, see Abramowski (1991) and Meijering (1994), (1996), *Echtheit* (1996), *Kommentar*, (1997) and (1998). Hess (1993), p. 372 on the other hand accepts the unauthenticity.

¹⁰⁷ Moutsoulas (1985), with status quaestionis. See also Riall (1987), *Politics*, p. 400-403.

¹⁰⁸ Rusch (1985).

tone. It is clear that the author of III read and digested I-II, since he adopted part of its terminology, general ideas and concepts; but the horizon from which these are interpreted is different. The style is different as well as are the many new expressions used. The opponents whose argumentations are rejected are purely fictitious. To explain the considerable differences between I-II and III and their common features, Kannengiesser assumes, with great confidence, that not Athanasius but someone close to him and well acquainted with his theology wrote the CA III. Apollinarius' authorship is only put forward by way of a hypothesis. In (1993) he briefly reiterated the main lines of his argumentation, affirming very strongly the non-authenticity of CA III and the possibility of an Apollinaristic authorship. In (1995) he is more careful, speaking only about the "Sonderstellung" of CA III, but leaving the possibility of unauthenticity explicitly open¹⁰⁹.

As regards the *date of CA I-II* Kannengiesser envisages a gradual genesis. The nucleus of the work, consisting of several separate essays, was composed for a readership of Athanasius' closest supporters. It contained a discussion of the Son's generation as eternal and incarnate (I, 11-36), two short exegetical essays on Phil. 2, 9-10 and Ps. 45, 7-8 (I, 37-52) and a more elaborate argumentation, including a long part on Prov. 8,22ff. (covering most of the actual I, 53 - II, 72). This nuclear treatise was expanded into the present CA I-II, e.g. by adding excerpts from Arius' *Thalia* and from Asterius' *Syntagmation*. The CA I-II as we have it now was ready ca. 340¹¹⁰.

The genesis of CA I-II must, however, have been much more complicated than Kannengiesser supposes. One example to illustrate this will suffice. According to his reconstruction, CA I, 1-10 was added later. Yet, the "ἐκείνου" in I, 11 refers to the Devil, mentioned in I, 10. This seems to indicate a much tighter structural unity, entailing many revisions and much reworking.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ For a more extensive presentation of Kannengiesser's opinion, see Abramowski (1991), p. 389-392 and Meijering (1996), *Kommentar*, p. 12-18.

¹¹⁰ 'Thus the Alexandrian bishop, now a sort of political refugee in the West since Eastertime of 339, produced, during the first weeks of his stay in Rome, a polemical work Against the Arians, which would serve as a main literary reference during the next three decades of his long episcopate' (Kannengiesser (1993), *Ad Afros* p. 378).

¹¹¹ See STEAD in his review on Kannengiesser's *Athanasie, évêque et écrivain* (JTS 36 (1985), p. 226).

Blaising¹¹² goes on the basis of his detailed commentary on the CA a step further. In his opinion the structure of the *entire* CA I-III can be comprehended as a literary unit, apart from a theory of historical redaction such as Kannengiesser proposes. The broad outline of the structure of the work fits the pattern of forensic rhetoric such as is found in other Christian polemics against heresy.

Returning to Kannengiesser's reconstruction it must be admitted that it is impossible to establish exactly when CA III was added to the existing composition of CA I-II. From Cyril of Alexandria we know that they were already one work early in the fifth century. The date of the treatise we know as CA III is also difficult to establish. Kannengiesser does not defend any specific date but seems inclined to date the work around the end of the fourth century. The work's resemblances to *Epistula ad Maximum* and *Epistula ad Afros episcopos*, which Kannengiesser considers inauthentic, are important indications since the latter must in his opinion be dated ca. 390-395¹¹⁴.

Meijering says about Kannengiesser's position that she is "so bedeutsam dass sie für uns der Anstoss zu einer erneuten Beschäftigung mit dem Lehrinhalt der drei Reden gegen die Arianer gewesen sind"¹¹⁵. This has resulted in two articles and a translation of and detailed commentary on the CA III in three volumes¹¹⁶. He describes his position and the purpose of his commentary as follows: 'Unsere Feststellungen kamen bislang nicht über Wahrscheinlichkeiten hinaus. Dass und wann die dritte Rede gegen die Arianer von Athanasius verfasst worden ist, lässt sich nicht mit absoluter Sicherheit feststellen. Uns geht es (...) darum zu zeigen dass die dritte Rede gegen die Arianer sich voll und ganz in die gedankenwelt des Athanasius einfügt und von anderen Schriften des Athanasius her erklärt werden kann. (...) Hiermit wollen wir zeigen dass kein ernsthafter Anlass zu der Hypothesen vorliegt,

¹¹² C. A. BLAISING, *Athanasius of Alexandria: Studies in the Theological Contents and Structure of the "Contra Arianos", with Special Reference to Method*, unpublished dissertation, Univ. of Aberdeen, 1987.

¹¹³ Kannengiesser (1993), *Third Oration* and (1995), *Sonderstellung*.

¹¹⁴ Kannengiesser (1993), *Ad Afros*. Cf. infra sub §2 E3.

¹¹⁵ Meijering (1996), *Kommentar*, p. 13.

¹¹⁶ Meijering (1994); (1996); (1996), *Kommentar*; (1997) and (1998). The work also reproduces the Greek text as printed in Migne.

dass die dritte Arianerrede einen anderen Verfasser als Athanasius hat. Mithin eignet diese Rede sich auch zu einer Darstellung der Gedankenwelt des Athanasius'¹¹⁷. His two articles (1994) and (1996) are preparatory studies on respectively III, 59- 67 and III, 1. Meijering highlights there, as well as in his commentary, the parallels in vocabulary, style and thought with the other Athanasiana. All in all he recognizes the validity of Kannengiesser's observations, but he judges the evidence brought forward by the latter not weighty enough for the conclusions he attaches to them. Other authors also downplay the alleged differences between CA I-II and CA III. The existing differences might be the result of later reworking¹¹⁸. The three orations use the same techniques of polemical defamation¹¹⁹. Important theological terms such as "τριάς" (denoting the divine unity as a whole) and "σκοπός" are used in CA III in exactly the same way and sense as in CA I-II and Athanasius' other writings¹²⁰. The analysis of the manuscriptal provenance of the Scriptural quotations in CA I-II on the one hand and CA III on the other, clearly shows the "Sonderstellung" of the latter. At the same time, however, the differences are not big enough to warrant the assumption of a non-Athanasian authorship of CA III¹²¹.

Abramowski (1991) accepts Kannengiesser's conclusion that there is a clear difference in tone, vocabulary and style between CA I-II and CA III. However, she does not consider another author a good explanation. She thinks, contrary to Kannengiesser, that Athanasius argued against real opponents whose theological positions are revealed in Athanasius' arguments against them. She has a good argument for this claim: in the second part of CA III (ch. 26-58), Athanasius describes the Arian Scriptural argumentation in

¹¹⁷ Meijering (1996), *Kommentar*, p. 23. Italics mine.

¹¹⁸ STEAD, in his critical review on *évêque et écrivain*: '... some admitted differences in style and approach result from the fact that Athanasius was writing some years later, and in different circumstances. One might suppose, for instance, that the first two Orations were drafted, though perhaps not finally revised, in Alexandria, by a bishop immediately conscious of pastoral needs; the third was added when his exile in the West had introduced him to more skillful and sophisticated Arian advocates' (*JTS* 36 (1985) 220-229, p. 227).

¹¹⁹ Schmitz (1988).

¹²⁰ Wolinski (1989) and Ernest (1993).

¹²¹ Metzler (1997) with the comments by Abramowski (1998).

great detail. If his opponents were purely fictive, he would not have done so because this would be giving them good arguments for their cause. Abramowski thinks that in the first (1-25) and third parts (59-67) the Eusebians are the opponents, whereas in 26-58 Athanasius addresses the Arians. CA III would then reflect the theological debates with the Eusebians and the Arians in the years just before the Council of Serdica. In Abramowski's opinion, the difference between I-II and III is rather the consequence of a different historical context than of a different author. Recently, Metzler's meticulous study of the manuscriptal provenance of the Scriptural quotations in the CA¹²² seems to support this thesis. Allowing for differences between the Gospel, the rest of the NT and the OT, the main result of her investigation is that she proved a different Bible text underlying the quotations in CA I-II and CA III. At the same time she demonstrated that *both* texts show the characteristics of an Alexandrian provenance. The most reasonable explanation for this dual phenomenon is that CA I-II was composed in Alexandria, before his second exile. The writing of CA III can then have taken place during this exile, when he had taken a different set of codices with him than he had used during the composition of CA I-II.

Like Abramowski, Tetz in his TRE-article¹²³ accepts an interval between the composition of I- II and III. Meijering finds it hard to decide but points to CA III, 11 where Athanasius refers the reader to CA II, 42 writing "καθάπερ μικρῷ πρόσθεν εἶπομεν". This does not seem to imply a time span of several years between the composition of I-II and III¹²⁴. The possibility of a quite unitary composition of the three books could then not be excluded. This seems more consonant with Barnes, who assumes that Athanasius composed the CA ca. 340, in Rome, a moment in his life that is a good *Sitz im Leben*¹²⁵.

¹²² Metzler (1997). We come back on this important study in §3, 4.

¹²³ M. TETZ, art. *Athanasius von Alexandrien*, in TRE 4 (1979), 333-349, 338; 345.

¹²⁴ Meijering (1996), *Kommentar*, p. 23.

¹²⁵ 'But Athanasius realised that ultimate success in his own struggle depended on producing proof that more was at stake than the restitution of a single proud prelate. It seems highly probable that he pursued this aim by his Orations against the Arians, which he began to compose c. 340'. (1993, p. 53 with p. 254, note 26).

Regarding the date of the CA I-III as a whole, Meijering is less sure because of contradicting indications. Abramowski (1991) might be right in situating CA III in the years just before Serdica, but Meijering recognizes in CA III, 6 and III, 8 echoes of some anathemas of the Council of Sirmium of 351. One should also take into account that Athanasius speaks about Asterius in the CA in the present tense, implying that he was still alive at the time of writing. Knowing that Asterius was born somewhere between 260 and 280 and that he attended a synod in 341, we can assume that did not die much later than ca. 345. This leads to the conclusion that the CA were very probably completed not much beyond that date¹²⁶.

C. THE HISTORICAL-POLEMICAL WRITINGS

With this term we refer to a group of writings in which Athanasius defended himself against charges that his Arian and Melitian enemies brought against him. An equally important function of these writings was to convince his supporters, who often received part of the blows directed at Athanasius, that he was innocent. The writings are sources of paramount importance for the study of Athanasius and the Egyptian Church. The *Apologia Secunda contra Arianos*, to give only this example, contains 36 verbatim texts from documents, including imperial letters. Therefore these group of writings have always been the subject of intense study. Yet most of the time they were treated as sources of historical information. It is a positive evolution that they are now studied increasingly in their own right. An exponent of this interest is Barnard's commentary on the *Apologia Secunda*¹²⁷.

As for *editions* scholars are with regard to these writings well-served. Most of the works have already been adequately edited by Opitz¹²⁸. The *Apologia ad Constantium*, of which only the first lines

¹²⁶ Cf. M. VINZENT, *Asterius von Kappadokien. Die theologische Fragmente. Einleitung, kritischer Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 36), Leiden-New York, 1993, p. 20-21; Meijering (1996), *Kommentar*, p. 22-23.

¹²⁷ Barnard (1992). Cf. *supra* sub §1.2.

¹²⁸ H. G. OPITZ (ED.), *Athanasius' Werke. II.1. Die Apologien*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1939. A German team, directed by H.-C. Brennecke, is now completing this edition, as well as Opitz *Urkunden*. See for the *Historia Arianorum* also the not very well known dissertation by F. Cesena (Milan, 1979) and his article

were included in Opitz' edition was, together with the *Apologia de Fuga*, edited in 1956 for Sources Chrétiennes by Szymusiak. This edition appeared in 1987 in a revised form in the same series as nr. 56 bis^{128a}. The only work for which one still had to turn to the *Patrologia Graeca*, the *Epistula encyclica ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae*, was in 1996 edited by the team of the Patristische Arbeitsstelle Bochum der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften under the direction of Martin Tetz^{128b}. In 1988 Staniloae published a Roumanian translation of *De Synodis*. Heil published a German translation and commentary on *De sententia Dionysii*¹²⁹.

a. The Apologetic Character

As the approach of e.g. Barnes and Barnard¹³⁰ makes clear, scholars now fully recognize the historical-polemical writings as ex parte statements, explicitly written with an apologetic purpose. A focal point of the scholars' attention was the works' apologetic character. Some articles give a general presentation¹³¹, but most of the time they also offer partial answers to the question of the means Athanasius used to reach the apologetic goal and targets of his attacks. Martin (1993) deals with his switching from the 'I' to the 'we' form as an expression of the total absorption of the man Athanasius – presented most of the time as the victim – by his function as bishop and leader of the ecclesial community. Warmington¹³² points out that, much like Caesar in his *Commentarii*, Athanasius uses the third person in the *Historia Arianorum* when he narrates the history of his vicissitudes. Barnes (1993) also

Annotazione al testo di H.G. Opitz dell'“*Historia Arianorum ad monachos*” di Sant'Atanasio, in *Vetera Christianorum* 19 (1982) 257-274.

^{128a} See about Athanasius' reflection about flight for persecution the article by Gorman (1993).

^{128b} See on this edition my review essay *The Critical Edition of “Athanasius Werke” Continued*, in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 75 (1999) 133-142.

¹²⁹ U. HEIL, *Athanasius von Alexandrien, De Sententia Dionysii: Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (PTS, 52), Berlin, 1999.

¹³⁰ Cf. supra, §1.

¹³¹ E.g. Warmington (1986) and Martin (1993).

¹³² Warmington (1986) p. 11. Warmington (1997) shows that Eusebius' *Vita Constantini* was also very much coloured by its author's self-interest and hidden agenda.

continuously has an eye for the Alexandrian bishop's deliberate omissions and misrepresentations as well as for rhetorical strategies such as invented speech or dialogues, irony and sarcasm. Scripture plays a significant role in this too: his enemies are often compared to or identified with ignominious biblical characters (e.g. Jezebel, Achab, Saul, the Pharisees or "the Jews" in general)¹³³. For an analysis of the apologetic role of Scripture in the *Apologia de Fuga*, see Leemans (1993)¹³⁴. Burrus (1991) studies the theme of the "heretical woman" and Wiles shows the distance between the historical Arius and the way he is presented in Athanasius' writings¹³⁵. Often Athanasius conjoins the Arians, the Melitians and the Jews. These groups are sometimes opposed as the "new" and the "old" Jews¹³⁶.

Though scholars clearly have an eye for the ex parte nature of Athanasius' writings and for the many different ways he reaches this result, no systematic study of this subject has been made. The parts of an answer found in the secondary literature need to be systematized. Moreover, I believe many elements have been barely touched. Although the anti-Arian polemical vocabulary of the *Orationes contra Arianos* has been studied¹³⁷, it would be instructive to do the same for the rest of Athanasius' oeuvre. The way Scriptural quotations and allusions are used for apologetic purposes should also be systematized. The work of Ilona Opelt and Tietze¹³⁸ on Latin patristic literature can be exemplary here. And

¹³³ For a survey of Scriptural allusions in the *Historia Arianorum*, see Riall (1987), *Politics*, note 13 on pp. 408-409.

¹³⁴ This unpublished dissertation also contains a Dutch translation of the *Apologia de Fuga*.

¹³⁵ M. WILES, *Attitudes to Arius in the Arian Controversy*, in M.R. BARNES-D.H. WILLIAMS (EDS.), *Arianism after Arius. Essays on the Development of the Arian Controversy*, Edinburgh, 1993, 31-45, *passim*.

¹³⁶ See e.g. Dragas (1991).

¹³⁷ See Schmitz (1988).

¹³⁸ I. OPELT, *Die Polemik in der christlichen lateinischen Literatur von Tertullian bis Augustin* (Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften, NF, II, 63), Heidelberg, 1980. For an extensive survey of the polemical terminology of Lucifer of Cagliari, see W. TIETZE, *Lucifer von Calaris und die Kirchenpolitik des Constantius II.: zum Konflikt zwischen dem Kaiser Constantius II und der nikanisch-orthodoxen Opposition (Lucifer von Calaris, Athanasius von Alexandria, Hilarius von Poitiers)*, doctoral dissertation Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, Stuttgart, 1976, pp. 82-177 and I. OPELT, *Formen der Polemik bei Lucifer von Calaris*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 26 (1972) 200-226. For Hilarius, see EAD., *Hilarius von Poitiers als Polemiker*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 27 (1973) 203-217.

Stead's work on rhetorical strategies¹³⁹ can also serve as an example worthy of imitation and extension.

b. A gradual genesis

Another, perhaps more important point of progress, is the increased attention recent scholarship has shown for the gradual genesis of some of these works. At first sight they may give the impression of being straightforward accounts. This nourished the idea that Athanasius wrote most of these works in one sitting, while hiding in the desert. However, a closer look reveals inconsistencies and contradictions in the text, betraying different layers and times of composition. This only enhances their value as historical documents. Moreover, the reconstruction of their genesis deepens our insight in the ecclesiastical politics of Athanasius' time. For three writings a gradual genesis must be postulated: the *Apologia Secunda contra Arianos* (ASCA), the *Apologia ad Constantium* (AC) and *De Synodis Ariminii et Seleucia* (DSAS). For the *Epistula encyclica ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* it may suffice to point to the traces of a small revision (22, l. 14-17), to be dated some years after its completion¹⁴⁰. To conclude this section we briefly deal with the date of two other writings: the *Historia Arianorum ad Monachos* (HAM) and *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi* (DNS).

The *Apologia Secunda contra Arianos* is a clear example of a work composed in stages. Opitz' theory that the ASCA was a unitary composition, written in 357/8 while he was in hiding in the desert, has seemingly been ruled out. The reconstruction of the different stages of composition remains largely a matter of conjecture. Barnard (1992) does not wish to develop a hypothesis on the several stages of composition of the work. He remains on secure ground. The chapters 1-88 do not make sense without the recantation of Ursacius and Valens¹⁴¹. In 347 these Pannonian bishops, who defended the Arian cause, made their peace with Julius of Rome at a council in Milan. Therefore the chapters 1-88 must be dated no earlier than 347. Chapters 89-90, which include references to the

¹³⁹ C. STEAD, *Rhetorical Method in Athanasius*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 30 (1977) 121-137.

¹⁴⁰ Metzler-Hansen-Savvidis (1996), p. 39.

¹⁴¹ Cf. ASCA 1.3 and 58.

capitulations of Liberius (89.3) and of Ossius (89.4), were added much later, probably during the winter of 357/358. Barnard sees an additional argument in the unfriendly way chapter 89.4 refers to Constantius' tyrannical power, which differs from the milder tone of the first 88 chapters.

Riall¹⁴² presents an entirely different solution. The volte face of Ursacius and Valens was in his opinion the occasion to publish the first part of the ASCA (3.1-58.6), in which Athanasius explains how it happened that they left the Arian camp. To date the second, definitive, edition of the ASCA as we have it now, he exploits the references to Liberius and Hosius. Since 89.3 implies that Athanasius did know of Liberius' capitulation (which he dates in April 357) but not that of Hosius (dated October 357), Riall dates this second redaction, with the composition and incorporation of the second part, shortly after April 357, just after Athanasius' withdrawal in the desert for what would become his longest "exile".

Both Barnard and Riall reject Jones' suggestion to read in 83.4 a reference to the office of praefectus Augustalis¹⁴³. Jones thinks that a Tatianus was the first to occupy that position, between 367-370, which would indicate that Athanasius was in these years still tinkering with the text of the ASCA. Barnard rejects it because it is too hypothetical, Riall because 'the term Augustalis might have been in use long before Jones suspects'¹⁴⁴.

Barnes¹⁴⁵ chooses for a radically different solution. With regard to the reference in 83.4 he thinks that when the province Egypt became a diocese on its own, separate from Oriens (370 or 371), the enhanced status of the praefectus Aegypti was marked by the addition Augustalis to his title. He concludes that 'the statement that Rufus is now a *speculator* in the office of the *Augustalis*' was

¹⁴² Riall (1987), *Politics*, pp. 169 and 404.

¹⁴³ The text, as Opitz has emended it in his edition, mentions a Rufus who is *speculator* in the 'Αὐγουσταμνικῇ', a part of Egypt. A.H.M. JONES, *The Date of the Apologia contra Arianos of Athanasius*, in *JTS* 5 (1954) 224-227 reads, with ms. BKOR, 'Αὐγουσταλαινῇ' and interprets it as a reference to the office of the Praefectus Augustalis.

¹⁴⁴ Riall (1987), *Politics*, p. 405. He refers to the *Homilia de homicidis et avaris* (CPG 2191); ed. Lefort (CSCO 99-100, p. 350, col. A, ll. 10-11. However, the authenticity of this text is far from certain.

¹⁴⁵ Barnes (1993), App. 2 "The Composition of the *Defense against the Arians*", pp. 192-195.

written no earlier than 370, whether by Athanasius himself or by an Alexandrian editor who published the *Defence* shortly after his death' (p. 195). In the wake of earlier research by Orlandi and Seiler¹⁴⁶, Barnes chooses to attempt to unravel the different stages of composition of the ASCA. Central to his argumentation is that, with exception of the last phase, there must have been an occasion for each phase in the redaction. He suggests distinguishing four stages:

- 1) The nucleus of the work is a brief up to date account of his career, prepared for the Council of Alexandria in 338, with documents appended.
- 2) This nucleus was extended and further supported with documents to form the present second part (59.1-88.2) and laid before the Council of Rome in 341.
- 3) He composed the first part (1-58) for the Council of Antioch of 349, adding a peroration (probably 88.3 and 90.1,3) and including the already existing second part.
- 4) Retouches at several occasions, adding allusions to later events, maybe until after 370 at the end of his career.

Martin¹⁴⁷ proposes to link the composition of the ASCA to yet another historical event. In the first months of 352, certainly before April, the synodal letter of the Council of Antioch that had deposed Athanasius and elected and ordained Georges in his place, was sent to Julius of Rome. His successor, Liberius, read it to the college of presbyters and afterwards to the synod held in Rome during the summer of 353. This synod sent a Letter to Athanasius, requesting his presence to defend himself against the charges the Letter of the Council of Antioch contained against him: lese majesty and high treason for sowing discord between the Emperors Constantine and Constantius. Athanasius did not travel to Rome to defend himself; instead he sent a synodical Letter, signed by 80 Egyptian bishops, reaffirming his innocence with regard to the specific charges as well as to all other charges brought forward against him in the past. Martin suggests that the ASCA formed the lion's

¹⁴⁶ T. ORLANDI, *Sull' Apologia Secunda (contra Arianos) di Atanasio di Alessandria*, in *Augustinianum* 15 (1975) 49-79; R. SEILER, *Athanasius, Apologia contra Arianos (Ihre Entstehung und Datierung)*, diss. Tübingen, 1932.

¹⁴⁷ Martin (1996) 458-468 with esp. note 41 on pp. 463-464 and p. 510 with note 213.

share of this defence and was written for the greatest part (1-88 and 89.3) for this occasion, so in 353. The retraction of Ursacius and Valens was seen as the pivot of the work, which can be designated, as Jerome called it, a "Contra Ursacium et Valentem". The chapters 89-90 (minus 89.3) were added during the summer of 357.

For the *Apologia ad Constantium* (AC) Riall and Barnes reconstruct two stages in the composition, Martin distinguishes three phases¹⁴⁸. Riall envisages a genesis of the work in two stages. For him, the first part of the work (ch. 1-21) would have been written after the arrival of Montanus in Alexandria, in May 353 (AC 19, l. 15-18) and before new charges beyond the old ones could be brought against him on the Council of Arles in October 353 (AC 2, l. 1-6). The second part (ch. 22-35) must be dated after the Arian outburst of violence at the cemetery in May 357 (AC 33, l. 16-21). As a *terminus ante quem* for this addition Riall adduces Athanasius' argument that his unseating was a legal and canonical injustice. This only makes sense with regard to his expulsion in May 357 or just after his return to Alexandria in October 358. So the second part of the AC was composed during his desert retreat between May 357 and October 358 or maybe after October 358, when he was hiding in Alexandria.

Barnes also envisages a two-stage development, but proposes to put the division line between ch. 18 and 19. The first stage comprises ch. 1-12 and 14-18, designed for oral delivery before Constantius. It was probably composed in the spring of 353 before the arrival of Montanus, summoning him to Milan (23 May 353). The second stage took place in 357, when he revised the existing part and added ch. 13 and 19-35. Athanasius appears to have written this second part before he learned of the capitulation of Liberius in the summer of 357.

Martin distinguishes three phases of composition. The first part (ch. 1-21) dated after 23 December 355, when Diogenes left Alexandria, having tried in vain to expel Athanasius from the city. Martin thinks that the first part of the AC was sparked by that event. She divides the second part in two, seeing a caesura in the beginning of ch. 27. So chapters 22-26 are to be placed between 8

¹⁴⁸ Riall (1987), *Politics*, p. 185, note 69 and p. 214 with note 54; Barnes (1993), App. 3: "The Defense before Constantius", p. 196-198; Martin (1996), p. 470, note 70 and p. 505, note 91.

February, when he was chased out of the Church of Theonas, and 10 June 356, a day when his partisans still occupied the Alexandrian churches. The final part of the work (chapters 27-35) was composed after his flight in May 357.

Opitz edited *De Synodis* (DSAS) as an "Apologie", but it is better considered as a dogmatic writing. Athanasius condemns the homoeans and tries to convince the homoeousians to side with him and accept the creed of Nicaea. Riall distinguishes two different stages in the composition, Barnes and Martin defend one composition with some later additions, Stead assumes a basic composition with a later revision, Twomey one single composition¹⁴⁹.

In Riall's opinion, the work was published into two editions. The first edition was published after the closing of the Council. We know the Council of Ariminum closed on 21 July 359 whereas the Council of Seleucia, of which no closing date is known, started on 14 September of the same year. Because Athanasius' sarcastic remark in DSAS 4.4 seems to imply that the Council of Seleucia ended before the end of the consular year, the composition of the first edition must be situated in 359. The second edition must have been written after 30 November 361 (baptism of Constantius, mentioned in 31.3). Since the Council of Alexandria of 362 is not mentioned, this date can serve as a *terminus ante quem*. Because of the thematic shift after chapter 20, Riall assumes that the breach between the first and the second edition must be situated there. In DSAS 1-20 Athanasius attempts to show that the ideas behind Sirmium (359) and the double council of Ariminum/Seleucia (359) are motivated by Arian theological models. Chapters 21-55, on the other hand, seek to undermine the credibility of post-Nicene conciliar history by pointing to the often mutually contradictory creedal formulas worked out by the various synods and councils.

Barnes holds that the lion's share of the DSAS was written in the late autumn of 359, allowing for some later insertions and additions, e.g. a quotation of the creed of a Council held in January 360 in Constantinople, a discussion on the Council of Antioch held in the spring of the same year (ch. 30-31) and a postscript containing

¹⁴⁹ Riall (1987), *Politics*, p. 420-423; Stead (1992), art. *Athanasius*, p. 94; Barnes (1993), p. 133; Kannengiesser (1993), art. *Athanasius*, col. 1129; Twomey (1995), p. 91 with note 30; Martin (1996), p. 531 with note 292.

the exchange of letters between Constantius and the Council of Ariminum (ch. 55). Martin shares this opinion, but proposes more cautiously 359/360 as a date. Twomey also considers the Letter a unitary composition, but he thinks that the entire text was composed between the death of Constantius II and the Alexandrian synod of 362. Kannengiesser writes that the work was finished ("abgeschlossen") in that period (winter 361-362) without further explanation about the process of composition.

In the *Historia Arianorum ad monachos* (HAM) Athanasius describes the Arian misbehaviour of the past, from the Council of Tyre in 335 up to 357. So the date of composition must be around the latter date, which is confirmed by some indications in the text. The crucial indication is the death of Ossius, some time after his capitulation at the Council of Sirmium during the summer of 357 (HAM 45.4-5). Other indications such as the capitulation of Liberius (41.3), the marriage of Olympias (69.1) and his not knowing that Leontius of Antioch had died, all events that occurred in 357, seem to confirm a time of composition in 357 or (early) 358¹⁵⁰.

Riall¹⁵¹ proposes an interesting occasion for the work, which would date it somewhat later in 358. He suggests that the addressees were not monks, but the bishops of the *oikoumene*. The occasion for the work would have been the ecumenical council that was to have met in Nicomedia in the fall of 358, but that had to be rescheduled because an earthquake destroyed the city. The summons for this gathering may have been distributed as early as the spring of 358. The *Historia Arianorum*, with its concentration on the misdeeds of the Arians, the coercion used against Ossius and Liberius and the admonishment in its peroration that the priests should keep their hands clean, can be seen as an attempt to persuade the bishops of the *oikoumene* to remain faithful to the orthodox faith. Athanasius would have written it after the summons were sent, *i.e.* in the first half of 358.

For the *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi* (DNS), commonly dated ca. 350/351¹⁵², we mention Barnes' suggestion to date it in 352/3¹⁵³.

¹⁵⁰ Barnes (1993), p. 126; Martin (1996), p. 506 with note 192.

¹⁵¹ Riall (1987), *Politics*, p. 406-410.

¹⁵² M. TETZ, art. *Athanasius von Alexandrien*, in *TRE* 4 (1979), 333-349, 340; Stead (1992), art. *Athanasius*, p. 94.

He relies on his identification of the unnamed addressee of the Letter as Liberius. The pope of Rome fits exactly the vague picture emerging from the work: that of a prominent Western bishop with whom Athanasius had not had earlier dealings. We know Liberius wrote to Athanasius shortly after his consecration as bishop of Rome in May 352. So DNS would be Athanasius' answer. Moreover, Athanasius' presence in Alexandria at the time is supported by the long quotations in the work which could obviously not have been written from memory.

D. ASCETICAL WORKS

1. *Vita Antonii*

The *Vita Antonii* (VA) is certainly the most famous of Athanasius' ascetical works. It is an important source for the life of the hermit and for the early history of Egyptian monasticism. It also bears testimony to Athanasius' interest in and commitment to ascetical movements in Egypt¹⁵⁴. The work is part of a biographical tradition that in some respects goes back to Socrates. In the cases of both Socrates and Antony it concerns the life of an extraordinary man who incarnated an ethical ideal and did not leave a written record of his teachings¹⁵⁵. Another feature of the VA which stands out is that the entire narration of Antony's life is steeped in a thoroughly Scriptural language and typology. Antony is portrayed as a man of God, as the living reality of a life inspired by Scripture¹⁵⁶. The VA is, as it were, a spiritual reading of the Scriptures. This feature of the work should already warn us against a too optimistic assessment of its value as an historical source. This is also confirmed by Wipszycka (1995) whose analysis of Antony's conversion narrative in VA 2-3 highlights a considerable use of *topoi* that are also present in narratives of the same kind in hagiographical literature and that are sometimes in blatant disagreement with other, more

¹⁵³ Barnes (1993), p. 198-199.

¹⁵⁴ For an analysis of the work from this viewpoint, see e.g. Brennan (1985) and Brakke (1995), ch. 3.

¹⁵⁵ Hägg (1991). Bartelink (1987) points to possible influence of the *Timaeus* of Plato.

¹⁵⁶ Mara (1990) gives a more general treatment; Tonini (1992) gives a detailed analysis of VA 1-3.

reliable sources. The complexity of Athanasius' portrayal of Antony is admirably sketched by Alexandre (1996) and, with regard to the chapters 83-86, by Frazier (1998).

Finally, as a distinct example of Christian biography, it has exerted a profound influence as a model for later hagiographical writings (see d.). The work is so rich that it has invited scholars to quite original approaches such as literary analysis or a psychological approach¹⁵⁷.

a. Editions and Modern Translations

In 1994, Bartelink published a badly needed critical edition, as nr. 400 in the series *Sources Chrétiennes*. Until then scholars had to rely on the 1698 edition by de Montfaucon, printed in the *Patrologia Graeca*. Bartelink based his edition on the collation of some 50 manuscripts. His text differs in more than 400 places with that in the *PG*. These differences are partly due to Bartelink's choice to reinstate the premetaphrastic text, whereas de Montfaucon edited the metaphrastic text¹⁵⁸. With a useful and well informed introduction, copious notes, excellent indexes and, of course, the French translation, it is a superb instrument that certainly will stimulate the study of the VA.

Due to its importance, the VA has been translated many times in modern languages. Besides the reprint of Lavaud's French translation (1989) and the translation in Bartelink's edition, the last decade has seen the work translated into Italian, German, Roumanian, Spanish and Swedish¹⁵⁹. Most of these translations give an introduction and some commentary.

*b. The Authenticity of the VA*¹⁶⁰

At first sight there seems to be little reason to question the authenticity of VA. All the manuscripts assign the work to Athanasius. Moreover we have several testimonies ascribing the

¹⁵⁷ See resp. Kelsey (1992) and Gendolla (1991).

¹⁵⁸ C.P. Jones (1995) proposed to give preference in VA 46.5 to the metaphrastic reading μετά της τάξεως instead of Bartelink's μετά την προῶ-ξιν.

¹⁵⁹ Cremaschi (1985); Gottfried-Przybyla (1986); Ruperez-Granado (1987); Staniloae (1988); Varii (1991); Hägg-Rubenson (1991).

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Bartelink (1994), p. 27-36.

work to the Alexandrian bishop. The earliest of these date from 376-380¹⁶¹. Third, there are strong parallels between VA 74-79 and CG-DI¹⁶². Finally, VA also seems to fit Athanasius' attitude towards the Egyptian ascetic movement as a whole¹⁶³. So all in all there are good and long standing arguments to maintain Athanasius as the author of the VA, which is also the position the majority of scholars still defend.

The Athanasian authorship had stood unchallenged for a long period prior to 1980, when Draguet, in the introduction to his edition of the Syriac version of the VA, came to a different conclusion¹⁶⁴. His starting point is the differences between the present Greek text and the Syriac version he edited. This Syriac version is to be dated in the fifth or sixth century on the basis of an insertion which seems to be of Nestorian inspiration (chapter 74). The differences between the Greek and the Syriac versions are indeed considerable. The Syriac text is about 50% longer than the Greek text and has many smaller differences: omissions, additions, different wording, etc. ... It is in fact more a paraphrase than a translation of the Greek text. Moreover Draguet defined some apparent linguistic oddities in the Syriac text as Copticisms. To explain these differences, he argued that the Syriac version goes back on an original written in a Greek with Coptic characteristics. The Greek text we now have is, according to him, an adaptation of this original. Barnes (1986) presented a modified version of Draguet's thesis. He postulated a lost original in Coptic on which both the Greek text we have today and the Syriac version would go back.

There is one apparent difficulty with these hypotheses. To accept them, one has to accept that this original text existed for more than a century (from some time after Antony's death to the creation of the Syriac version in the fifth or sixth century) without leaving any trace. Louth (1988) was willing to accept provisionally that a Coptic original lies at the basis of the Greek text we have now.

¹⁶¹ Jerome, *Vita Pauli*, Prol (ed. PL 23, col. 17-18); Gregory of Nazianz, *Or.* 21.5 (ed. SC, 270, Paris, 1980, p. 118-119). Cf. Bartelink (1994), p. 37-42.

¹⁶² See Bartelink (1994), p. 36-37.

¹⁶³ See among many Brennan (1985); Brakke (1995) and most recently Kühneweg (1997).

¹⁶⁴ R. DRAGUET (ED.), *La Vie primitive de S. Antoine conservée en Syriaque* (CSCO, 418), Leuven, 1980, p. 15-112. For a sympathetic portrayal of this distinguished Belgian orientalist, see Leloir (1986).

However, he did not follow Barnes in his conclusion that Athanasius cannot have been the author of this Greek text. He pointed to the theological parallels between VA and Athanasius' other writings. In concentrating on those passages of the Greek VA that are not found as such in the Syriac text, he gave an important critique of Barnes' hypothesis.

Lorenz (1989) showed, against Draguet and Barnes, that the Syriac version of the VA is not an independent witness to the text of the VA. All the differences (omissions, additions, small changes) between our Greek text and the Syriac version can be explained by the process of translation and paraphrasing. Abramowski (1988) brought together convincing material to prove that this process indeed went from the Greek text to the Syriac version and not vice-versa.

Brakke reviewed and systematised the evidence¹⁶⁵. He concluded that the anomalous character of the Syriac had been overstated and that the anomalies which do exist cannot be explained by considering them as Copticisms. A comparison of the Greek and Syriac reveals the following tendencies determining the Syriac revision of the Greek text: hagiographic embellishment, archaisms, an interest in angels, a turn from a philosophical to a biblical vocabulary, changes to accommodate persons unacquainted with Egypt, theological changes reflecting the controversies in Christian dogma of the fourth and fifth centuries. Therefore Brakke concludes that the Greek VA as we have it now, is the earliest extant version of the *Life of Antony*. Consequently there is no reason to follow Draguet and/or Barnes and deny the Athanasian authorship of the VA.

Rubenson brought forward an additional argument in defence of the Athanasian authorship of VA. He suggests that there is "a basic accord" between the Antony of his letters, which he considers as genuinely written by the Egyptian hermit, and the Antony of the VA¹⁶⁶. In his opinion any differences are the result of the transfor-

¹⁶⁵ Brakke (1994), *Greek and Syriac Versions*.

¹⁶⁶ "The basic accord between the theology of the Letters and that of the *Vita*, and the shared heritage of Antony and Athanasius, strongly support the Athanasian authorship of the *Vita* and the primacy of the Greek version. The suggestions that the *Vita* is marked by tensions between Athanasian theology, monastic tradition and hagiographical style are shown by a comparison with the Letters to be the result of three main tendencies which have governed the transformation of the image of Antony" (S. RUBENSON, *The Letters of St. Antony*.

mation the figure of Antony underwent in the Alexandrian bishop's writings, since he had his own purposes in writing the VA. In this sense his analysis of VA follows the same path as that by Brennan (1985) or Brakke (1995).

Another path of inquiry is that of Tetz¹⁶⁷, who proposed in 1982 that Athanasius' authorship was limited to a revision and expansion of texts originally written by his friend Serapion of Thmuis. He adduces the following arguments: 1. The text makes clear that Athanasius had people who informed him about Antony (prologue; VA 16); 2. Serapion stayed with Antony (VA 82); 3. When Antony died, Athanasius and Serapion each received part of his cloak (VA 91); 4. VA 14 contains a literal rendering of a passage from the *Vita Pythagorae*: this is not typical for Athanasius, but could be expected from the "Scholasticus" Serapion; 5. Athanasius usually calls a church "ἐκκλησία" not "κυριακόν" (VA 2; 8; 70; 82). Fitschen gave this hypothesis a closer look. He does not accept Tetz' conclusions. In only a few cases can we assume with some certainty that Serapion was Athanasius' informer. This is the case for Antony's vision of God's wrath over the churches (VA, 82 - presence of Serapion attested) and for the idea that the inherited Antonine garments represented the hermit himself (VA 92). Moreover, if Serapion was such an important informant for Athanasius, there was no reason to hide this from his readers, since he mentions him on two other occasions in the VA. Finally, the VA contains no cohesive portions that could be singled out as constituting a *Vorlage*, composed by Serapion, with which Athanasius would have worked. Fitschen concluded that "Wenn Serapion für die Vita eine Funktion hat, dann nur als ein Tradent und Interpret unter mehreren, der Athanasius mit dem vertraut machte, was er über Antonius wusste und dachte"¹⁶⁸. Fitschen also considers the

Monasticism and the Making of a Saint (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity), Minneapolis, 1995 [= Lund, 1990 + an English translation of the Letters], p. 189.). For both convergences and divergences between the VA and all the other sources on Antony, esp. the *Letters* and the *Apophthegmata*, see L. BROTTIER, *Antoine l'ermite à travers les sources anciennes: des regards divers sur un modèle unique*, in *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 43 (1997) 15-39.

¹⁶⁷ M. TETZ, *Athanasius und die Vita Antonii. Literarische und theologische Relationen*, in *ZNW* 73 (1982) 1-30 [= ID., *Athanasiana* (1995), p. 155-185].

¹⁶⁸ K. FITSCHEN, *Serapion von Thmuis. Echte und unechte Schrifte sowie die Zeugnisse des Athanasius und Anderer* (Patristische Texte und Studien, 37), Berlin, 1992, 106-117, 116.

attribution of the much later Arabic *Vita* to Serapion a too isolated testimony to take into full consideration as an argument for the authorship of the Greek VA. Bartelink also rejects Tetz's hypothesis. Contrary to Tetz' attempt to assign some parts of the VA to Serapion on the basis of linguistic and stylistic arguments, Bartelink stresses the unity of style in the work. Like Fitschen, however, he considers it quite possible that Serapion was the informant mentioned in the prologue to the work¹⁶⁹. Finally Barnard dismisses Tetz' suggestion. He thinks that "Serapion was certainly one of Antony's closest disciples, yet there is nothing in the sources to connect him firmly with the *Vita*"¹⁷⁰.

Barnard (1994) goes a step further than Tetz. On historical grounds he entirely rejects Athanasius as the author of VA. Athanasius never met Antony in person. He was not in Alexandria when the hermit visited the city, in the summer of 337 or 338. He did not mention Antony in a report he once gave about the great monastic leaders he had seen¹⁷¹. And when Antony, after Pachomius' death, wrote to the archbishop with the request to encourage the *koinonia* around Pachomius' successor, Athanasius did not reply. That the relationship between Antony and Athanasius was rather cool can be explained by the dealings the hermit and his followers had with the Melitians and probably also with Arians, groups Athanasius was fighting. Moreover Athanasius' sympathy lies much more with the monasticism of the Pachomian type. So, Athanasius did not write the VA, nor did he encourage its redaction by any other author. It was only after his death, "towards the end of the fourth century, that others attached his name to the *Vita* thus ensuring that it would quickly gain a reading in the West and elsewhere. Antony thus was changed into the 'ideal' monk and a bulwark of Alexandrian orthodoxy, Church polity and authority. The strange figure of the desert and local village life became the exemplum of later monasticism."¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Bartelink (1994), p. 35.

¹⁷⁰ Barnard (1994), p. 146.

¹⁷¹ *Epistula Ammonis*, 34 (ed. J.E. GOEHRING, *The Letter of Ammon and Pachomian Monasticism* (Patristische Texte und Studien, 27), Berlin, 1986, p. 155-157; ET: *ibid.*, p. 181).

¹⁷² Barnard (1994), p. 149.

A last element against the Athanasian authorship of the VA, brought up by Barnes¹⁷³, is an *argumentum e silentio*, based on the testimony of the *Epistula ad monachos*. In the passage concerned, the author is praising the monks: '...Of your number <was> father Antony who lived a consummate life and whose life is preserved in writing among you. Also <of your number are> father Amoun, father John and father Macarius, who have shone forth virtuously to an extreme degree ...'¹⁷⁴. This Letter is attributed to Serapion of Thmuis. Fitschen has argued against Serapion being the author. One of his arguments is that the text dates from after the death of the mentioned monks John (394) and Macarius (390)¹⁷⁵. In Barnes' opinion, however, this passage on the contrary seems to imply that the monks are still alive, while Antony is dead. Consequently Serapion cannot be ruled out as the author and a date of 362/3 for the Letter is not impossible. If this is the case, then the wording of the text does not point to Athanasius as the author of the VA. It is hard to believe that Serapion would have written in this way if Athanasius had, just a few years before, written the VA. The basis of the argument, however, remains hypothetical.

To conclude this section we can say that regarding the authorship of the VA the past decade has produced both complete rejection as well as evident approval. The debate is far from closed. A new and weighty element might be introduced into the debate when someone would, as Barnes has suggested¹⁷⁶, compare the vocabulary of the VA with that of the works certainly written by Athanasius. The full index of Greek words of Bartelink's edition, the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and Müller's *Lexicon Athanasianum* provide all the necessary material for this purpose. The promising results of Barnes' preliminary investigation make such an attempt an inviting challenge.

¹⁷³ In his review of Bartelink's edition. Cf. *JTS* 46 (1995) 327-331, 329-330.

¹⁷⁴ *Epistula ad monachos*, 13. The Greek text is printed in *PG* 40, col. 940; ET by T. Barnes in *JTS* 46 (1995) 329.

¹⁷⁵ K. FITSCHEN, *Serapion von Thmuis*, p.79-84.

¹⁷⁶ In his review of Bartelink's edition. Cf. *JTS* 46 (1995) 327-331, 330.

c. Ancient Translations and Wirkungsgeschichte

Besides the Greek version, the VA also survived in Latin, Syriac, Coptic¹⁷⁷, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopian, Arabic and Slavonic versions. The last three have not yet been edited¹⁷⁸. Lorenz (1991) presented the Arabic *Vita Antonii*, attributed to Serapion of Thmuis. He gives an extensive overview of the contents of the work. The general structure shows parallels with the VA, but there are many omissions and additions. The Arabic VA gives e.g. a long narrative sketch of Antony's childhood. As to the date of the work, a certain terminus post quem is 561. In that year Antony's tomb, hitherto unknown, was found and a cult established. Since the Arabic VA seems to presuppose the existence of such a cult, the work must be dated later, thus ruling out Serapion as its possible author. Lorenz places the work in the time of the Crusades. He does so on the ground of parallelisms between an episode told in the Arabic VA and the foundation legend of the Antonites. The latter had ca. 1208 a settlement in Akko, which is a plausible explanation for the Egyptian author of the Arabic VA knowing the story.

Force (1985) made a detailed comparative study of three Latin translations: one by Evagrius, one found in the archives of St. Peter and one by Monfaucon¹⁷⁹. He concludes that each translation has its distinct character and that the one by Monfaucon follows the Greek text most closely. The other two translations bear more traces of the reflections and of influences of their own purposes and concerns. They do much more than just render the text into Latin.

¹⁷⁷ An English translation of this Coptic version was published in *The Coptic Church Review* of 1994.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Bartelink (1994), p. 13 for bibliographical information on the existing editions. On the Ethiopian version see Leloir (1985); (1986), p. 287-289 [=Premiers renseignements sur la Vie d'Antoine en éthiopien, in *Antidoron. Hulde aan Dr. Maurits Geerard bij het voltooiën van de Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Wetteren, 1984, p. 9-12]. After the death of Leloir, Marie-Joseph Pierre accepted to continue the edition for the CSCO-series.

¹⁷⁹ The translation of Evagrius is printed in *PG* 26, below on every page; Monfaucon's translation is printed alongside the Greek text of the *PG*; the one from the Vatican archives can best be consulted in the edition by H.W.F.M. HOPPENBROUWERS, *La plus ancienne version latine de la Vie de saint Antoine par saint Athanase. Étude de critique textuelle*, Utrecht-Nijmegen, 1960. At the end of Force's contribution, a useful synopsis of the Greek text and the three translations of the discussed passages is given.

The VA exerted a profound influence on later Christian literature, especially in the field of Christian biography. Wölffle (1986) studied the dependence of Callinicus' *Vita Hypatii* (VH) on the VA. In VH 53.4 it is stated explicitly that Hypatius took the Egyptian eremite as an example for his monastic life. Wölffle proved that Athanasius' VA was for the biographer of Hypatius also the example to be followed. This shows in a number of explicit literal parallels as well as in many common motifs in both works¹⁸⁰. One of these common motifs is a conversation with the Satan. But Satan and the demons play a very important role in the VA and they occur throughout the whole work. And the same is true for many other writings from the monastic world of Late Antiquity, as is shown by a comparative study of the presence and role of Satan and the demons in some *Vitae*¹⁸¹. Despite their different historical settings the demonology of these writings show many similarities. Lanne (1992) has pointed to interesting similarities between the VA and writings from the world of Western monasticism (e.g. the *Vita Benedicti*, the *Regula S. Benedicti*). Gonzalez-Marin (1986) highlights the continuity between the VA and three *Vitae* by Jerome. The four *Vitae* can be seen as a whole, reflecting the various stages in the history of early monasticism. The *Vita Pauli* narrates the life of its founder, the VA is about the stage of the eremite, the *Vita Hilarionis* reflects the stage of the passage to a life in community and the *Vita Malchi* represents the monastic life closest to that Jerome himself was familiar with.

¹⁸⁰ Wölffle (1986), p. 23-32. Some examples of parallels: VA 56.1 - VH 12.3; VA 24.7 - VH 24.103; VA 27.4 - VH 24.103; VA 81.1 - VH 36.7-8; VA 87.3 - VH 44.37; VA 83.1 - VH 47.1 (less literal). Cf. Wölffle (1986), pp. 23-26 for extensive discussion.

¹⁸¹ Miquel (1987) compares the VA with the *Vita Martini* by Sulpicius Severus and the *Vita Benedicti* by Gregory the Great. Blazquez (1992) highlights parallels with the *Vita Martini*, the *Vita Hilarionis*, the *Historia Lausiaca* and the *Vita Melaniae*. For the influence of the demonology of the VA on other pieces of hagiographical literature, see P. BOULHOL, *Hagiographie antique et démonologie. Notes sur quelques Passions grecques* (BHG 962z, 964 et 1165-66), in *Analecta Bollandiana* 112 (1994) 255-304. The presence of the demons in the VA is also studied by Munnich (1996). On the theme of "labor" in the VA, see Pericoli Ridolfini (1986).

2. Other Ascetic Works

Besides the VA, more than 20 ascetic works preserved in Greek, Coptic, Syriac, Armenian and Arabic have been attributed to Athanasius. We treat some of these in another part of this article¹⁸². In an important and useful article Brakke gives a good survey of all the pertinent information on the body of Athanasius' other ascetic writings¹⁸³. Regarding authenticity he comes to an affirmative conclusion for (1) *(First) Letter to Virgins* (CPG 2147); (2) *(Second) Letter to Virgins* (CPG 2146); (3) *On Virginity* (CPG 2145); (4) Two excerpts from *On Sickness and Health* (CPG 2160); (5) Fragments from an unknown treatise on moral life (CPG 2152); (6) *Letter on Charity and Continence* (CPG 2151); (7) An excerpt from a letter of consolation to virgins (CPG 2162); (8) An excerpt from a letter to virgins (CPG 2154); (9) An excerpt from an unknown writing preserved in Shenute (CPG 2150)¹⁸⁴. In an appendix Brakke argued against any dependence between the *Gnomes of the Council of Nicaea* and the *First Letter to Virgins*. We also note Brakke's English translation of writings nrs. (1)-(5)¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸² For the *Letter to Amoun* and that to Dracontius, see *infra*, sub §2, E. For the *Letters to the Virgins*, see Brakke (1995), discussed in §1. For the *First Letter to the Virgins*, see also Elm (1993).

¹⁸³ Brakke (1994), *Authenticity* assesses each writing under the following rubrics: (1) Textual witnesses (2) Ancient testimonia (3) Evidence for a Greek original, if not preserved in Greek (4) Ancient title (5) Nature of the work (6) Internal evidence for the author's milieu, the geographical setting and the date (7) Comparison of the content of the work with that of the certainly genuine Athanasiana.

¹⁸⁴ Brakke (1994), *Authenticity* considers the following writings inauthentic or too fragmentarily preserved for an adequate judgment: (1) An excerpt from an unknown writing preserved in Shenute (CPG 2150); (2) Two excerpts from an unknown writing, preserved in Moses of Abydos (CPG 2150); (3) An excerpt from an unknown writing preserved in Constantine of Assiut (CPG 2150); (4) *Teachings and Commandments Concerning Virgins* (CPG 2148); (5) *Concerning Brothers who Came to Us* (CPG 2186); (6) *Account of Salvation Addressed to the (Female) Virgin* (CPG 2240); (7) *On Virginity* (Syriac); (8) *Life and Activity of the Holy and Blessed Teacher Syncletica* (CPG 2293). The last of these writings was translated twice in English - Castelli (1990) and Bongie (1995) - and once in Italian (Todde (1989)).

¹⁸⁵ See Brakke (1995), p. 274-320.

E. LETTERS

The corpus of Athanasius' letters is very varied. The first part and lion's share of this section is devoted to a discussion of research on his more pastorally orientated *Festal Letters*. In a second point I briefly treat the literature on the *Epistulae ad Serapionem*, which are theological treatises in letter form. I close this section with the remainder of Athanasius' writings in letter form (including *Epistula ad Marcellinum* and *Tomus ad Antiochenos*).

1. Festal Letters

As was customary for the Alexandrian bishop, Athanasius wrote a yearly *Festal Letter* (FL). A large part of these FL are preserved, mostly in the Coptic or Syriac versions, though also some fragments in Greek, Syriac and Armenian survived. In these Letters we meet not so much the theologian but the pastor, spiritual leader and bishop who is concerned about his flock. Because of the different style and purpose they are an interesting complement to Athanasius' other work and sometimes reveal a glimpse of his feelings. More than in his theological or historical-polemical works, we meet in these letters a spiritual man, whose faith was intensely nurtured by the Scriptures.

The study of the *Festal Letters* is a field in which Athanasius research made and is making a lot of progress. This is especially due to the monographs by Lorenz (1986) and Camplani (1989)¹⁸⁶. The lion's share of Lorenz' monograph consists of a German translation and facsimile edition of the Syriac text of the important *Tenth Letter*, written for the Easter of 338. The book also contains copious commentary on chronological matters and on the theological content of the Letter. Camplani's work deals with the manuscript tradition of the entire corpus, the chronology and the historical context of the Letters. Though a very important monograph in itself, it is partly only a preparatory study, since the author is

¹⁸⁶ R. LORENZ, *Der Zehnte Osterfestbrief des Athanasius von Alexandrien. Text, Übersetzung, Erläuterungen* (BZNW, 49), De Gruyter, Berlin - New York, 1986 and A. CAMPLANI, *Le lettere festali di Atanasio di Alessandria*, Rome, 1989 [= publication of a dissertation defended at "La Sapienza" in 1986]. See for Camplani also his article from 1987 in reaction to Lorenz and the incisive review by Barnes in *JTS* 41 (1990) 258-264.

working on a new edition of the entire corpus with translation and commentary¹⁸⁷.

The most important result of the (independent) efforts of Lorenz and Camplani is a different chronology for the FL¹⁸⁸. Both follow the same method, while disagreeing on the extent to which the "old chronology" needs to be revised. They agree that an editor collected Athanasius' FL after his death into a consecutively numbered corpus. Since the FL did not contain any indication revealing for which year they were written, this editorial process was based on the Easter date. The numbering of the Letters in the corpus as it is transmitted, as well as the date that goes with it, are thus the result of the decision of this anonymous editor. Since in the period 328-373 Easter sometimes fell on the same day, it is possible that he made mistakes. Both Lorenz and Camplani distinguish between the FL proper and the brief notifications the bishop sent out earlier, to communicate the Easter date. Moreover the "new chronology" is based on the contradictory indications of the duration of the fast^{188a} (six days in Letters I, IV, V, and XIV, forty days in all the other Letters), leading to a later date for Letters II and III. Finally the sometimes extremely vague references to historical facts are also taken into account. All this resulted in a "new chronology" for the FL which is radically different from the transmitted date which depends upon their number in the corpus. A strong indication that the reconstruction by Lorenz and Camplani might be right is the internal cohesion regarding thought or terminology between FL I, XXIV, XIV, IV and V, which according to the "new chronology" are Athanasius' first five FL¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸⁷ As far as we know both works are still in progress. We got our information from the *Bulletin d'information et de liaison* of the Association Internationale d'Etudes Patristiques. Provisional titles would be A. CAMPLANI, *Edizione e traduzione delle Lettere festali di Atanasio di Alessandria* (versioni copte e siriache); ID., *Traduzione italiana con commento storico e teologico delle Lettere festali di Atanasio di Alessandria*.

¹⁸⁸ Barnes (1993), p. 183-191 provides an excellent survey of the chronological problems the FL pose for research and the solutions adopted so far, including Camplani and Lorenz. See also his review of Camplani (*JTS* 41 (1990), p. 259-262).

^{188a} See on this topic esp. V. PERI, *La cronologia delle lettere festali di sant'Atanasio e la Quaresima*, in *Aevum* 35 (1961) 28-86 and Camplani (1993).

¹⁸⁹ Devos (1992). Especially the parallels between XXIV and XIV are significant, though there are also enough resemblances with the other Letters.

Of some Letters the date remains open for debate. This is the case for Letter VI, for which the transmitted date is 334. Other possibilities are 345 and 356, the two other years that Easter fell on the same day as in 334. The dating of Letter VI has also consequences for the date of Letter XXVIII (transmitted date 356), since it is impossible that both Letters were written in 356.

The date of Letter VII is also unclear. The transmitted date is 335, the alternative dates 340 and 346. Barnes remarks that the references in the Letter to wicked men and to heretics and schismatics "would not be inappropriate for either of the alternative dates"¹⁹⁰. The transmitted date of Letter XL is 368, 363 being a possible alternative. Barnes argues that "the content of the two preserved fragments could suit 363 better than 368"¹⁹¹.

The editor who collected Athanasius' FL into a consecutively numbered corpus also prefixed to each Letter a heading containing chronological material (e.g. the Easter date according to the Egyptian and the Julian calendar). At the beginning of the corpus he reproduced this material, while adding valuable information on Athanasius' biography (e.g. journeys, exiles or the reason why he did not write a FL in that specific year). This Index to the FL, or *Festal Index*, is preserved together with FL I-XIX and a part of XX in the Syriac ms. BL Add 14569. In 1985 M. Albert edited and translated the text into French with extensive commentary by A. Martin¹⁹².

With regard to the interpretation of this important document, we mention two articles proposing readings alternative to the ones advocated by Albert. First there is the incisive remark of Lorenz

¹⁹⁰ Barnes (1993), p. 189.

¹⁹¹ Barnes (1993) p. 190.

¹⁹² Edited as SC, 317, Paris, 1985. This volume contains also an edition by Martin of the so-called *Historia Acephala*, which is essentially a history of the life of Athanasius between 346-373. It is a part of the so-called "Collection of Deacon Theodosius", preserved in the Codex Veronensis LX(58). The work had a gradual genesis, largely going back on Athanasius' lifetime and thus may be assumed to contain trustworthy material. After his death in the course of time some smaller parts were added. In ca. 420 an abbreviation of the result was together with other documents sent to Carthage, where it was translated in Latin and brought together in one collection, apparently by a deacon Theodosius. For a thorough discussion of this edition see Barnes' review (*JTS* 37 (1986) 585-589) and two articles by Lorenz (1988). Hanson (1989) discusses the "Profession of Aetius and Patricius", preserved in the *Historia Acephala* 4.6.

(1988) on a reading of the *Festal Index* ad annum 367. Albert saw in the Syriac *pihri'on* an equivalent for the Greek "πυρεῖον", which she interpreted as the furnace to bake the Eucharistic bread. Lorenz however proposed to interpret it as a reference to a sanctuary dedicated to the well known Alexandrian presbyter and martyr Pierius, a "περιεῖον"¹⁹³. We also refer to Riall who made some interesting observations on Albert's reading of the *Festal Index* ad annum 341 and 342¹⁹⁴.

Regarding the *authenticity* of the corpus of FL there is only discussion on the second of the two Coptic fragments M. Pieper published in 1938 as parts of FL XXXVI (of the year 364)¹⁹⁵, which Lefort¹⁹⁶ reprinted as such. Laminski proved that the theological language of the first fragment revealed that it cannot have been written by Athanasius¹⁹⁷. Camplani agrees with Laminski regarding the first fragment. As for the second fragment he contends that it is not a part of a FL, but of a circular letter, written by Athanasius from Antioch to the Alexandrian and Egyptian clergy (winter 363-364)¹⁹⁸. Barnes agrees with this¹⁹⁹. However, in Martin's opinion the second fragment is indeed part of a FL: the unusually precise indication of the *Festal Index*, stating that Athanasius wrote to all bishops of each eparchy, makes superfluous Camplani's hypothesis of a circular letter different from the FL²⁰⁰. In a recent article Camplani took the matter under discussion one step further. A renewed close examination of the texts brought him to the conclusion that 'piuttosto che contenere una lettera festale di Atanasio, como si era pensato in passato, attesterebbe in primo luogo una lettera di Atanasio ai presbiteri alessandrini in relazione alla sua visita a Gioviano, seguita dalle *Petitiones Arianorum*, e in secondo luogo una professione di fede secondo la tradizione di Eusebio di Cesarea,

¹⁹³ See SC, 317, pp. 270-271 and Lorenz (1988).

¹⁹⁴ Riall (1987), *Festal Letter Index*.

¹⁹⁵ M. PIEPER, *Zwei Blätter aus dem Osterbrief des Athanasius vom Jahre 364* (Pap. Berol. 11948), in ZNW 37 (1938) 73-76.

¹⁹⁶ CSCO, 150, p. 69-71 with French translation in CSCO 151, p. 26-28.

¹⁹⁷ A. LAMINSKI, *Der Hl. Geist als Geist Christi und Geist der Gläubigen. Der Beitrag des Athanasios von Alexandrien zur Formulierung des Trinitarischen Dogmas im vierten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1969, 114-116.

¹⁹⁸ Camplani (1989), p. 101-105.

¹⁹⁹ See his review of Camplani (1989) in JTS 41 (1990) 258-264, 259.

²⁰⁰ See Martin (1996), p. 587, note 163.

tutti documenti che si può ragionevolmente ipotizzare derivino dagli archivi dell'episcopato di Alessandria'^{200a}.

Besides these contributions on more technical matters (textual transmission, authenticity, chronology ...) there is also an increasing attention for the content of the FL, their proper character and purpose and their value as a source for Athanasius' biography and the history of Christian Egypt. Badger (1990), Barnes (1993), Brakke (1995) and Martin (1996) are examples of monographs giving due weight to the testimony of the FL.

In a more general article Kannengiesser²⁰¹ assessed the FL as pieces of homiletic literature in which we meet the pastor whose spiritual life was intensely nurtured by the Scriptures, instead of the theologian. Kannengiesser stressed the incarnational focus of the FL. With his yearly FL Athanasius wanted to do more than just share theological insights or exhort the communities to be ready for the feast. He also wanted them, on this occasion, to focus their attention on the Incarnation as the central mystery of their belief, to live their belief as it were.

Hess and Wahba²⁰² studied the soteriology of the FL. Hess concluded that in these Letters the motif of deification (*theopoiësis*) is not at the heart of Athanasian soteriology. The focus of ideas relating to salvation is the gift of incorruptibility and the eternal communion with God through the restoration of the image of the Word in the redeemed. The reason for this absence might be that it was not central to his own theology. Hess explained the manifest presence of the theme in CG-DI and CA by assuming that the way he expresses his thoughts in these writings was determined by the nature of his opponents (viz. the pagans and the Arians).

Contrary to Hess, Wahba saw many parallels with the soteriological conceptions in Athanasius' other writings. The salvation theology of the FL is a Scriptural spirituality that focuses on the encounter between God and man realized in the Incarnation, represented in the sacraments, and consummated in deification. Some other theological themes, such as that of the blood of Christ, were studied by Girardi (1987).

^{200a} Camplani (1997), p. 228-240. The quotation is from Camplani-Vian (1998), p. 38.

²⁰¹ Kannengiesser (1989), *Festal Letters*.

²⁰² Hess (1992); Wahba (1988); (1994) and (1998).

2. Letters to Serapion

From the 350's onwards, Athanasius developed a pneumatological reflection, arguing for the divinity of the Spirit. This reflection found its main impetus during his third exile thanks to an inquiry of his friend Serapion, bishop of Thmuis who asked Athanasius' advice on how to counter the arguments of a group of Christians in Egypt who accepted the divinity of the Son but, influenced by the ideas of Eunomius, denied that of the Spirit. The *Epistulae ad Serapionem* are Athanasius' part of the exchange of Letters that took place.

Though they are an important dogmatic work, the *Epistulae ad Serapionem* have not attracted much scholarly attention. An edition is on the way by the German team that also edited the *Epistula encyclica ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* and the first two books of the *Contra Arianos*. Until this is ready, scholars will have to use that in the *Patrologia Graeca*. In 1986 Cattaneo published an Italian translation, Staniloae a Roumanian one in 1988 and Kalinowski a Polish one in 1996. On the genesis, date and content of these Letters, one can now consult Fitschen's book on Serapion²⁰³.

3. Other Letters

To conclude this section, we deal with the other, often very short letters belonging to the Corpus Athanasianum. Among these, Barnard and Vivian²⁰⁴ translated and studied the letters that testify to Athanasius' dealings with the ascetic movement in Egypt. Staniloae (1988) offers a Roumanian translation of the *Epistula ad Adelphium*, the *Epistula ad Epictetum* and the *Epistula ad Maximum*.

Kannengiesser wrote an incisive article on the last of these²⁰⁵. He calls attention to the enigmatic composition of the Letter to the philosopher Maximus which he qualifies as "a well-crafted literary montage"²⁰⁶. The heart of the composition lies in ch. 3-4 that expounds in condensed form the argumentation given at length in

²⁰³ K. FITSCHEN, *Serapion von Thmuis*, p.135-147.

²⁰⁴ Barnard (1994), *Monastic Letters*. On the Letter to Amoun and that to Dracontius, see also Barnard (1993). The Letter to Amoun is also studied by Vivian (1993).

²⁰⁵ Kannengiesser (1987), *L'énigme*.

²⁰⁶ Kannengiesser (1993), *Ad Afros*, p. 265.

CA III, 26-58. The parallels are so close that the same author must be assumed. Given Kannengiesser's opinion on the unauthenticity of CA III (cf. *supra*), this author is not Athanasius²⁰⁷. So it is the more surprising that in the surrounding chapters 1-2 and 5, a lexical analysis shows many parallels with the genuine *Epistula ad Epictetum* and *Ad Adelphium*. Kannengiesser's conclusion is that the author EpMax summarized his theology expounded in the CA III and deliberately surrounded it with implicit quotations from Athanasius. The conclusion must be that Athanasius is not the author of EpMax. Kannengiesser also denies the Athanasian authorship of the *Epistula ad Afros* transmitted under his name²⁰⁸. He has the following arguments: (1) The literal dependence of Ad Afros 5-6 is technically the work of an excerptor. The source of his material is also never indicated (2) The dogmatic teaching in 7-8 relies entirely, in its essential thesis and its lexical features, on CA III, 1-25, which is not by Athanasius (3) The work contains some major blunders which cannot be attributed to Athanasius.

So EpMax and EpAfros seem to be connected in that they both rework parts of CA III. It is not clear what this connection precisely is, but it may not be too adventurous to postulate "something like a school tradition which would be responsible for the production of both writings"²⁰⁹. Kannengiesser's opinion on the unauthenticity of both letters has not received much support so far.

Another of Athanasius' letters with a doctrinal content was the *Epistula* or *Tomus ad Antiochenos*²¹⁰, written in 362 after the Council of Alexandria of that year. In this Letter, destined to the Nicene community in Antioch and its bishop Eustathius, the orthodox faith is again defended against Arianism^{210a}. Pettersen (1990) rightly pointed out that the text has to be read with an anti-Arian background in mind. This is also the case for ch. 7, where Athanasius reacts against the denial of Christ's human soul, which has been often interpreted as an Apollinistic interpolation.

²⁰⁷ 'Un même auteur traite dans les deux cas un même sujet, et cela dans les mêmes termes, mais sans être esclave de ses redites' (*L'énigme*, p. 275).

²⁰⁸ Kannengiesser (1993), *Ad Afros*.

²⁰⁹ Kannengiesser (1993), *Ad Afros*, p. 265. About Athanasiana and Pseudo-athanasiana see also Kannengiesser (1992).

²¹⁰ Polish translation by Golda (1988).

^{210a} On the historical and theological context and structure of this document, see Camplani (1997), p. 191-219.

A final letter considered here is the *Epistula ad Marcellinum*, which is a kind of guidebook to the Psalms in the form of a letter. Athanasius was no fully fledged exegete. This is the only authentic work that can be called at all exegetical^{210b}. In the Letter, which is an answer to a friend recovering from an illness, Athanasius teaches what he himself had allegedly learned from an old man who was very well at home in the Psalms. Athanasius explains how the Psalms encompass the entire Old Testament and how they affect everyone in a highly personal way. He concludes with an exposition on why the Psalms are sung and on their value in general. The heart of the treatise, however, is concerned with the varied use of the Psalms, viz. for devotional, liturgical, christological, doctrinal and catechetical purposes. In this writing, free from any apologetic purpose or need to defend himself, we meet the pastor Athanasius who guides and exhorts one of his flock in the study of the Scriptures. The work has not (yet?) received the scholarly attention it deserves. An English and a Polish translation²¹¹ appeared and further there are general presentations by Ferguson and Kannengiesser as well as more thorough studies by Fossas and Mammarella. Finally I refer the reader to Badger's work that interprets the text in the framework of the meditation and ascetical training that he detected in the other pastoral writings by the Alexandrian bishop²¹².

F. HOMILETICAL WRITINGS

As a bishop, Athanasius must have delivered hundreds of homilies. Of all this material, little has come down to us. Most of it is preserved in Coptic. There is no systematic study or modern critical edition. Much remains to be done in this area of Athanasius research. Yet it is to be expected that a thorough study of these texts might yield more than one surprise. It will, in any case, contribute to and complement our image of Athanasius as a homilist as we

^{210b} The authenticity of the *Expositiones in Psalmos* is a debated issue. See the survey in *CPG* suppl., ad nr. 2140 and in Camplani-Vian (1998), sub nr. 5. See also Vian (1985) and (1991).

²¹¹ English: Bright (1986) 56-77; Polish: Tronina (1990); Italian: Cremaschi (1995).

²¹² Ferguson (1985); Kannengiesser (1986) and (1990), 173-182; Badger (1990) 249-256; Mammarella (1992); Fossas (1997).

know him from the *Festal Letters*. It might also enlarge the basis for seeing how the theologian and the homilist in Athanasius relate to one another.

Despite one sermon's being translated even in Japanese²¹³, it is significant for the meagre attention scholars have so far devoted to these texts that I can mention but few contributions dealing with Athanasius' homilies. Riall²¹⁴ gives a survey of the Athanasian homiletical corpus with succinct notes. He considers in total 16 homilies as "remnants of the original corpus". Two of these are as yet unpublished: *In Pentecostem* (CPG 2192), preserved in Pierpont Morgan MS 595, f. 118v-f. 140v and *Homilia in Lucam XI, 5 sqq* (CPG 2194), preserved in Pierpont Morgan MS 577, f. 35r-f. 49v. There is an English translation of *De morbo et valitudine* (CPG 2160)²¹⁵. To the homilies listed by Riall (and the CPG) must be added a homily *De inventione capitis Iohannis Baptistae a Gesio et Isidoro*^{215a}.

Witte (1994) studied the unedited²¹⁶ Coptic text in Ms. 602 of the Pierpont Morgan Library, *In Michaelem archangelem* ((CPG 2195), attributed to Athanasius. The text, also extant in an Arabic translation, is unauthentic since it contains references to the history of Egypt in the seventh and eighth centuries.

§ 3 ATHANASIUS' THEOLOGY

In this third and final section we deal with the publications on Athanasius' theology. Unfortunately we have to limit ourselves to the Alexandrian patriarch's theology and cannot extend this survey to contributions about the fourth century theological background in general. Yet, the last decades have witnessed an upsurge of interest in what is commonly known as "the Arian controversy". Much energy has been put into the reconstruction of the wider theologi-

²¹³ Hisamatsu (1987).

²¹⁴ Riall (1987), *Politics*, Appendix VIII.

²¹⁵ See Brakke (1995), p. 310-313.

^{215a} See Lucchesi (1986) and ID., *Trois éloges coptes de Jean-Baptiste attribués à Athanase, Théophile et Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 53 (1999) 323-324.

²¹⁶ There exists an Italian translation of this text: T. ORLANDI, *Omelia Copte (Aegyptiorum Patrum Homilias)*, Torino, 1981, 71-91.

cal scene of the fourth century on which Athanasius was just one player. It is a justified hope that the flourishing study of what is commonly called "Arianism" will provide a more nuanced background which will enable us to assess Athanasius' contribution to fourth century theology more sharply²¹⁷.

The body of literature on Athanasius' theology, part of which we already touched upon in the previous section, is considerable. In the first part of this section we will discuss some book length studies. Now and then we weave the contents of shorter contributions on related issues into the text. In the following parts of this section I concentrate on publications about the three following topics: 1) The character of the human nature of Christ; 2) Athanasius' soteriological concepts; 3) Athanasius' hermeneutics and his use of Scripture. The consequence is that articles on other topics, which were not so extensively present in the secondary literature, are not dealt with. This is the case for the studies dealing with Athanasius' reflections on the Trinity²¹⁸.

First however, I would like to repeat Kannengiesser's remark about the apparent lack of literary criticism in many studies on Athanasius' theology²¹⁹. I think Kannengiesser's critique is still valid today with regard to much of the literature. Far too often studies give a reconstruction of (part of) Athanasius' theology and buttress it more or less thoroughly with some important texts, mostly from the CG-DI or the CA. This inevitably leads to a systematization of his theological ideas. However, though Athanasius of course had key ideas he remained faithful to, he was certainly no systematic theologian in the modern sense of the word. Bebawi²²⁰ compared his way of theologising with concentric circles: Athanasius starts by tracing a first circle of ideas in response to a criticism or in defense

²¹⁷Some recent studies, bearing witness to the widening scope of studies on "Arianism" are R.P.C. HANSON, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God. The Arian Controversy 318-381*, Edinburgh, 1988; M.R. BARNES - D.H. WILLIAMS (EDS.), *Arianism after Arius. Essays on the Development of the Fourth Century Trinitarian Conflicts*, Edinburgh, 1993. As Forschungsberichte, see A.M. RITTER, *Ein Jahrzehnt Arianismusforschung*, in *Theologische Rundschau* 55 (1990) 153-188 [on the years 1979-1990]; on recent studies on Arius, see C. STEAD, *Arius in Modern Research*, in *JTS* 45 (1994) 24-37.

²¹⁸Torrance (1989); Wolinski (1989); Dragas (1993); Widdicombe (1997); Chia (1998).

²¹⁹Kannengiesser (1985), *Athanasian Decade*, p. 535.

²²⁰Bebawi (1986), p. 25.

of some point of doctrine. Then, he enlarges this circle, possibly repeating what he had already said and adding new ideas. This is his way of writing and if we want to discover the full richness of his theology we are not only to look for the key ideas of the first circle but also to see how these are developed and enriched with new ideas. One finds a beautiful example of such a reading of Athanasius in the unpublished dissertation of Craig Blaising²²¹. He offers a detailed commentary on the CA, focusing on the theological method of Athanasius. Such a careful close reading with attention for the context, both literary and polemical, is an essential prerequisite for an adequate understanding of Athanasius. Otherwise, we risk to understand only our own reconstruction of Athanasius. Such a "contextual reading" is a good safeguard against oversystematising Athanasius' theological ideas. Indeed, sometimes one can clearly see authors working with the (often unacknowledged) presupposition that Athanasius is always consistent and never contradicts himself.

1. Monographs

In 1995 Alvyn Pettersen produced for the series *Outstanding Christian Thinkers* a good survey of Athanasius' theology. To my knowledge it is the first systematic book length presentation of the theology of Athanasius in its various aspects. Though written for a wider audience, I believe it will also serve well for introductory courses in Patrology. The author succeeds very well in showing the inherent logic of Athanasius' theology. Moreover he is concerned to expound Athanasius' argumentation and the Arian arguments the Alexandrian bishop was answering to. It helps a lot that the author wove a lot of quotations into his text. In this way his readers hear Athanasius' voice more directly and get a sense of the polemical context and way of practicing theology so characteristic to Athanasius.

Another good synthetic study, written for a wider readership, is Kannengiesser's *Le Verbe de Dieu selon Athanase d'Alexandrie*²²². Kannengiesser provides a general survey of Athanasius' christology and the Incarnation as its focal point. The first chapter is devoted

²²¹ Blaising (1987); cf. *supra* sub §2B.

²²² (Collection Jésus et Jésus Christ, 45), Tournai, 1990.

to a biographical survey, not so much enumerating well-known realia but rather showing how Athanasius' writings bear witness to his deep pastoral sense and conviction and how the christology he developed was the result of the maturation of insights during his stormy career. This thoroughly Scriptural christology was much more than academic theology²²³. As shown even with more emphasis in his *Festal Letters*, doing christology was not an intellectual exercise; it was sharing with his flock the source of his spiritual life and defending his convictions with intellectual arguments when this was needed.

In the following three chapters the author allows Athanasius himself to speak. Using a lot of long quotations, he unravels the depths of Athanasius' christology. The second chapter deals with the Incarnation as focal point and central perspective of Athanasius' christology. The basic question is: What does it mean when we say that God became man? Kannengiesser starts with an overview of the answers the Alexandrian tradition before him (Clement, Origen, Arius) gave to this question. Then he presents at length Athanasius' answer in the *De Incarnatione Verbi*. In the third chapter he deals with the notion of divinity and of God in the frame of a reflection on the Incarnation. Here the *Contra Arianos* are discussed. The final chapter portrays Athanasius as the man of faith and the pastorally concerned bishop, bearing witness to the faith he lives from himself and sharing it with his flock. In this context the *Festal Letters* and the *Epistula ad Marcellinum* are put under the spotlight. In shorthand, one could say that Athanasius' main concern was to bear witness that in the Incarnation it was God himself and none other that became man.

Peter Widdicombe highlights another essential aspect of Athanasius' theology: for Athanasius God is essentially Father²²⁴. From this angle he extensively presents Athanasius' christology and soteriology. The concept of divine Fatherhood primarily describes the relation internal to the divine being; only secondarily does it refer to God as the Father of his adopted children. Athanasius' ideas of divine Fatherhood were coloured by the Arian challenge. The

²²³ Charry (1993).

²²⁴ *The Fatherhood of God from Origen to Athanasius* (Oxford Theological Monographs), Oxford, 1994, 145-249. It is a revised version of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the Theology Faculty of Oxford University.

problem of the Arian controversy was not primarily about the belief that God *was* Father. It was about the way the Son was Son of the Father. But, by consequence, it inevitably became also a debate about the Fatherhood of God. Athanasius' basic question was not, as for Origen, how we come to know that God *is* Father and what that really means. Athanasius' question was how we come to *know* the Father through the Son and the consequences this has for the divinity of the Son^{224a}.

So Fatherhood belongs to God's essence: it is not an attribute among many others²²⁵. It is the Source of divine and creaturely reality and only if the Son is the Father's eternal and proper Offspring, rather than a thing originated, however noble, can God's character as Creator, Sustainer and Saviour be maintained and revealed. It is as Father *and* as Son that the divine being is the ground of our existence as well as of our being able to know God. Athanasius emphasizes against the Arians that the Son is not simply an attribute of the Father and that he is not merely *called* Son. For Athanasius God *is* Son, *is* Logos, *is* Wisdom. The Son is truly the Father's Son and Logos, who genuinely and fully reveals his Father. The Son and the Father form a generative community, in which there is knowledge of the Father through the Son and *vice versa* and where there is mutual delight between the two. There is no subordination between them, even despite the fact that the Son has his Cause in the Father whereas the Father has no Cause. The Father is Unbegotten, the Son is Only-Begotten. This intimate relationship between the Father and the Son and their being of the same nature is often expressed by the adjective *idios*. This adjective is also employed to denote the intimacy of the human and the divine in the incarnate Christ²²⁶.

The divine oneness between the Father and the Son is expressed in very different images, e.g. radiance, ray... As to these images one might point to the ambiguous use Athanasius makes of the Neoplatonic concept of emanation²²⁷. He is cautious to safeguard the difference between the Son's generation from the Father and the

^{224a} For an analysis of Athanasius' reflections on the divinity of the Son, focusing on the meaning of *μονογενής* see J.R. MEYER, *Athanasius Son of God Theology*, in *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 66 (1999) 225-253.

²²⁵ On one of these attributes, God's goodness, see Pettersen (1998).

²²⁶ Louth (1989).

²²⁷ Meredith (1985).

way the universe comes from God. Therefore he rejects to apply the metaphor of emanation to the spiritual generation of the Son by the Father. On the other hand there are some passages in his work where he does not use the term emanation but where the *idea* is prominently present, precisely to denote the Father-Son relationship²²⁸.

Between the Logos' sonship and ours there is both continuity and discontinuity. Both are sons of God, but the Logos' Sonship is essential, whereas ours is graciously given. In their relation to God there is a crucial difference between Creation and the Son. Creation is totally dependent upon God, whereas the Son is part of the definition of God; he is no complement or addition. The Father is so to speak naturally generative; so what the Father does in producing the Son is simply the enactment of what he is, and his acts are not temporal or from necessity but do simply flow forth from his nature.

Rebecca Lyman²²⁹ unfolds a hermeneutical approach to what are traditionally called the doctrines of creation, Trinity and salvation in Athanasius. Her aim is primarily to understand how Athanasius arrived to think on these issues the way he did. This question is tackled from two sides. First she attempts to determine the reciprocal influence between christological reflection and the "doctrine of cosmology". In the doctrine of cosmology basic assumptions about the nature of and relation between God and humanity are crystallized. These influenced christological reflection whereas vice versa beliefs about Jesus shaped the resulting definitions of divine and human nature. Complementary to this first approach she assesses the sociological background of Athanasius' christology, showing how this background of the community he belonged to and his position as an episcopal ascetic teacher contributed to shape his theology.

In contrast to the philosophical or apologetical concerns of Origen and Eusebius, Athanasius developed a cosmology which dealt in a radical way with the unbridgeable gap for humanity between the uncreated divine realm and the realm of created

²²⁸ DNS 15; DNS 25 (quotation of Theognostus, given with approval).

²²⁹ In the third part, "Transcendence and Transformation" of her *Christology and Cosmology. Models of Divine Activity in Origen, Eusebius and Athanasius* (Oxford Theological Monographs), Oxford, 1993, 124-160.

beings, characterized by mutability and corruptibility. Athanasius' most important aim was soteriological; hence the central place of the Incarnation. In his view, the Incarnate Christ is in the first place the key to the salvation of all existence. What are the philosophical and ascetic assumptions underlying his familiar defense of the Incarnation?

Soteriology in Athanasius centres on the communication of the qualities of transcendent divine nature to mutable humanity through the Incarnation. The Word by taking flesh was united to humanity in order to effect a whole transformation for its redemption, rather than effecting human behaviour only through teaching or example. Sin is associated with mutability and death, and thus humanity is delivered from contingency into absolute unity with God. The Incarnation is the key to this stability. The transformation which takes place affects both the mind and the body.

The focus on both intellectual and material divinization answers respectively to Athanasius' Christian Platonism and passionate ecclesiastical asceticism. Given a wholly transcendent God, only a fully divine Incarnate Logos can communicate knowledge of his nature. To affirm the divinity of the Son as eternal and essential to the Father, Athanasius was forced to reduce the sense of agency found in Christian cosmology since the Apologists. And yet, Lyman observes, though he has not adopted the scheme of a hierarchical cosmology which gives the Logos a place as a mediator between the divine and the human, at heart Athanasius' theology remains as much Logocentric as Christocentric.

Athanasius' claim that through the Incarnation of the Logos human frailty was met and the redemption of humankind was made possible, reflected a different cosmological model. Soteriology is no longer focused on deliverance from fatalism through obedience and instruction, but deliverance from changeability through physical transformation. These categories are clearly in line with the contemporary asceticism's rejection of conventional social and ecclesiastical identities. By this synthesis of ecclesiastical identity and secular power through a singular divine presence in the Incarnation, Athanasius sharply defined the Christian community over against Graeco-Roman culture and sought to incorporate the scattered ascetics into the mainstream²³⁰.

²³⁰ Compare Badger (1990) and Brakke (1995), both discussed in §1.

The following book I mention is that by Pettersen on *Athanasius and the Human Body*²³¹. The main argument, which unfortunately is not always easy to follow, is that Athanasius valued the human body in a very positive way. This was not self-evident since in Alexandria and in the ascetic movements of fourth century Egypt negative attitudes towards the physicality of the body were also very much present. To Athanasius the body in itself is mutable, mortal, fragile but, since it is created *ex nihilo* by the good God, also fundamentally good. Athanasius rejects the opposition between the evil corporeal body and the good soul. It is the evil *deeds* of the body that need to be eradicated²³². Body and soul form a unity and are worthwhile, both in themselves and together. The body is functional but also more than that: it is also sacramental. Pettersen also argues against the collective interpretation of Christ's human body. And between the Body of Christ and the Church he sees both continuity and discontinuity. Discontinuity insofar as the Church is only in a figurative way the Body of Christ. On the other hand the Church is really Christ's body insofar as Christians have part in Christ's body through imitation and participation, insofar as they appropriate for themselves Christ's salvific act of his life and death.

A last monograph I want to present here is Khaled Anatolios' *Athanasius: The Coherence of His Thought*^{232a}. As the title indicates, the author of this well-written book addresses the question: what gives the Alexandrian bishop's doctrine its coherence? Anatolios convincingly argues that the answer must be looked for in the radical distinction, and simultaneous relation, between God and the world. Though Athanasius maintains the primacy of divine transcendence, there is in his theology much more reciprocity and importance attached to the human answer to divine grace than is

²³¹ Bedminster, 1990.

²³² Pettersen (1989) argues with regard to the *Vita Antonii* for a positive view on the body *in se* in the VA. It is the ascetic's concern to take the created nature in all its aspects seriously: 'The soul's purity is sought, but not at the cost of eradicating the soul's organ, in and through which it lives, the body (...) While the monk's primary aim was his personal salvation, his concern was not wholly anti-social: the monk does recognise the demand of love and service to one's neighbour, the need to resist competitiveness, and the requirement of social justice and freedom from oppression' (p. 447).

^{232a} His revised doctoral dissertation, published as a Routledge Early Church Monograph, London-New York, 1998.

supposed in some presentations of his doctrine. Anatolios portrays Athanasius as a theologian who succeeded – more than Schleiermacher or Barth – to articulate a balanced and dynamic theology that preserved the tension between both poles: ‘Despite some shortcomings, such as the lack of emphasis on Christ’s human soul, ... he was able to maintain this tension at the high pitch of the simultaneous emphasis on the utter unlikeness between God and the world and on our deification to the point of being “Word-ed” in the Word’ (p. 206).

In the first chapter Anatolios briefly surveys the relationship between God and the world in pre-Athanasian theology. Against Middle-Platonic, Neo-Platonic and Gnostic systems, Athanasius clearly belongs to the successors of Irenaeus in that he stresses that only God himself, and not some kind of intermediary, can relate the created world to God. Chapter two outlines how in the doublework *Contra Gentes-De Incarnatione Verbi* the relationship between the utterly different Father and the created mutable world shapes Athanasius’ theology. Anatolios sees the Incarnation and the cross as the pivotal elements in the work (“the center to which all the other data are made to converge”). The chapter is structured around the headings cosmology, theological anthropology, christology and redemption. I especially point here to the nuanced treatment of the ‘bodiliness’ of the Incarnate Word. Chapter three discusses, after a succinct overview of the historical and theological background, in much the same vein the *Orationes contra Arianos*. Anatolios amply demonstrates the continuity of this writing with the CG-DI. Besides the model of participation to express the relation between God and world, Athanasius develops in the CA also the image of giving and receiving, a poignant expression of the reciprocal character of this relationship while at the same time preserving the primacy of divine transcendence. Anatolios shows the crucial role of the immediacy: the immediacy of essence within the Trinity is the ground for the immediate relation between the Trinitarian God and creation as mediated in the Incarnation. The Word Incarnate functions as the mediator for a transformative process of deification. This dialectic of divinization, in which the Incarnate Word’s human receptivity of the Spirit, which he himself gives, renders humanity a secure access to the Spirit’s divinizing power. The fourth and final chapter then treats this ‘context of grace’: the human response to God’s offer of grace in the

Incarnation; humanity as engaged in the process of divinization. Here the lion's share of the attention goes to the *Vita Antonii*. Herein the great hermit is presented as *the* model of the life of grace, of human active receptivity to the divine. Further Anatolios argues at length against Gregg and Groh (*Early Arianism: A View of Salvation*), who recognized in the VA two different soteriological models: an Arian one, based on human volition and striving, and an Athanasian one, based on divine dispensation of grace. Anatolios shows that both soteriological models are not mutually exclusive and that they are both present in Athanasius, not only in the VA but also in other works, e.g. the *Epistula ad Marcellinum* and the *Festal Letters*. The latter receive a rather brief treatment while the other ascetical works fall entirely beyond the scope of the book. This is a pity; in the movements of female ascetics (see also S. Elm, *Virgins of God* and D. Brakke's *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*) the Alexandrian bishop directed some letters at, Anatolios might have found more 'co-workers of the Lord' beside Antony. A useful complement to Anatolios' fourth chapter is formed by Badger's *The New Man Created in God*. There it is demonstrated how in the *Festal Letters* and other ascetical writings the communication and pastoral implementation of Athanasius' soteriology take place.

Athanasius: The Coherence of His Thought is the book of an author who clearly loves Athanasius and knows his work very well. Anatolios succeeds in presenting Athanasius as a theologian, grappling with issues that are still relevant for us today, more than as a historical figure of a longforgotten past. He sticks closely to the texts, large portions of which are included in translation and is weary of arguments deriving from preconceived modern frameworks entirely foreign to Athanasius. His analysis is innovative and he often comes with hitherto unsufficiently noticed facts: e.g. that the term governance (ἡγεμονία) to denote the relation between God and the created world is never used for the relation between God and humanity (p. 59). Anatolios is at his best when he can solve apparent inconsistencies by placing them back in the overall vision, adducing a wealth of other texts to prove his point. All this makes the book an excellent (advanced) introduction to the theology of Athanasius which does justice to his thinking in all its rich complexity.

2. The Humanity of Christ

One of the aspects Athanasius did not think through thoroughly was the nature of Christ's human nature. From his perspective this was not very important: the important thing was *that* Christ assumed a human nature, shared our condition of mortality and corruptibility. The created order is fragile, subject to the natural corruption bound up with death. Corruption is in some way internal to the creatures, it is not superficial. Redemption was achieved by the union in Christ of the very Word, impassible and incorruptible, with created manhood, *id est* man subject to passions, corruption and death. In the Word there is a mutual exchange of properties between man and the Logos: he is taking on our passions and we are being rendered impassible. In the death of the Word's body, death and corruption are swallowed up in the impassibility of the Word.

Several authors²³³ react against Grillmeier's (and others') definition of Athanasius' christology as a Logos-sarx christology²³⁴. So Dragas convincingly points to the fact that in order to indicate the humanity of the Logos Incarnate the term ἄνθρωπος is used equally frequently and sometimes with more consistency than the term σάρξ. And very often a statement using Λόγος and σάρξ or σῶμα is preceeded or followed by a statement using the pair Λόγος - ἄνθρωπος. Moreover an analysis of the term σάρξ shows that it can be equated as well with ἄνθρωπος as with σῶμα. In both meanings it has a dynamic aspect: (1) The Logos becomes (γίγνεσθαι) something in Himself (ἄνθρωπος or σάρξ); (2) The Logos assumes (λαμβάνειν) something to Himself (σῶμα or σάρξ). This dynamic character is due to Athanasius' conception of matter, which is never static but, governed by God's dynamic relation to creation, ever on the move. So Dragas pleads for keeping both aspects together and preserving the tension between them. Both belong together, they cannot be separated from one another.

Anatolios (1996) worked out the soteriological importance of Christ's humanity from a different angle. In the Alexandrian tradition humanity did not mean human agency, moral responsibility

²³³ Dragas (1985); Anatolios (1996); (1997).

²³⁴ See e.g. A. GRILLMEIER, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, London, 1975, 2nd edition, 302; 308; J.N.D. KELLY, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 5th edition, London, 1977, 280-281.

etc... It primarily meant receptivity to the divine. He studies some keytexts from *Contra Gentes-De Incarnatione Verbi* and *Contra Arianos* I, 37-52 to show how Athanasius appreciates the humanity of Christ in terms of receptivity. In fact Athanasius presents Christ's human receptivity as a climax in the economy of God's giving of grace. The giving of grace belongs to the divine realm, the receiving to the created realm. Both are completely different, but the Logos Incarnate unites the two in his person: in his divinity he mediates divine grace, in his human nature he receives it on our behalf. And by virtue of his divinity he receives it in a perfect way. This grace is the Holy Spirit and thus the Logos' Incarnation provides the foundation for our salvation. Through participation in the Logos, we can partake of this divine grace and become deified. The giving and receiving of divine grace, which both take place through the Logos, enable us, thanks to his double nature, to participate in it. He has so to speak paved the way for us. In this sense one might say that the irreducible dissimilarity between God and creation is softened without being completely done away with by humanity's reception of divinity in Christ.

What notion of the humanity of Christ is implied in all of this? It should be repeated that Athanasius has virtually no interest in Christ's human nature. He often emphasizes the reality of the Incarnation. But how the human nature of Christ is *capax Dei* or how it is constituted, is of no interest to Athanasius. It is more important for him to see the amazing unity of the uncreated and the creaturely in Christ, with all the benefits it entails, than to discuss the precise nature of Christ's human nature. Only later it was seen that his insistence on the reality of the Incarnation inevitably had to lead to this discussion. However, Athanasius himself did not see the consequences. The main reason that Athanasius himself failed to see these inevitable questions arise, was the stress he put upon Christ's divine nature. The consequence of his not working out a thorough reflection on Christ's human nature is that his text sends out mixed signals, which makes it very difficult to reconstruct what exactly he thought about the subject. What is clear is that to Athanasius the Logos assumed a human nature, including the corruption inherent to it²³⁵.

²³⁵ Louth (1985).

But did Christ have the ordinary human passions and characteristics, such as courage, fear and ignorance? Here the answer is far from unanimous. In the past, scholars like Richard, Young and Turner²³⁶ downplayed the role of Christ's human soul and of his humanity in general in Athanasius' soteriology. Against their opinion Pettersen made a case in several articles²³⁷ that those qualities did belong to the Logos' assumed human nature. And in a recent article, Meyer also reacts against downplaying the importance Athanasius attached to Christ's human soul. He contends that "Athanasian soteriology is a theology of redemption based on the sacrificial death of Jesus" and that "it is an outgrowth of Paul's doctrine of reconciliation in Christ". He goes on: "Athanasius used these [i.e. Pauline] salvation motifs to affirm that the Logos is the acting subject of redemption, through the true humanity of Christ, a soteriological program that presumes the presence of a human soul"²³⁸.

3. Soteriology

It is clear that Athanasius views the Incarnation as the key of salvation. However, this does not exclude that there are alongside the Incarnation and linked to it still other soteriological motifs present in his work. The research of the last decade has paid attention to the multifaceted richness of Athanasian soteriology. As such a soteriological motif one can mention the Pauline concept of Christ as the second Adam. There are also legal motifs present, such as payed debt, ransom, guilt and reconciliation²³⁹.

Another "alternative" motif is the sacrificial model, which is especially prominent in the *De Incarnatione Verbi* and in the *Festal Letters*²⁴⁰. Athanasius condemns the pagan sacrifices as arbitrary and false; they are expressions of irreligion and heresy. The main reason is that they are not offered to the "real god", but to a god –

²³⁶ M. RICHARD, *S. Athanase et la psychologie du Christ selon les Ariens*, in *MSR* 4 (1947) 5-54; F. YOUNG, *A Reconsideration of Alexandrian Christology*, in *JEH* 22 (1971) 103-114; H.E.W. TURNER, *Jesus the Christ*, London-Oxford, 1976, p. 35.

²³⁷ In 1985 (ignorance); 1986 (fear) and 1987 (courage).

²³⁸ Meyer (1998), p. 146-147.

²³⁹ Pettersen (1995) 93-108.

²⁴⁰ Dragas (1991) is an important article, in which a lot of attention goes to the *Festal Letters*. However, on p. 95 n. 1 and 2 he also lists many other-relevant passages.

and what is worse, to more than one – humanity invented themselves. They reveal the complete incompatibility between paganism and Christianity. The demarcation line with the Jewish sacrifices is different but equally strongly drawn. Christ's sacrifice replaced the Jewish sacrifices, which until that moment were valid but from then became superfluous and as unlawful as the pagan ones. The Jewish sacrifices were insufficient, ineffective and time conditioned, whereas Christ's sacrifice is trustworthy, effective and everlasting. The reason for this superiority of Christ's sacrifice is directly connected with his divine person: the Jewish sacrifice was administered by a created being, Christ's sacrifice by a divine being. The replacement of the sacrifice of the old covenant by that of the new in Christ, who is the new Passover, is a basic refrain of the *Festal Letters*. This comparison between old and new is also developed by contrasting the Passover lamb with the Eucharist. For Athanasius Christ now constitutes in himself the essence or truth of the Passover feast. However, the Eucharist, of which Christ as the new Passover is the basic presupposition, does also need an answer from the individual Christians. The self-giving of Christ is only one side of Athanasius' conception of the Christian sacrifice. The other side is our responding to it by the offering of ourselves to God and by our partaking of the eternal drink of his grace, which is principally focussed on the Eucharist. Christians are supposed to administer in their own lives Christ's sacrifice by imitation (ethics) and participation (liturgy). The participation in Christ became possible through his Incarnation. We became deified through his assuming the human nature.

The soteriological model of deification (theopoiësis), adequately summarized by Athanasius himself ('God became man so that man might become divine'), has received much of the scholars' attention²⁴¹. Theopoiësis, unthinkable to the Arians²⁴², was a central

²⁴¹ For two rather different attempts to describe, on the basis of Athanasius' insights, what deification could mean today, see Levko (1997) and J. LEEMANS, *God Became Human in Order that Man Might Become God. A Reflection on Athanasius' Concept of Divinization*, in T. MERRIGAN-J. HAERS (EDS.), *The Myriad Christ. Plurality and the Search for Unity in Contemporary Christology* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium), Louvain 2000 (forthcoming).

²⁴² Telepneff-Thornton (1987) succinctly circumscribe the different interpretation of transcendence in the Athanasian and in the Arian theology as follows: "In theosis the transcendence of God becomes not an impediment to man's participation in the divine, as it is to the Arians, but a dimension of the divine grasped in man's own transcendence of his fallen limitations" (p. 277).

theologoumenon of Athanasius. The Logos assumed a human body and came in the world to save fallen humanity. By the Incarnation, by his divine presence of his entire life, death and resurrection²⁴³, Christ reopens the path to salvation, to immortality and incorruptibility that humanity by the Fall had closed. However, though Christ had reopened lost possibilities to humanity, every individual has to appropriate this offer of grace by his or her personal faith and perseverance²⁴⁴. This state of the redeemed is expressed by a multiplicity of closely related soteriological models of which divinization is only one²⁴⁵. Both Strange and Hess²⁴⁶ consider divinization not as *the* keyconcept of Athanasian soteriology but as one among many others. Hess points to the opposition between the virtual absence of the motif in the *Festal Letters*, in which the gift of incorruptibility and the eternal communion with God through the restoration of the image of the Word in the redeemed are the central concepts, and its manifest presence in the *Contra Gentes-De Incarnatione Verbi* and the *Contra Arianos*. His explanation is that it was not central to his theology and that the way he expresses his thoughts in the latter works has been determined by the nature of his opponents. Strange does not think that Athanasius' stress on the soteriological necessity of the divinity of the Christ Incarnate was dictated by his opponents' ideas. If Athanasius did not comply with the Arian idea that it was sufficient that the Saviour was divine by grace instead of by nature, this was because of his deep conviction that there exists between the divine realm and the created realm an unbridgeable gap for humanity. Within this framework, which is fundamental in the entire theology of Athanasius, there can be no intermediary figure in between the divine and the human. Only God can bridge that gap, as he has done in Jesus Christ, who was fully divine by nature.

Wahba (1988) has studied the soteriology in Athanasius' *Festal Letters* against the background of the theology as found in his other

²⁴³ Bebawi (1986).

²⁴⁴ *Festal Letter* XIX, 7. See Badger (1990), discussed in §1, for an interpretation of the corpus of *Festal Letters* as a program exhorting Christians to lead a life appropriating this divine grace offered in Christ.

²⁴⁵ Other models include renewal of creation/ new creation; partake of God, of the Logos, of the divine nature; to be united to the Logos, to God; to be Sons of God; exalted or sanctified or perfected in Christ. See Hess (1993), with the references to Athanasius' works on pp. 371-372.

²⁴⁶ Strange (1985); Hess (1992); (1993). See also Meyer (1991).

writings. The soteriology as set forth in the *Festal Letters* he expounds as a Scriptural spirituality which focuses on the encounter between God and man realized in the Incarnation, represented in the sacraments, and consummated in deification. Contrary to Hess, he sees a parallel between the *Festal Letters* and Athanasius' theological writings. In a later work (1994), he brought this insights on sanctification in relation with marriage.

4. Hermeneutics and the Use of Scripture

How do we know what to say about the Father and the Son? How do we know that, as Athanasius holds, the Son is not a creature but God Himself? Where do we get this information from and how do we know it is reliable? Of course there are the Scriptures, but what can one do if, as was the case in Athanasius' days, on the basis of Scriptural texts widespread disagreement exists on these vitally important matters? Athanasius did not thematize his ideas in a separate tractate but they can be gleaned from his practice and from some passages where he is more explicit. In 1985 Kannengiesser²⁴⁷ could rightly lament that in the field of Athanasius' biblical hermeneutics much work remained to be done, but since then a lot of research into these questions has been carried out. However, a thorough and systematic study of Athanasius' hermeneutics, an enormous undertaking, remains a desideratum. Many contributions apply and confirm the insights Sieben²⁴⁸ set forth in 1974 in a seminal article. Schneemelcher showed in 1980 that Sieben's insights are also applicable to Athanasius' historical-polemical writings²⁴⁹. And in 1998 Kannengiesser provided a sketchy attempt "to explore the resources of a biographical approach of Athanasius' understanding of Scripture. Such an approach seems to be appropriate for catching the motivation and the purpose of an

²⁴⁷ Kannengiesser (1985), *Athanasian Decade*, p. 539.

²⁴⁸ H. J. SIEBEN, *Herméneutique de l'exégèse dogmatique d'Athanase*, in C. KANNENGIESSER (ED.), *Politique et théologie chez Athanase d'Alexandrie* (Théologie historique, 27), Paris, 1974, 195-214. He comments on T. E. POLLARD, *The Exegesis of Scripture and the Arian Controversy*, in *BJRL* 41 (1958/9) 414-429.

²⁴⁹ W. SCHNEEMELCHER, *Der Schriftgebrauch in den 'Apologien' des Athanasius*, in M. BRECHT (ED.), *Text - Wort - Glaube. Studien zur Überlieferung, Interpretation und Autorisierung Biblischer Texte Kurt Aland gewidmet* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, 50), Berlin - New York, 1980, 209-219.

interpreter of the Bible too much infused with biblical awareness to become a learned exegete"²⁵⁰.

The contributions recently published can be divided in four categories: (1) General presentations of Athanasius' hermeneutical ideas; (2) Publications dealing with one particular work; (3) General publications on Athanasius' use of Scripture²⁵¹; (4) Publications dealing with a particular Scriptural unity.

As set forth in some general contributions²⁵² Athanasius' hermeneutical ideas can be summarized as follows. First of all there is the insight that it is only thanks to the Incarnation that it is possible for humanity, as tainted by the noetic effects of its Fall, to speak about God (literally "theologize") or to understand divine revelation. The Logos' assuming of the human condition has recreated man by extending to him the grace of deification, including the possibility to know God. An important medium for divine revelation are of course the Scriptures. For the correct interpretation of Scripture, Athanasius had two general rules. The first is his "Tripartite Formula, meaning that to unravel the meaning of a text one has to define the text's time, person and purpose. This amounts to the question whether the text bears on the pre-existent Logos or on the Logos Incarnate. Later on, and complementary to this first principle, Athanasius introduced the principle of the *skopos*²⁵³. Scripture is a unity, one composition by God with one message. This message, the *skopos*, is tantamount to the double nature of the Logos. But Scripture forms not only a unity of itself, it is also unisono with the Apostolical Tradition, the interpretation of faith handed down from the Apostles' times onwards. This is because Scripture yields his true meaning only when read in the Spirit of God who, as it were reads his own word. This reading in the Spirit both presupposes and belongs properly to the social context of a

²⁵⁰ Kannengiesser (1998), *Understanding*, p. 229.

²⁵¹ Stead (1992); Kannengiesser (1996); C. KANNENGIESSER, art. *Athanasius*, in J.H. HAYES (ED.), *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, vol. 1: A-J, Nashville, 1999, p. 83-84.

²⁵² Blaising (1987), *passim* and esp. pp. 421-436 [limited to the CA]; Clayton (1988), p. 219-254; Tacelli (1990); Widdicombe (1994), p. 155-159.

²⁵³ On the meaning of *skopos*, see M. HARL, *Le guetteur et la cible: les deux sens de SKOPOS dans la langue religieuse des chrétiens*, in M. HARL, *La langue de Japhet. Quinze études sur la Septante et le grec des chrétiens*, Paris, 1992, 215-233. On Athanasius in particular, see Ernest (1993).

community of those who are in Christ. This roots the interpretation of Scripture within a Tradition which, through the Apostles and the Fathers, goes back on the Lord himself. This harmonious unity of Scripture and Tradition makes it also possible to meet new challenges. When it is necessary to advance new interpretations of Scripture or invent new terms, this is legitimate as long as one keeps standing in this Apostolic Tradition for which the ecclesial community is the warrant.

Besides the correct interpretation of the Scriptures and the Tradition, there is yet another source to determine the orthodox faith: the holiness of life of individual Christians. Holiness and orthodoxy are linked. Briefly, the argumentation is as follows²⁵⁴. As we have seen, to be the warrant of our divinization, the Logos had to be divine, since redemption was only possible by an act of God himself. Holiness of life is only achieved by those who are deified by their participation in the Spirit in the divinity of the Son Incarnate. So holiness of life testifies to orthodoxy, *id est* the divinity of the Son. The development of true doctrine is then the result of the interplay between theological reflection, a detailed "technical" analysis of the text of the Scriptures and the participation in the life of the Church both past and present.

The articles by Arnold (1992) and Twomey (1995) discuss respectively the *De Decretis* and the *De Synodis*. In these contributions Athanasius' hermeneutics is not so much presented as a systematic whole, as sketched above, but *in actu*. Arnold surveys both Athanasius' abundant and impressive use of Scripture in *De Decretis* (esp. Psalms, Isaiah and John) and the references to the (almost exclusive) Alexandrian tradition Athanasius refers to (Theognostus, Dionysius, Origen). Arnold shows a particular pattern in Athanasius' handling of his sources, both Scripture and Tradition, featuring (1) A habit of "dossier building": (2) An attention for rhetoric, which however becomes never predominant over the contents; (3) The material is made subordinate to the skopos: "the overall sense of direction in the argument which serves as a total schema under which individual sources must take their respective place". This unity of Scripture and Tradition, finding its crown stone in Christ, is a supple system which can be adapted to function as a response to a new challenge. In the 350's with the upsur-

²⁵⁴ Tacelli (1990), p. 95-101.

ge of the homoeans and the homoeousians the theological climate was changed in comparison to Athanasius' early years as a bishop. Arnold shows how *De Decretis* tries to respond to the new challenges by using the old model and adapting it to respond to the changed situation.

The same we see happen in *De Synodis*. In this work he sets out to try to convince the homoeousian party to accept the key Nicene term and deals with their objections. Here too Athanasius' defense of the homoeousios rests on the unity of Scripture and Tradition. Twomey (1995) offers a close reading of *De Synodis*, which can serve as a good introduction to the work. His analysis concentrates on Athanasius' hermeneutics of Scripture and Tradition. Besides the many elements we are familiar with by now, an interesting feature of *De Synodis* and of Twomey's contribution is the hermeneutics of councils Athanasius develops. Twomey shows that, when interpreting synodal decrees, the same principles of interpretation apply as is the case with Scripture. This of course provided that they are genuine synods, meaning that they meet the following criteria: they should be called for a genuine case and they should be unisono with the Church of the past and of the actual *oikoumene*. The relationship of Scripture and Tradition, as represented by the synods, is one of continuity. Tradition, the synods that is, calls to mind the truth witnessed to by Scripture and clarifies that truth in the face of attacks by heretics. This Tradition is based on unanimity rooted in the living faith of the Fathers and their office as bishops. For the Athanasius of the 350's all this can be summarized in the Nicene catchword *homoeousios*. This is to him much more than a catchword entirely consonant with the skopos of Scripture and Tradition. In the end the whole argument of *De Synodis* was to persuade his readers not to give up the possibility of theology, in its literal sense of speaking about God.

Though for Athanasius the meaning, the skopos of the *entire* Scriptures was at stake, controversy inevitably took the form of discussions on a series of *individual* keytexts, often verses or parts of verses, the interpretation and prominence of which changed with the theological climate and challenges. Patristic exegesis is a thriving field of study nowadays²⁵⁵. And though a systematic study,

²⁵⁵ The rich material is scattered over journals of exegesis, theology and history. It is made accessible thanks to the since 1990 annual bibliography in the

"Athanasius and the Scriptures", does not yet exist, the Alexandrian bishop has had his fair share of scholarly attention²⁵⁶.

A first topic quite some recent monographs deal with, is the Bible text the Fathers used and their contribution to the transmission of the text. With regard to Athanasius there is no complete study on this topic but the monographs by Metzler²⁵⁷, which we already mentioned in the discussion of the authenticity of the *Contra Arianos* III, and by Brogan are important contributions calling for imitation. Metzler addresses the following precise question: is the Scriptural text Athanasius could dispose of while he wrote his major treatises during his periods of exile the same as the one he used in Alexandria? Nordberg argued that the Alexandrian bishop used for his different works different Bible texts, depending from the location where he was writing. Besides an Alexandrian text, the Scandinavian scholar distinguished two "exile texts". On the basis of a meticulous study of the Scriptural quotations in the *Orationes contra Arianos* and the *Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Lybiae*, Metzler defends the opposite position. Her detailed investigation of Athanasius' quotations from Scripture in relation to their possible provenance in terms of the manuscriptal tradition and the yes or no Alexandrian origin can be summarized in three points: (1) She clearly proved the existence of a "*Väterstrang*", to which many of the quotations belong. These are verses of which the wording in Athanasius agrees with that of many other Church Fathers but diverges from the common scriptural manuscriptal tradition. It concerns quotations which were used and misquoted so often during the theological tradition that they nestled in the divergent form in the collective memory. (2) Though there are differences in this regard between the Gospels, the rest of the NT and the OT, the quotations have too much in common with the text one can reasonably expect to have circulated in Alexandria at the time of Athanasius to conclude for a different "Exil-text". (3) Within this context, the analysis of the manuscriptal provenance of the quota-

Annali di storia dell' esegesi. For Greek patristic literature see also E. MÜHLENBERG, *Griechische Patristik. II. Bibelauslegung*, in *Theologische Rundschau* 61 (1996) 275-311.

²⁵⁶ See the general contributions of Stead (1992) and Kannengiesser (1996). See also contributions earlier dealt with: Schmitz (1988) [sub §2 C]; Mara (1990) and Tonini (1992) [sub §2 D1].

²⁵⁷ Metzler (1997) with the reaction by Abramowski (1998); Brogan (1997).

tions in the first and the second book of the *Contra Arianos* on the one hand and the third on the other, clearly shows the "Sonderstellung" of the latter, while however at the same time providing an important argument for its Athanasian authorship. These being the most important conclusions, the work has a lot more to offer. It is a goldmine of information and the applied methodology can be easily taken over when somebody would feel inclined to extend the research done by Metzler to the entire Athanasian corpus. We also highly value her essay on "Der Umgang des Athanasius mit dem Bibeltext" (pp. 18-27).

John Jay Brogan's *The Text of the Gospels in the Writings of Athanasius*^{257a} covers a somewhat larger area than Metzler's study. The lion's share of the work is devoted to the collection of all quotations, adaptations and allusions to the text of the Gospels and a collation with representative witnesses from each of the major New Testament text-types (Alexandrian, Byzantine, Caesarean and Western). This is preceded by three introductory chapters. The first shows how Athanasius' education, the provenance of his writings and their historical-polemical context influenced his citation techniques. Chapter II gives background on the origin and transmission of the Alexandrian text and chapter III outlines the methodology followed. Analyzing the collation of the Athanasian Gospel text with that of the representatives of the New Testament text-types, Brogan comes to the following two important conclusions: (1) Athanasius' text is more closely aligned to Byzantine witnesses than to the three other text-types (2) Within the Alexandrian group he represents better the Secondary Alexandrian text than the Primary Alexandrian. These results are undoubtedly very important for the discipline of New Testament textual criticism; after all they provide one more (albeit relatively "impure") fourth century witness to the Alexandrian text of the Gospels. Yet they do not contribute much to our knowledge and understanding of Athanasius. This is different with Chapter VII: 'Athanasius, the corrections of Sinaiticus, and the nameless shapers of the text'. There Brogan focuses on Athanasius' unique readings of the Gospel text: instan-

^{257a} It is his doctoral dissertation submitted in 1997 to the Department of Religion of Duke University. Upon completion it was accepted for publication by Scholars Press in the Society of Biblical Literature The New Testament in the Greek Fathers (SBLNTGF) series. The provisional title is 'Athanasius and the Text of the Gospels: Transmitter and Transformer of the Alexandrian Text'.

ces where his wording stands alone or virtually alone among the witnesses of the major textual traditions. With regard to these instances Brogan distinguishes between three types of "corruption". The first is the result of Athanasius' careless citation technique, e.g. changes resulting from a faulty memory. The second type of "corruption" are deliberate changes, which do not alter the meaning of the text. Here one can think of grammatical changes brought into the text to make a biblical passage fit seamlessly into the context of his writing. The third category is the most interesting: deliberate changes brought into the biblical text with the clear intention to alter its meaning for theological and/or polemical reasons. Brogan illustrates this with examples of omissions, grammatical changes, word substitutions, confluents, minor additions and even inventions of "biblical" texts. In a second step Brogan shows that some of these "adapted texts" entered into the stream of the transmission of the Alexandrian text. This becomes clear in the close affinity between some of these "corrupted" passages and the corrections found in the Codex Sinaiticus, which was most likely transcribed during Athanasius' lifetime. Logic then demands to ask for a connection between these two elements: how and why did the corruptions (such as, among others, Athanasius made) become part of the actual text (such as testified by the corrections in the Codex Sinaiticus)? To explain this, Brogan adopts the notion of interpretative communities. The members of communities at large, and their leaders in particular, create an *ambiance* in which each member situates himself. These hermeneutical horizons, whether it concerns eating or sleeping habits, ritual, worship, relations ad intra or ad extra, or theology, learn people how to act and, maybe even more important, how to think. With regard to the biblical text the hermeneutical horizon of a Christian community learned people what the text meant. The scribes themselves were, inevitably, also part of such a community, and shared its hermeneutical horizon. From this perspective one can understand that in some instances, these scribes (having been influenced by the interpretative frameworks of their communities) changed the wording of the biblical text to make it read what they already knew it to mean. Thanks to his position as Alexandrian archbishop and his many writings, not seldom destined for a wide audience (cf. his *Festal Letters*), Athanasius' influence in the continuous creation and re-creation of such an interpretative framework must have been enormous. Thus,

Brogan highlights with this study one more dimension of the fascinating figure of Athanasius: 'Athanasius' mark is seen not only in the church's history, theology and canon, but also in the church's sacred text itself' (p. 303).

Two small *caveats* should be put forward regarding Brogan's study. The first concerns the notion of interpretative communities: it is very convincing and does certainly explain how and why corruptions brought into the bible text by Athanasius and others did become part of the actual text. Yet one could ask whether in this concept the degree of uniformity within a given community is not exaggerated. The second, more important, point has to do with the textual basis Brogan used for his collation. To make the foundation for his collation as reliable as possible, he excluded all Athanasius' writings of which the authenticity is debated (e.g. the *Historia Arianorum* (!) and the *Vita Antonii*) as well as the works of which no modern, reliable, critical edition existed (e.g. the *Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* and the *Orationes contra Arianos*). The collation of the data of these important writings are presented separately in some useful appendices. Since Brogan's study, however, reliable, critical editions of the the *Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* and the *Orationes contra Arianos I-II* were published. Consequently it would be important to know how the inclusion of these textual data affects the results of Brogan's analysis. The overall evaluation of Brogan's work, however, is very positive: it is an important contribution to both New Testament textual criticism and research on Athanasius.

Two other publications should be mentioned here, both dealing with parts of Scripture Athanasius did not categorize in his famous *Festal Letter* of 367 among the "canonical books" but among the books designed to be read to catechumens²⁵⁸. Henne (1992) argues that Athanasius knew the complete text of the Shepherd of Hermas. The introduction to a quotation of the first Precept in his *Festal Letter* of 339, which indicates its provenance stating that it comes "from the beginning of the book" seems to neglect that the Precepts were preceded by five Visions and could be interpreted as if Athanasius only knew an incomplete version of the Pastor.

²⁵⁸ These are the Book of Wisdom, the Wisdom of Jesus Sirach, Tobit, Judith and Esther for the Old Testament; the Shepherd of Hermas and the Didache for the New Testament.

Henne shows that such an interpretation of the passage is not necessary. Moreover both Clement and Origen clearly had a complete text of the work at their disposal. Regarding the Book of Wisdom, Leemans (1997) provided a more solid foundation for the *communis opinio* that, despite its being classified not as a canonical book in the *Festal Letter* of 367, Athanasius used it in exactly the same way and valued it even high.

Another category are those studies dealing with the history of the patristic interpretation of one particular Scriptural unity (verse, pericope or book). Here the secondary literature really abounds²⁵⁹. Also about Athanasius' interpretation of crucial Scriptural passages quite a few detailed studies have been done. As the first of this kind of studies I mention the useful and much needed study by Clayton²⁶⁰ on Athanasius' interpretation of Prov. 8,22-30²⁶¹. Especially the first verse (The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways for his works), was one of the keytexts in the Arian controversy. Clayton shows how this text, which at first sight seems perfect to support the Arian view on the Father-Son relationship and indeed also functioned in that way, is appropriated by Athanasius and becomes in his interpretation a cornerstone to defend largely the opposite view. Clayton provides the reader with a full account of the history of interpretation of the text unit, covering the interpretations by both the Nicenes and anti-Nicenes. His study of Athanasius' Scriptural hermeneutics as it emerges from his interpretation of Prov. 8,22-30 is a clear illustration of the two basic and complementary rules Sieben pointed out: the "Tripartite

²⁵⁹ Besides the already mentioned bibliographical tools there are two more to be mentioned, compiled by H. J. SIEBEN, *Exegesis Patrum. Saggio bibliografico sull'esegesi biblica dei Padri della Chiesa* (Sussidi Patristici, 2), Rome, 1983) and ID., *Kirchenväterhomilien zum Neuen Testament: Ein Repertorium der Textausgaben und Übersetzungen* (Instrumenta Patristica, 22), Steenbrugge, 1991.

²⁶⁰ A.L. CLAYTON, *The Orthodox Recovery of a Heretical Proof-text: Athanasius of Alexandria's Interpretation of Proverbs 8:22-30 in Conflict with the Arians*, unpublished dissertation submitted in 1988 to the Graduate Faculty of Southern Methodist University.

²⁶¹ Regarding Prov. 8,22 and Col 1,15 b in the exegesis of Arius and Athanasius there is also Dellazari (1987). About Prov. 8 in the *Contra Arianos*, see also C. KANNENGISSER, *Lady Wisdom's Final Call: The Patristic Recovery of Proverbs 8*, in D. KRIES-C. BROWN-TKACZ (eds.), *Nova doctrina vetusque. Essays on Early Christianity in Honor of Frederic W. Schlatter SJ* (American University Studies. VII. Theology and Religion, 207), New York, 1999, 65-79.

Formula" (time, person and purpose) and the skopos of Scripture, which is the double nature of the Saviour.

Some Psalms evidently played an important role in the development of Christian doctrine²⁶². One of these is Psalm 44. Grünbeck²⁶³ traces the history of interpretation by authors from East and West, from Justin Martyr to Cyril of Alexandria. The scope of the book is wide but Athanasius' interpretation, especially of the verses 2a and 7-8 receives ample treatment. The same Psalm is used in conjunction with Phil. 2, in CA I, 37-52. This passage, with which Grünbeck deals, is also studied by Canévet (1996).

As for the New Testament, especially Athanasius' exegesis of some parts of the Pauline corpus has retained the scholars' attention. From the 350's onwards, especially in his *Epistulae ad Serapionem*, Athanasius developed a pneumatological reflection. His defense of the divinity of the Spirit was, how could it be otherwise, firmly rooted in a scriptural foundation. Among a variety of texts, especially 1 and 2 Corinthians stand out as important Scriptural sources. Haykin²⁶⁴ studies both Athanasius' and Basilus of Caesarea's exegesis of the Corinthian correspondence, but gives also the historical context of the pneumatological controversy both bishops were engaged in. 1 and 2 Corinthians provided Athanasius with a wealth of arguments and models to reflect about the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Haykin distinguishes four aspects: (1) Athanasius' concern to indicate the proper way to approach theology, *id est* with respect to and safeguarding the incomprehensibility and ineffability of God; (2) The extension of pictures of fountain and river to the Spirit, thus establishing the Spirit's propriety to the Son; (3) The argument for the Spirit's uncreated and thus divine nature by a comparison between the Spirit and the crea-

²⁶² J. RONDEAU, *Les commentaires patristiques du psautier (III-Ve siècles)* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 219-220), Rome, 2 vol., 1982-1985.

²⁶³ E. GRÜNBECK, *Christologische Schriftargumentation und Bildersprache. Zum Konflikt zwischen Metapherninterpretation und dogmatischen Schriftbeweistraditionen in der Patristischen Auslegungen des 44. (45.) Psalms* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 26), Leiden - New York, 1994, *passim* and esp. pp. 138-146 and 178-184.

²⁶⁴ M. HAYKIN, *The Spirit of God. The Exegesis of 1 and 2 Corinthians in the Pneumatomachian Controversy of the Fourth Century* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 27), Leiden - New York, 1994, esp. pp. 59-104.

tures; (4) The explication of the orthodox concept of the Spirit as a full member of the Trinity²⁶⁵.

Another book of the Pauline corpus which played quite an important role in Athanasius' theological argumentation is Hebrews. Passages from this book are particularly prominent in CA I-II. According to Gonnet²⁶⁶ Hebrews supports in three different ways Athanasius' developing christology in debate with the Arians: (1) By bringing into the christological reflection several texts from the Old Testament; (2) By providing him with the model of Christ as a Saviour because he is the one and only high priest, true Son of the Father; (3) By providing him with sayings about the Son as being abased c.q. elevated, in agreement with the hymn of Philippians. Finally we should mention the article by Cattaneo (1989) about Athanasius' interpretation of the Matthean text about the irremissibility of the sin against the Spirit (Mt. 12, 31-32). This text does not function in his pneumatology, as one would readily expect, but is interpreted as bearing on Christ.

CONCLUSION

At the end of this survey of research on Athanasius it is time to draw up the balance: what has been accomplished and what challenges are still awaiting to be confronted? All in all I think one can only be amazed about how much work has been done during the last thirteen years. Patristics has become more and more a thriving field of study and it is a reason for joy that research on Athanasius has been able to profit from this development. Maybe the simple fact of the length of the bibliography that follows suffices as an illustration of the fecundity in scholarly output. But alongside the quantity of the produced works there is also the quality, as the following succinct overview indicates.

Of three important works (the *Vita Antonii*, the *Epistula ad episcopos Aegypti et Libyae* and the *Contra Arianos* I-II) new critical editions appeared. Of other works (e.g. the *Festal Letters*) editions are in preparation. So one can hope that within a reasonable time span

²⁶⁵ M. HAYKIN, *Spirit of God*, p. 67.

²⁶⁶ Gonnet (1997). On p. 19, note 4 he gives a useful list of references to Hebrews in the *Contra Arianos*.

good editions of all lengthy works will be available, something that will give Athanasian studies a secure basis to work on. In the survey I could moreover mention a lot of translations and commentaries and no doubt others will follow. As for tools the Athanasian scholar could already dispose of Müllers *Lexicon Athanasianum* and, since some years now, of the electronic database of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. I am happy to announce that in the not so distant future one will have as an additional instrument, a veritable *Thesaurus Athanasii*, which is now in the course of being prepared for the *Corpus Christianorum* series by Peter Van Deun. These tools might be useful to furnish one – though certainly not decisive – argument in the debate about the authenticity of some Athanasiana.

An enormous gap in research as it stands today is the homiletic literature which came down to us under Athanasius' name: this is still largely *terra incognita*: no editions, hardly any translations, the debate on the authenticity hardly begun. For the time being one can only dream about an analysis of these homilies from e.g. the preacher-audience perspective, an approach pretty much *en vogue* nowadays in patristic studies and one that might be quite rewarding given our relatively extensive knowledge of fourth century Egypt. It would also open the way for addressing questions such as how the theologian and the pastor in Athanasius relate.

This plea for an "holistic view on Athanasius", for holding together as much as possible the theological and the historical approach as well as the church politician on the international ecclesiastical scene and the leader of Egyptian Christianity, is already partly answered in the studies discussed in §1. As some other elements present in the research of the past thirteen years that I consider very important and that deserve further exploration in the future, I would like to mention the following four. Firstly I would plea for more studies like, among some others, Blaising's on the *Contra Arianos*, reading a work from cover to cover. Sometimes one indeed has the feeling that the concentration is so much on the detailed analysis that the sight on the whole is lost. This would probably also result in a different insight in Athanasius' theology which is then analysed so to speak "*in actu*". Instead of a more synthesizing avenue of inquiry comes an approach much nearer to the way Athanasius did theology himself. Secondly I think it might lead to results and a better, though maybe different understanding

than we are used to, if one would apply more of the methodological variety of recent literary criticism that is readily seeping through in biblical studies but, apart from a few exceptions, seems not to have reached the scholarly community engaged in studies on Athanasius²⁶⁷.

A third field I would single out here is the study of "Athanasius and the Scriptures". At the end of §3 I showed that this is a field where nowadays a lot of activity is going on but also one where a lot of research remains to be done. Recently Metzler and Brogan opened up the avenue of research on Athanasius' contribution to the textual transmission of the Bible. But Athanasius' place in the history of biblical interpretation and his way of using individual verses and keytexts also deserve further research. A fourth aspect calling for further investigation is the discussion on the importance Athanasius attached to Christ's humanity. Against earlier research downplaying this, some scholars now plead for a more positive evaluation, for an Athanasian conception of a more "human Christ". It might be no coincidence that these voices arise in a period when "low" christologies are much more *en vogue* than "high" ones. The matter seems vital enough to try to discern whether the actual society's preferences led or misled these scholars. Probably the truth is somewhere in between which is also consonant with the basic fact that one must not expect from Athanasius, nor from any other historical (or living) person that he is always consistent, never changes his opinion or varies the way he brings forward his thoughts depending from his public or the situation he finds himself in.

But all in all I believe, despite these and many other possible desiderata, that the future augurs well for Athanasian studies. It is a justified hope that the research done the past thirteen years, as well as the years before, will prove to be both a solid basis and a continuous and inviting challenge that will lead scholars on Athanasius, his writings and his world well beyond the threshold of the next millennium.

²⁶⁷ For a similar plea with regard to Patristics in general, see F. YOUNG, *From Suspicion and Sociology to Spirituality: On Method, Hermeneutics and Appropriation with Respect to Patristic Material*, in E.A. LIVINGSTONE (ED.), *Studia Patristica* XXIX, Louvain, 1997, 421-435.

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Athous, Koutloumousiou 39

An Interesting Case*

by

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(Leuven)

In doing research into the manuscript tradition of the Ps.-Maximian *Compendiosa fidei expositio* [CPG 7707.27], we came across codex 39 of the Athonite monastery of Koutloumous. The case of this manuscript is illustrative of that of so many other Athonite manuscripts: the description in the catalogue can be called anything but complete¹ and although it was used by modern scholars several times, no comprehensive study of the manuscript has so far seen the light². Nonetheless, codex *Athous, Koutloumousiou 39* presents an interesting case, not only because of its age or the texts it contains, but also because most editors using this manuscript had at least some difficulty giving this codex its correct place in the stemma.

In the following pages we will try to describe the manuscript as thoroughly as permitted by the microfilm we used. Subsequently,

* We would like to thank the following persons who helped us in preparing this article: Prof Dr Peter Van Deun for his expert supervision and advice, Dr Jacques Noret who was always ready to help, the Rev Michael Kohlbacher who provided us with valuable information, Mrs Lieve Dreesen for her language advice.

¹ Cf. S.P. LAMPROS, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων* t. I, Cambridge, 1895, p. 278.

² The most extensive descriptions are found in A. GUILLAUMONT - C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique. Traité pratique ou Le moine*, I. *Introduction* (= *Sources Chrétiennes* 170), Paris, 1971, p. 260-262 and in C. LAGA - C. STEEL, *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, II. *Quaestiones LVI-LXV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugena iuxta posita* (= CCSG 22), Turnhout - Leuven, 1990, p. XXVI-XXVII.

an attempt will be made to prove the possibly Italian origin. Finally, we will deal shortly with what can be called the Palestinian connections of our manuscript.

A. CODICOLOGICAL DATA

Codicologically the codex is typified as follows:

The mediocre to bad quality of the parchment has resulted in the characteristic oval holes³. Moreover, some folia at the end of the codex have lost their outer margin⁴ and of f. 193 the outer column has been replaced by a new one, the text on it being written by another, younger hand⁵. The codex is large, measuring 355 by ca. 250 mm. Each page has 2 columns⁶ of 40 lines each and a ruling of type 00 C2⁷. The quires have the fleshside on the exterior as usual and were ruled according to system 1. Their numbers indicate that all 35 quires of the present codex are quaternions, except for the 25th, which has only 3 folia, the 29th, which has at present 9 folia due to the misbinding of f. 222⁸, and the 35th having at present only 4 folia left. The number of folia is now 275, but the codex has lost some folia both at the beginning (probably more than 1 quaternion) and at the end, while f. 222 originally followed f. 82.

³ Such holes are seen on f. 3, 20, 21, 22, 81, 82, 101, 116, 122.

⁴ Cf. f. 235, 237, 238, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246. They were probably cut off.

⁵ Possibly to be identified with the Theophanes who will be said to have restored the manuscripts (cf. p. 246-247).

⁶ To distinguish between the left and the right column we have used the letter a for the left column and the letter b for the right one.

⁷ Cf. J.-H. SAUTEL - J. LEROY, *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin* (= *Bibliologia. Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia* 13), Turnhout, 1995, p. 78.

⁸ Folium 222 was probably originally intended as the last folium of a codex containing only Maximus Confessor and a miscellaneous part (= parts I and II). Thus, the folium was no part of a quire and could easily be inserted in the wrong place after another quire when the codex was bound together with another codex by the same scribe, containing Antiochus Monachus and Old Testament writings (= parts III and IV). This hypothesis according to which the present codex was originally intended as two separate codices is confirmed by the fact that the right column of f. 222^v has only 25 lines, leaving almost half the column blank and giving the impression that the codex ends. Parts I-II and III-IV, however, cannot be separated: part II starts on the verso of part I's last folium, while part IV starts in the same column in which part III ends.

As the numbering of the folia disregards the mutilation at the beginning of the manuscript and the wrong place of f. 222, we must conclude that, as can be expected, the folia were numbered after the mutilation and the binding of the codex. The case of the quire numbers is less clear. The editors of Evagrius' *Practicus* concluded that the quire numbers "sont antérieures à la reliure, car elles partent du f. 3"⁹. However, we think it equally possible that the numbering was done in preparing the binding, or even that the quires were numbered after the binding of the codex by someone who disregarded f. 1 and 2 because they were clearly no part of the original codex. In any case, the quires were not numbered by the scribe himself.

Since the folia numbers have in most places almost completely faded away – at least on the microfilm –, we give the quire numbers in combination with the folia numbers. When a folium number is put between brackets, this means that no quire number is seen on it. The quires are numbered on the recto of the first and/or on the verso of the last folium in the lower margin.

α' = f. (3 ^r)-10 ^v	ια' = f. 83 ^r -90 ^v	κα' = f. (163 ^r)-170 ^v	λα' = f. (239 ^r)-246 ^v
β' = f. 11 ^r -18 ^v	ιβ' = f. 91 ^r -98 ^v	κβ' = f. (171 ^r)-178 ^v	λβ' = f. (247 ^r)-254 ^v
γ' = f. 19 ^r -(26 ^v)	ιγ' = f. 99 ^r -106 ^v	κγ' = f. (179 ^r)-186 ^v	λγ' = f. (255 ^r)-262 ^v
δ' = f. 27 ^r -(34 ^v)	ιδ' = f. (107 ^r)-114 ^v	κδ' = f. (187 ^r)-194 ^v	λδ' = f. (263 ^r)-270 ^v
ε' = f. 35 ^r -42 ^v	ιε' = f. (115 ^r)-122 ^v	κε' = f. (195 ^r)-197 ^v	λε' = f. 271 ^r -(274 ^v)
ς' = f. 43 ^r -50 ^v	ισ' = f. 123 ^r -130 ^v	κς' = f. (198 ^r)-205 ^v	
ζ' = f. 51 ^r -58 ^v	ιζ' = f. 131 ^r -138 ^v	κζ' = f. (206 ^r)-213 ^v	
η' = f. 59 ^r -66 ^v	ιη' = f. (139 ^r)-146 ^v	κη' = f. (214 ^r)-221 ^v + f. 222 ^{r-v}	
θ' = f. 67 ^r -74 ^v	ιθ' = f. (147 ^r)-154 ^v	κθ' = f. (223 ^r)-230 ^v	
ι' = f. 75 ^r -82 ^v	κ' = f. (155 ^r)-162 ^v	λ' = f. (231 ^r)-238 ^v	

Three folia, viz. f. 1, 2 and 275, are alien to the original codex:

F. 1 is a flyleaf and was probably added when the manuscript was bound.

F. 2 and 275 were taken from a 10th century codex and were bound into our manuscript upside down. The codicological information for these two folia can be summarized as follows:

Parchment; 355 × ca. 250 mm., but their original size may have been adapted to fit the size of the rest of the manuscript; 39 l.; 2 col.; system of ruling: 1, with the fleshside on the exterior of the quires; type of ruling: 20 C2¹⁰; it is impossible to establish the

⁹ Cf. GUILLAUMONT - GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre...* [cit. n. 2], p. 261, n. 1.

¹⁰ Cf. SAUTEL - LEROY, *Répertoire...* [cit. n. 7], p. 122.

number of folia the codex contained but it must have been rather large as the number λ' is seen in the lower left-hand corner of f. 2^v. This is most likely a quire number. Now, presuming that all quires were quaternions, this makes a total of at least 240 folia.

The text on these folia comes from the fourth homily of IOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In principium Actorum, homiliae 1-4* [CPG 4371], more exactly PG 51, 101, l. 11 - 102, l. 35 for f. 2^{r-v} and PG 51, 105, l. 27 - 107, l. 1 for f. 275^{r-v}.

Fragments of this same 10th century manuscript are also found on two other places in our manuscript. Firstly, two fragments were used to reattach f. 3 to the manuscript. The upper fragment was turned 90 degrees to the right, the lower 90 degrees to the left in comparison to our manuscript.

Upper fragment:

...]	αμενον	νος ἔλεγεν· ὅτι εἰ καὶ ὁ ἔξω ἡμῶν
...]	ἀλύ	ἄνθρωπος διαφθείρεται, ἀλλ' ὁ ἔσω ἀ
...]	καὶ	νακαινοῦται ἡμέρα καὶ ἡμ[...

Lower fragment:

		...]	εινοῖς τοῖς
	...]	ρους	ἐπαγομένοις καὶ οὐκ εἰδυίας
...]	πειρασμοῖς·	διὰ τοῦ	φιλοσοφεῖν, διὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος
το	φησὶν ἡ	θλίψις ὑπομο	τῶν μελλόντων αὐ[...
νὴν	κατεργάζεται·	ἡ δὲ ὑ	

All fragments are found in IOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *De resurrectione mortuorum* [CPG 4340]. For the left column of the upper fragment, see PG 50, 423, l. 27-28. For the right column of the upper fragment, see PG 50, 423, l. 48-50. For the left column of the lower fragment, see PG 50, 424, l. 14-16. For the right column of the lower fragment, see PG 50, 424, l. 36-38.

Secondly, a very small fragment is found on f. 195^v. It was used to restore the parchment of f. 195. Unluckily there is not enough text to identify the text from which these letters were taken:

χθ[...
 ἀδ[...
 κα[...
 δε[...
 ὅι[...

So, what we have in front of us are the remains of a 10th century homiliary containing both Iohannes Chrysostomus' *In principium Actorum* and his *De resurrectione mortuorum*. In the 5 volumes

which have been published of the *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci* only one manuscript is found having both texts, viz. the 11th century *Taurinensis*, *Bibliothecae Nationalis B.I.10*¹¹.

B. CONTENTS

The contents of the manuscript can roughly be divided into four parts. The first part (f. 3^ra - 56^rb) is devoted to Maximian writings, the second part (f. 56^va - 82^vb + 222^ra - 222^vb) is a miscellany of mainly confessional and dogmatic nature, the third part (f. 83^ra - 197^vb) contains three works by Antiochus Monachus, and the last part (f. 198^ra - 274^vb) are Old Testament writings.

As regards the collections of definitions (cf. II, 12 and 27) and the texts numbered II, 15-16¹² and II, 28-29¹³, we have each time referred to what Karl-Heinz Uthemann called the "Definitiones Patmenses" (DPatm. hereafter)¹⁴. This is a large glossary found in *Patmiacus*, *Monês tou Hagiou Ioannou tou Theologou* 263 (s. x). A very similar glossary (DOtt. hereafter), to which we have also referred, is found in *Vaticanus*, *Ottobonianus graecus* 43 (s. xi) and its 16th century copy *Vaticanus graecus* 197¹⁵. These references are justified by the fact that each time the definition and its source differ, the text in our manuscript is closer to the text in the *glossaria* that have been mentioned than to the text of the definition's actual source¹⁶. The conclusion which can be drawn from this is not that there was a direct relationship between our manuscript and DPatm. or DOtt., but that the collections of definitions and the other texts mentioned were not taken from their actual source but from an already existing collection of definitions.

¹¹ Cf. R.E. CARTER, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*, V: *Codicum Italiae pars prior*, Paris, 1983, p. 206-207.

¹² See the remark following II, 16 (cf. p. 235-236).

¹³ See the remark following II, 29 (cf. p. 242-243).

¹⁴ Cf. K.-H. UTHEMANN, *Die "Philosophischen Kapitel" des Anastasius I. von Antiochien (559-598)*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 46 (1980), p. 335, footnote 140.

¹⁵ In referring to DOtt., we have used the folia numbers of the Ottobonianus. However, as we did not have a full microfilm of that manuscript at our disposal, we will have to refer to *Vaticanus graecus* 197 for the parts of the Ottobonianus lacking on microfilm. When this is the case we will explicitly say so.

¹⁶ See the remark on II, 28 and II, 29 (cf. p. 242-243) for proof.

The titles of the different writings and the scholia were written in small uncials. In our description of the contents we have marked this by underlining the parts written in these small uncials¹⁷.

I. Maximus Confessor

1. acephalous¹⁸

= *Capita de caritate* II, 32 [μὲν φυσικὰ σπέρματα< = PG 90, 993 D7] - IV [CPG 7693] (f. 3^ra, l. 1 - 20^rb, l. 37)¹⁹.

century II, 32 - end (f. 3^ra, l. 1 - 7^vb, l. 17); century III, entitled ἐκατοντάς ϣ (f. 7^vb, l. 18 - 14^va, l. 41); century IV, entitled ἐκατοντάς δ (f. 14^vb, l. 1 - 20^rb, l. 37)

The *Capita de caritate* are concluded with the following words, in which the foregoing centuries are referred to as τὰ ἀσκητικά: ἐπληρώθη ἡ ἰσάριθμος τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελίων βίβλος, τῶν Δ ἑκατοντάδων τῶν ἀσκητικῶν (f. 20^rb, l. 38-40).

2a. title: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μαξίμου Ἑτέρα κεφάλαια ἑκατόν

= *Capita theologica et oeconomica* [CPG 7694], century I (f. 20^va, l. 1 - 29^rb, l. 33).

2b. title: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἑτέρα κεφάλαια, ρ

= *Capita theologica et oeconomica* [CPG 7694], century II (f. 29^rb, l. 34 - 41^ra, l. 41).

3. title: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀββᾶ Μαξίμου Λόγος ἀσκητικὸς, κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν

= *Liber asceticus* [CPG 7692] (f. 41^rb, l. 1 - 54^rb, l. 3).

4. title: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου Ἑτέρα κεφάλαια τε

= *Capita XV* [CPG 7695] (f. 54^rb, l. 4 - 56^rb, l. 41).

¹⁷ When giving texts found in the manuscript, we have corrected minor orthographical mistakes (e.g. iotacisms) and mistakes against accentuation without further notice. No corrections were made, however, in the case of proper names. The place of the punctuation was, if possible, preserved but the ubiquitous point of the manuscript was, if necessary, changed into a comma, question mark,...

¹⁸ As already said (cf. p. 220), probably more than 1 quaternion was lost at the beginning.

¹⁹ On the presence of this text in our manuscript, see the article by A. CERESAGASTALDO, *Die Überlieferung der Κεφάλαια περὶ ἀγάπης von Maximos Confessor auf Grund einiger alter Athoshandschriften*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 23 (1957), p. 150-151.

II. Miscellany

1. untitled

= 4 ἐρωταποκρίσεις, which we have not been able to identify (f. 56^va, l. 1 - 57^ra, l. 30).

a. Qu. 1: Πῶς δεῖ πιστεύειν;

Inc.: Εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα – des.: καὶ τότε ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. (f. 56^va, l. 1-35)

b. Qu. 2: Ὅποιον δεῖ ἔχειν ἡμᾶς τὸ φρόνημα περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ποίας τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπολήψεις;

Inc.: Ὅτι ἀόρατος θεὸς, καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος – des.: χωρηγὸς ἀγιότητος καὶ δυνάμεως. (f. 56^va, l. 36 - 56^vb, l. 22)

c. Qu. 3: Τί ἐστὶν οὐσία καὶ τί σημαίνει τὸ ταύτης ὄνομα;

Inc.: Ἡ οὐσία κοινὸν τί πρᾶγμα σημαίνει – des.: καὶ ὁμοδύναμος οὐσα κατὰ πάντα τῇ φύσει. (f. 56^vb, l. 23-37)

d. Qu. 4: Τί ἐστὶν χριστιανός;

Inc.: Χριστιανὸς ἐστὶν, ὁ κατὰ Χριστὸν ζῶν – des.: διότι ἡ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ δικαία περὶ πάντων τούτων. (f. 56^vb, l. 38 - 57^ra, l. 30)

In the first ἐρωταπόκρισις reference is made to only 6 synods: καὶ δέχεσθαι τὰς ἀγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικὰς ἕξ συνόδους.

2. title: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου Λόγος περὶ πίστεως, καὶ ἀμφιβολία αἰρετικοῦ πρὸς χριστιανόν

= Ps.-ANASTASIUS I ANTIOCHENUS, two excerpts from his *Explicatio fidei orthodoxae* [CPG 6969] (f. 57^ra, l. 30 - 57^vb, l. 12).

The first excerpt is found in PG 89, 1400 A1 - C3 (f. 57^ra, l. 33 - 57^rb, l. 8). The last question of this excerpt, which reads τρεῖς θεοὺς ὁμολογεῖς, καὶ πῶς λέγεις μὴ γένοιτο, is answered not by its correct answer but by the second excerpt, viz. PG 89, 1404 A2 - D11 (f. 57^rb, l. 9 - 57^vb, l. 4). This second excerpt is again followed by an epilogue not found in the PG version, nor in the two versions edited by S. Lilla²⁰: καὶ μακάριός ἐστιν, ὥς τις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πίστει τῇ ἐστηριγμένῃ καὶ ἀμεταθέτω<ς> κεκυρωμένη ὁμολογῶν καὶ πιστεύων καὶ δόξαν ἀναπέμπων τῷ ἀληθινῷ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ θείῳ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. Νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. (f. 57^vb, l. 4-12).

²⁰ Cf. S. LILLA, *Un opuscolo sulla teologia trinitaria in quattro codici Vaticani*, in *Vetera Christianorum* 10 (1973), p. 51-58 (text: p. 52-55).

3. title: Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου Νύσσης Περὶ τριάδος
= Ps.-GREGORIUS THAUMATURGUS²¹, *De deitate et tribus personis* [CPG 1781] (f. 57^vb, l. 13 - 58^ra, l. 36).

4. untitled

= 2 ἐρωταποκρίσεις (f. 58^ra, l. 37 - 59^ra, l. 3).

a. Qu. 1: Τί σημαίνει τὸ λέγεσθαι ἐν ἀρχῇ εἶναι τὸν υἱόν;

Inc.: Τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν σημαίνει, τὸ πάντοτε εἶναι αὐτὸν - des.: καὶ τὸ πέρας εἰς αὐτὸν εἰληφόντων. (f. 58^ra, l. 37 - 58^va, l. 11)

b. Qu. 2: Διὰ τί λέγεται θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ;

Inc.: Ὅτι θεὸς ὢν προαιώνιος λόγος, καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ προαιωνίου πατρὸς - des.: ἤγουν ταῖς ποιηραῖς ἡμῶν πράξεσιν. (f. 58^va, l. 11 - 59^ra, l. 3)

5. title: Χρὴ πάντα χριστιανὸν, ὁμολογεῖν καρδίᾳ καὶ στόματι, ὡς αἱ ἅγαι καὶ οἰκουμενικαὶ ἔξ σύνοδοι λέγονται, λέγω δὴ ἡ ἐν Νικαίᾳ, καὶ ἡ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρότερον, καὶ ἡ ἐν Χαλκιδόνι (sic) καθὼς ὑποτέτακται (f. 59^ra, l. 4 - 60^ra, l. 15).

= A text made of excerpts from SOPHRONIUS HIEROSOLYMITANUS' *Epistula synodica ad Sergium Constantinopolitanum* [CPG 7635]. Together with the text numbered 8 by us it was edited by the Archim. Hippolytos on the sole basis of codex *Hierosolymitanus S. Sabas* 281²². The excerpts from Sophronius' *Epistula synodica* cover p. 418, l. 6 - p. 428, l. 19 in the edition by R. Riedinger²³ and they are followed by a short addition not found there²⁴ (f. 59^vb, l. 36 -

²¹ Recently an edition of this text has been made by K.-H. UTHEMANN, „Die „Απορὰ des Gregorius von Nyssa“? Ein Beitrag zur Geistmetaphysik in Byzanz mit einer Edition von CPG 1781, in *Byzantion* 63 (1993), p. 237-327 (text: p. 311-317). Our manuscript was given siglum C¹.

²² Archim. HIPPOLYTOS, Σωφρονίου τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἱεροσολύμων λόγος δογματικὸς περὶ πίστεως, in *Νέα Σιών* 17 (1922), p. 178-186. Our text covers p. 178, l. 1 - 181, l. 29.

²³ R. RIEDINGER, *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium, Concilii Actiones I-XI* (= *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* II, 2, 1), Berlin, 1990.

²⁴ Cf. p. 181, l. 24-29 in the edition by Archim. HIPPOLYTOS [cit. n. 22]. A critical edition of this addition (μηδεὶς δὲ πολυπραγμανεῖτω... τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν) can be read in R. RIEDINGER, *Die Nachkommen der Epistula Synodica des Sophronius von Jerusalem* (a. 634; CPG 7635), in *Römische*

60^fa, l. 5). Different from the edition by Archim. Hippolytos, however, is that this short addition is again followed by a short text²⁵ (f. 60^fa, l. 6 - 15).

See the remark following number 8 for more details.

6. title: Περὶ τῶν ἁγίων οἰκουμενικῶν ἔξ συνόδων
= ANONYMOUS, *De 6 synodis* (f. 60^fa, l. 16 - 61^vb, l. 34).

This is one of the texts edited by G.A. Rhallis - M. Potlis²⁶. Some twenty years ago a new edition of the text was made by J. Munitiz²⁷ and only recently an edition of the text as found in *Vaticanus graecus 2200* has been made by R. Riedinger²⁸. The text in our manuscript leaves out ὥνπερ εἰσὶν τὰ θελήματα (*varia lectio in Vat. gr. 2200*: ὥνπερ εἰσὶν ἰδιώματα), which are the last words in the editions by Munitiz and Rhallis - Potlis. Instead it has what Munitiz calls "the regular conclusion to the *synopsis de synodis*"²⁹ (f. 61^vb, l. 9-34), which is not found in the editions mentioned above,

Historische Mitteilungen 26 (1984), p. 95 (This article has been reprinted in R. RIEDINGER, *Kleine Schriften zu den Konzilsakten des 7. Jahrhunderts* [= *Instrumenta Patristica XXXIV*], Steenbrugge - Turnhout, 1998, p. 205-220 [= chapter XIV]). For the text of this addition in *Parisinus graecus 1115*, see also A. ALEXAKIS, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetype* (= *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 34), Washington, D.C., 1996, p. 296.

²⁵ Τέλειος ὁ πατὴρ, τέλειος ὁ υἱός, τέλειον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· πατὴρ καὶ υἱός καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. Τὸ δὲ ἀνάπαλιν· πνεῦμα τάττομεν ἐν χαρίσμασιν. Διαιρέσεις γὰρ χαρισμάτων εἰσὶ, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα· καὶ διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσὶ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς κύριος· καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσὶ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς θεός<. Θεός> ἐστὶν, ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

²⁶ Cf. G.A. RHALLIS - M. POTLIS, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανενφήμων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἁγίων πατέρων* I, Athens, 1852, p. 370-374. The text in this edition was taken from the edition made by Christophe Justel (Cf. C. JUSTELLUS, *Nomocanon Photii...Accessere eiusdem Photii...et Anonymi tractatus de Synodis oecumenicis*, Paris, 1615). The manuscript Justel used has been identified as the present *Bruxellensis 11376* by J. MUNITIZ, *The Manuscript of Justel's Anonymi Tractatus de Synodis*, in *Byzantion* 47 (1977), p. 239-257.

²⁷ Cf. MUNITIZ, *The Manuscript...* [cit. n. 26], p. 239-257 (text: p. 253-257). On p. 239 Munitiz refers to some more editions of the text.

²⁸ Cf. R. RIEDINGER, *Die Konzilsynopse im Codex Vaticanus graecus 2200*, in *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 38 (1996), p. 35-40; reprinted in RIEDINGER, *Kleine Schriften...* [cit. n. 24], p. 341-346 (= chapter XXII).

²⁹ Cf. J. MUNITIZ, *Synoptic Greek Accounts of the Seventh Council*, in *Revue des Études Byzantines* 32 (1974), p. 155-156.

but can be read in another edition, viz. that by Stephanus Le Moynes³⁰. On the whole, the text in our manuscript is best compared with Le Moynes's edition.

In the recently published *Supplementum* to the CPG this text is given number 8034 and as in some manuscripts it is attributed to Germanus I Constantinopolitanus. It is also said to be "ineditum" with reference only to codex *Vaticanus graecus* 2200 (s. VIII-IX), p. 474-481³¹. This is obviously a mistake. The text in *Vaticanus graecus* 2200 is a very old witness of the text in our manuscript.

7. title: Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἱεροσολύμων Περὶ τριάδος]

= IOHANNES II HIEROSOLYMITANUS, *Expositio fidei* [CPG 3621] (f. 61^vb, l. 35 - 62^vb, l. 13).

Our manuscript is the only and still unedited witness of the confession's Greek text. As the Greek text was long believed to have been lost, the text was solely known from its Armenian and Syriac translations. The Greek text was discovered by the late E. Bihain³², who however never edited it. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text together with all its translations into Syriac and Armenian³³ is now being prepared by Prof Dr Andrea Schmidt and Rev Michael Kohlbacher and should appear in *Le Muséon*³⁴.

³⁰ Cf. S. LE MOYNE, *Varia Sacra seu Sylloge variorum opusculorum graecorum ad rem ecclesiasticam spectantium* I, Leiden, 1685, p. 68-80, for the epilogue see p. 79, l. 12 (= ἰδοὺ <) - p. 80, l. 16 (= end). Le Moynes used codex *Oxoniensis, Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Baroccianus* 185, in which the text is attributed to Patriarch Germanus (cf. his prolegomena, p. 14 and MUNITIZ, *Synoptic...* [cit. n. 29], p. 148). J.A. FABRICIUS - G.C. HARLESS, *Bibliotheca graeca* XI, Hamburg, 1722, p. 166 reprinted this last part of Le Moynes's edition, because it is not found in Justellus' edition. In *Vaticanus graecus* 2200 the last word is ἐκπληρώσεως (= the edition by Le Moynes, p. 80, l. 5).

³¹ CPG wrongly has f. 474-481.

³² Cf. F. LEROY, *Pseudo-Chrysostomica: Jean de Jérusalem. Vers une résurrection littéraire*, in *Studia Patristica* X (= *Texte und Untersuchungen* 107), Berlin, 1970, p. 132.

³³ The list of oriental translations found in CPG 3621 is certainly not exhaustive.

³⁴ In the meantime, we refer to the detailed study of this *Expositio fidei* by C.P. CASPARI, *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel* I, Christiana, 1866, p. 161-212 and the article in print by Rev M. KOHLBACHER, *Vom Enkel des Origenes zum Vater der Chalcedonegner: Einleitungsfragen zum Lehrbekenntnis des Johannes von Jerusalem* (CPG 3621), in *Colloquium Origenianum septimum*, Hofgeismar 25.-29. August, 1997. Rev Kohlbacher kindly sent us an offprint of this article.

8. title: Περὶ τῆς ἐνσάρχου οἰκονομίας τοῦ ἐνὸς τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν (f. 62^vb, l. 14 - 64^va, l. 11).

= Together with the text numbered 5 by us this text was edited by the Archim. Hippolytos on the sole basis of codex *Hierosolymitanus S. Sabas 281*³⁵. The first part is made up of excerpts and paraphrases from SOPHRONIUS HIEROSOLYMITANUS' *Epistula synodica ad Sergium Constantinopolitanum* [CPG 7635] (f. 62^vb, l. 17 - 63^vb, l. 36). After a short transition (Λέγω δὴ θελήματα καὶ ἐνεργείας), the text continues with an excerpt³⁶ from *Epistula Agathonis et synodi ad Constantinum IV imperatorem* [CPG 9418] (f. 63^vb, l. 38 - 64^ra, l. 21), with some sort of *symbolum*³⁷ (f. 64^ra, l. 21 - f. 64^rb, l. 19) and with an ἀνάθεμα of the people who do not believe the things that are said³⁸ (f. 64^rb, l. 19 - f. 64^va, l. 11).

See the remark hereafter for more details.

Remark on 5 and 8: Both texts and their manuscript tradition have been studied independently by R. Bracke³⁹ and by R. Riedinger⁴⁰. In neither of these studies, however, our codex is mentioned.

There are two different forms in which these texts have been transmitted: as one single text and as two texts. The former is the case in e.g. *Hierosolymitanus, Sabaiticus 281* (s. XIII)⁴¹, the latter in our manuscript and also in e.g. the famous *Vaticanus graecus 2200* (s. VIII-IX).

As regards the attribution of the texts, there are three different situations. Either the texts have been transmitted anonymously as in our manuscript, or they

³⁵ Cf. Archim. HIPPOLYTOS, *Σωφρονίου...* [cit. n. 22]. Our text covers p. 181, l. 30 - 186, l. 6.

³⁶ Cf. J.D. MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* vol. XI (Graz, 1960 = reprint of Paris, 1901), 292 B1-13 (ἐνεργούσης...κανών). See p. 184, l. 22-34.

³⁷ Cf. Archim. HIPPOLYTOS, *Σωφρονίου...* [cit. n. 22], p. 184, l. 34 - 185, l. 19.

³⁸ Cf. Archim. HIPPOLYTOS, *Σωφρονίου...* [cit. n. 22], p. 185, l. 20 - 186, l. 6.

³⁹ Cf. his unedited doctoral dissertation *Ad sancti Maximi vitam. Studie van de biografische documenten en de levensbeschrijvingen betreffende Maximus Confessor* (ca. 580-662), Leuven, 1980, p. 32-51. He also gives a schematic concordance of the original text of the *Epistula synodica* and the text as found in the edition by Archim. Hippolytos [cit. n. 22].

⁴⁰ Cf. R. RIEDINGER, *Die Nachkommen...* [cit. n. 24]. As regards the manuscript evidence, Riedinger's study is for the most part complementary to Bracke's study.

⁴¹ As already said, this manuscript was used by Archim. HIPPOLYTOS, *Σωφρονίου...* [cit. n. 22].

have been attributed to Sophronius of Jerusalem, or, as Bracke discovered⁴², to Maximus Confessor.

As Bracke rightly states⁴³, the attribution to Sophronius should not necessarily be considered as authentic for already at first sight the relation with the original *Epistula synodica* is quite obvious. It is certainly possible that only afterwards by an attentive copier or reader the text was attributed to Sophronius. Moreover, the fact that the text has some clearly anti-monothelite passages makes the attribution to Sophronius impossible on historical grounds, whereas the attribution to Maximus is quite possible on the very same grounds. There are serious doubts, however, upon the reliability of an attribution to Maximus, because the oldest manuscript with an attribution to Maximus dates back only to the 13th century and because the oldest manuscript, viz. *Vaticanus graecus* 2200 (s. VIII-IX) transmits the texts anonymously. Hopefully a critical edition of the texts will bring some answers.

9. title: Ἐκθεσις πίστεως τῶν ἁγίων τῆ πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ, καὶ διδασκαλία πάνυ θαυμαστὴ καὶ σωτήριος
= Recensio II of Ps.-ATHANASIUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Didascalia CCCXVIII patrum Nicaenorum* [CPG 2298]⁴⁴ (f. 64^va, l. 12 - 67^vb, l. 34).

10. title: Τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀναστασίου, τοῦ Σινᾶ ὁρους, Ἀποκρίσεις πρὸς ἃ ἐπερωτήθη
= ANASTASIUS SINAITA, *Quaestiones et Responsiones* [CPG 7746] (f. 67^vb, l. 35 - 70^vb, l. 41).

There are three questions in the manuscript:

1. Εἰπέ ἡμῖν, πατέρ, πῶς δεῖ ἡμᾶς σωθῆναι;

Inc. Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς διδάσκει ἡμᾶς λέγων *Ἐρευνάτε τὰς Γραφὰς καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς εὕρησθε ζωὴν αἰώνιον* (Ioh. 5, 39) – des. ὅπως ἐλεήσει καὶ σώσει ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος (f. 67^vb, l. 38 - 68^rb, l. 17)

⁴² Cf. BRACKE, *Ad sancti Maximi vitam...* [cit. n. 39], p. 44-47.

⁴³ Cf. BRACKE, *Ad sancti Maximi vitam...* [cit. n. 39], p. 42.

⁴⁴ Recently, a new edition of this text, on the basis of *Parisinus graecus* 1115 and the old edition by P. BATIFFOL - H. HYVERNAT (*Didascalia 318 Patrum pseudepigrapha*, Paris, 1887) was made by R. RIEDINGER - H. THURN, *Die Didascalia CCCXVIII patrum Nicaenorum und das Syntagma ad Monachos im Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115* (a. 1276), in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 35 (1985), p. 75-92 (Greek text: p. 84-92). About the text in our manuscript, which differs to some extent from the text in their edition, they say on p. 77: "Diese Eingriffe sind aber noch nicht so schwerwiegend, daß man bei dieser Handschrift von einer eigenen Rezension sprechen könnte". It should be mentioned that Riedinger - Thurn overlooked the addition in *Parisinus graecus* 1115 to θαυμαστὴ in the title, viz. καὶ σωτήριος. This means that *Parisinus graecus* 1115 has the same title as our manuscript.

2. Καλὸν ἐστὶν τὸ ἐξομολογήσασθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν πνευματικοῖς ἀνδράσιν;

Inc. Καλὸν καὶ πάνν ὠφέλιμον, καὶ χωρὶς τούτου, ἀδύνατον σωθῆναι τοὺς ἐμπαθεῖς – des. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐξαλείφει τὰς ἁμαρτίας λέγων Ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ἐξαλείφων τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεράποντός μου (Is. 43, 25) (f. 68^b, l. 18 - 69^a, l. 28)

3. Ἐὰν τις αἰσχυρόμενος εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπῳ τὰς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ αἰσχροπραγίας, εἰσέλθῃ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξομολογούμενος τῷ θεῷ, ἄρα δεκτός ἐστιν, ἢ οὐ;

Inc. Ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρα κατανυγῇ ἄνθρωπος καὶ συντάξῃται τῷ θεῷ τὸ μηκέτι ἁμαρτῆσαι, ἀλλὰ γνησίως μετανοῆσαι – des. καὶ τύχῳ μεν ἀνέσεως παρὰ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος. (f. 69^a, l. 28 - 70^b, l. 41)

The second question is clearly related to the 6th question in *PG* (= *PG* 89, 369 D - 385 C). It is longer than the 6th question in *PG*, but both versions have a lot of sentences, expressions,... in common. Like in the questions edited in *PG* the third question in our manuscript is followed by some testimonia: Ἰῶβ, τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Πέτρου, τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου, τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου, τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου, Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου, τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου, again Basilus (τοῦ αὐτοῦ) and finally τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου.

11a. title: Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θαλασσίου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ ἡγουμένου Κεφάλαια περὶ εἰλικρινοῦς ἀγάπης καὶ ἐγκρατείας ἀληθοῦς, καὶ τῆς κατὰ νοῦν πολιτείας, γραφέντα πρὸς Παῦλον τὸν ὁσιώτατον μοναχὸν καὶ πρεσβύτερον

= THALASSIUS ABBAS, *Centuriae IV de caritate et continentia* [CPG 7848], Century I (f. 71^a, l. 1 - 72^b, l. 33).

11b. title: Ἐτερα κεφάλαια ^{v⁴⁵}

= THALASSIUS ABBAS, *Centuriae IV de caritate et continentia* [CPG 7848], Century II, 1 - II, 54⁴⁶ (f. 72^b, l. 33 - 74^a, l. 10).

⁴⁵ The scribe first wrote ρ̄, then drew a cross through it and wrote ν̄. From this it may be conjectured that he used a manuscript containing the full second century of Thalassius Abbas' *Centuriae IV de caritate et continentia*. If this is true, it may be concluded that at least the miscellaneous part of our manuscript is the result of a selection made by the scribe himself. However, it is of course also possible that the scribe only emended a fault he found in the manuscript he was copying.

⁴⁶ I, 98 has been divided into two chapters, and I, 100 was copied as the first chapter of the 2nd century. The consequence is that the last chapter of century II is numbered 55 in the manuscript instead of 54.

12. title: Περὶ φρονήσεως

= A collection of definitions (f. 74^ra, l. 11 - 74^bb, l. 26). The title Περὶ φρονήσεως is only correct for definitions 1 and 2, but in the manuscript there is no visual transition between definitions 1-2 and the other definitions.

1. Φρόνησις ἐστὶν ψεκτὴ, φυλακὴ τοῦ οἰκείου συμφέροντος μετὰ τῆς τοῦ πλησίον ἐπιβουλῆς, οἷα ἢ τοῦ ὄψεως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἑαυτοῦ τηροῦντος· ἢ κακεντρέχεια[ν] τρόπον, ὁξέως τὸ ἴδιον λυσιτελεῖς ἐξευρίσκουσα, καὶ συναρπάζουσα (συναρμόζουσα cod.) τοὺς ἀκεραιότερους, ὁποῖα ἢ τοῦ οἰκονόμου τῆς ἀδικίας.
2. Φρονήσεως ἔργα ἐστὶν, τὸ εὖ βουλευέσθαι, τὸ κρίναι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακὰ, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ αἰσχροῦ καὶ φευκτὰ, τὸ χρῆσασθαι καλῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, τὸ (τοῦ cod.) ὁμιλῆσαι ὀρθῶς, τὸ συνιδεῖν τοὺς καιροὺς, τὸ ἀγχίνως χρῆσασθαι καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ, τὸ (τῷ cod.) τὴν πείραν ἔχειν τῶν χρησίμων πάντων.
3. Πίστις ἐστὶν, συγκατάθεσις ἀδιάκριτος τῶν ἀκουσθέντων, ἐν πληροφορίᾳ τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν κηρυχθέντων θεοῦ χάριτι, ἡντινα ἐπεδείξατο Ἀβραάμ μαρτυρηθεὶς ὅτι Οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει δοῦς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς ὅτι, ὁ ἐπήγγελται, δυνατὸς ἐστὶν καὶ ποιῆσαι (Rom. 4, 20-21).
4. Πλεονεξία ἐστὶν, ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πλέον ἔχειν τοῦ ἐνδεοῦντος, διὰ τροφῆς λέγῳ καὶ σκεπασμάτων.
5. Νοῦς ψυχικὸς ἐστὶν, ὁ ἥδη (ἡδεῖ cod.) κατ' ἐνέργειαν μὲν ἁμαρτημάτων παυσάμενος, πνευματικὰ (πνευματικῶ cod.) δὲ θεωρήματα μὴ παραδεχόμενος.
6. Νοῦς πνευματικὸς, ὁ τὴν κατὰ διάνοιαν καθαρότητα κατορθώσας, καὶ πνευματικοῖς θεωρήμασιν ἐπακολουθῶν, πνεῦμα δὲ θεοῦ ἔχων εὐχόμενος.
7. Νηστεία ἐστὶν, ἡ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀλλοτρίωσις, ἐγκράτεια γλώσσης, θυμοῦ ἀποχή, ἐπιθυμιῶν χωρισμὸς, καταλαλιᾶς, ψεύδους, ἐπιπορκίας.
8. Μαρτυρίου νόμος ἐστὶν, μήτε ἐθέλοντας πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα χωρεῖν, φειδοῖ τῶν διωκόντων (τὸν διώκοντα cod.), καὶ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων, μήτε (μὴ δὲ cod.) παρόντας ἀναδύεσθαι· τὸ μὲν θράσους, τὸ δὲ ἀν<αν>δρείας ἐστὶν.

1. = BASILIUS CAESARIENSIS, excerpt [= PG 31, 400 A4-9] from *Homilia in principium proverbiorum* [CPG 2856] = excerpt from Sermo 21 [= PG 32, 1364 B8-13] of the *Sermones "De moribus" a Symeone Metaphrasta collecti* [CPG 2908]. Also found in Ps.-MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Loci Communes* [CPG 7718], chapter II, 6, l. 2-7⁴⁷. Cf. also in DPatm. (f. 184^r) and in DOtt. (f.

⁴⁷ We refer to the edition by M.B. PHILLIPS, *Loci communes of Maximus the Confessor: Vaticanus Graecus 739 (Greek Text)*, Ph. D. Dissert., Saint Louis

45^v) || 2. = Ps.-ARISTOTELES, *De virtutibus et vitiis* 1250a30-35. Cf. also in DPatm. (f. 184^v) and in DOtt. (f. 45^v) || 3. = BASILIUS CAESARIENSIS, excerpt [= PG 31, 677 C14 - 680 A6] from *Prologus VIII (De fide)* [CPG 2886]. Cf. also in DPatm. (f. 166^v) and in DOtt. (f. 34^v). In the margin of both glossaries the definition is rightly attributed to Β(ασίλειος) || 4. cf. the same definition in DPatm. (f. 167^v-168^r) and in DOtt. (f. 35^r) || 5. and 6. cf. the same definitions in DPatm. (f. 160^v) and in DOtt. (f. 30^r). In both glossaries definition 6 also follows definition 5 immediately and they are preceded by a definition of the νοῦς χοϊκός. Thus, all three definitions may have been taken from a text dealing at least at one point with the three sorts of νοῦς. || 7. = BASILIUS CAESARIENSIS, excerpt [PG 31, 196 D6-8] from *De ieiunio, homilia II* [CPG 2846] = Ps.-IOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, excerpt [PG 59, 676, l. 20-23] from *In principium indictionis* [CPG 4597]. Cf. also in DPatm. (f. 159^{r-v}) and in DOtt. (f. 29^r) || 8. = GREGORIUS NAZIANZENUS, *Oratio* 43, 6, l. 2-5 [cf. CPG 3010]. Cf. also in DPatm. (f. 156^r) and in DOtt. (f. 27^r).

13. title: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας Περὶ τριάδος

= Ps.-ATHANASIUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum duces* [CPG 2257], Qu. 1 (f. 74^rb, l. 26 - 74^vb, l. 32).

The last words are νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς (= PG 28, 600 C7), after which the text surprisingly breaks off.

14. title: Κεφάλαια

= EVAGRIUS PONTICUS, *Practicus* [CPG 2430], Capita 15-17, 21, 23-24, 27, 29⁴⁸ (f. 74^vb, l. 33 - 75^va, l. 14).

Only recently it has been concluded by P. Géhin⁴⁹ that the 8 chapters in our manuscript are probably “un sous-sélection” from a selection of 31 chapters of Evagrius’ *Practicus* in codex *Vaticanus graecus* 2028. This manuscript dating from the end of the 10th century or the beginning of the 11th was almost certainly copied in Southern Italy. Judging the style of writing the scribe was someone close to or from the “scuola niliana”.

University, 1977. In the *Patrologia Graeca* the text is found as chapter II, 3 (cf. PG 91, 732 A10-15).

⁴⁸ Cf. GUILLAUMONT - GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre...* [cit. n. 2], p. 260-262.

⁴⁹ Cf. P. GÉHIN, *Evagriana d'un manuscrit basilien (Vaticanus gr. 2028; olim Basilianus 67)*, in *Le Muséon* 109 (1996), p. 59-85. See especially p. 60-63 for a description of *Vaticanus graecus* 2028 and p. 73-75 for the proximity of this Vaticanus with our manuscript.

15. title: Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου Νύσσης

= Florilegium on the number three (f. 75^{Va}, l. 15 - 75^{Vb}, l. 7).

The florilegium consists of four short texts:

a. Ὅτι τρεῖς τῆς φύσεως εἰσὶν καταστάσεις

ἡ μὲν ἐξαρχῆς τὴν ἀσώματον λαχοῦσα ζωὴν, ἣν καὶ ἀγγελικὴν ὀνομάζομεν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὴν σάρκα πεπλεγμένη, ἣν ἀνθρωπίνην φαμέν· ἡ δὲ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τῶν σαρκῶν ἀπολλυμένη, ὅπερ ἐν σώμασιν θεωρεῖται. (f. 75^{Va}, l. 16-25)

b. Τρίτη (-ον cod.), ἡ τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλεία, ἧς οἱ τυχόντες ὄντως (ἐντὸς cod.) ἀνεπαύσαντο τῶν πόνων. (f. 75^{Va}, l. 25-28)c. Ὅτι τρεῖς τρόποι δουλείας

ὁ κατὰ τὴν δημιουργίαν, καθ'ὸν (ἦν cod.) φησὶν Τὰ σύμπαντα δούλα σά (Ps. 118, 91)· ὁ ἀπὸ πίστεως κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον Ἐλευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἐδουλώθητε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ (Rom. 6, 18)· ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπιστίας κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον Μωϋσῆς ὁ θεράπων ἐτελεύτησεν (Jos. 1, 2). (f. 75^{Va}, l. 28-38)

d. Ὅτι τρία σημαίνει τὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας ὄνομα

τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀρρωστίαν, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Λαζάρου· τὸ μὴ πεπηγέσθαι ἐν τῇ πίστει καλῶς, ὡς φησὶν Τὸν δὲ ἀσθενούντα τῇ πίστει προσλαμβάνεσθε (-σθαι cod.) (Rom. 14, 1)· οἱ διωγμοὶ καὶ ἐπιβουλαὶ, ὡς φησὶν Ἡ γὰρ δύναμις μου ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦται (2Cor. 12, 8). (f. 75^{Va}, l. 38 - f. 75^{Vb}, l. 27)

The manuscript suggests that all three the texts were taken from Gregorius Nyssenus. In fact, only the first text (a.) can be ascribed to him. The excerpt was taken from the *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione* [CPG 3149] = PG 46, 69 D4 - 72 A3. The second text (b.)⁵⁰ was taken either from IOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In epistulam ad Hebraeos argumentum et homiliae 1-34* [CPG 4440], hom. 6, 1, cf. PG 63, 54, l. 3-5 or from IOHANNES DAMASCENUS, *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli* [CPG 8079], cf. PG 95, 944 D3-5, the former being the source of the latter. The text in our manuscript (cf. the error ἐντὸς for ὄντως, the past tense ἀνεπαύσαντο, the word πόνων) seems to suggest Iohannes Damascenus as source, but since also the following extracts were taken from Iohannes Chrysostomus and as there are no critical editions of either of the

⁵⁰ In the manuscript there is no visual transition between text a. and text b. They have been joined together.

two texts, there is no way to be certain. The third text (c.) is a shortened version of IOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In epistulam ad Romanos homiliae 1-32* [CPG 4427], hom. 1, 1, cf. PG 60, 395, l. 30-40. The fourth text (d.) is a shortened version of IOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In epistulam II ad Corinthios argumentum et homiliae 1-30* [CPG 4429], hom. 29, 2, cf. PG 61, 598, l. 10-35.

See also the remark after number 16.

16. title: ΠΟΤΑΠΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΥΣ

= BASILIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Regulae morales* [CPG 2877], the first half of Regula 80 itself, followed by Capita 1-10 = PG 31, 860 B15 - 864 B3 but without the scriptural passages (f. 75^vb, l. 8 - 76^ra, l. 5).

The presence of this excerpt in our manuscript has not been noticed by P.J. Fedwick⁵¹.

Remark on 15 and 16: We have found numbers 15 and 16 in the same order at the end of DPATM. (f. 189^v-191^r) and in DOTT. (*Vat. gr.* 197, f. 107^{r-v}⁵²), and also in the glossary found in *Vaticanus graecus* 1778, f. 82^v-83^v⁵³. In these glossaria, however, the texts of 15 are ordered schematically, i.e. in three columns⁵⁴, and the author is mentioned each time: a. τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Νύσης ὅτι τρεῖς τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως εἰσὶν καταστάσεις; b. τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶ καταπαύσεις⁵⁵; c. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τρεῖς τρόποι δουλείας; d. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τρία σημαίνει τὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας ὄνομα. Moreover, they are preceded by some other schemes, not found in our manuscript and concerning the 4 ἀρεταί (= φρόνησις, δικαιο-

⁵¹ Cf. P.J. FEDWICK, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis. A Study of the Manuscript Tradition, Translations and Editions of the Works of Basil of Caesarea*, III. *The Ascetica, Contra Eunomium 1-3, Ad Amphiloichium de Spiritu Sancto, Dubia et Spuria, with Supplements to Volumes I-II* (= *Corpus Christianorum*), Turnhout, 1997.

⁵² *Vaticanus, Ottobonianus graecus* 43, f. 49^v - 50^r or ^v, should have these texts also, but we have not been able to check that.

⁵³ In *Vaticanus graecus* 1778 texts 15 and 16 are, however, separated by some definitions of words beginning with the letter ψ.

⁵⁴ Exception has to be made for DPATM., in which the three columns are ordered one after the other. The beginning of each "column", however, remains clear.

⁵⁵ The sentence in *Athos, Koutloumousiou* 39 numbered b. by us, is actually the third column of this text. The first column reads: μία ἡ τοῦ σαββάτου ἐν ᾧ ὁ θεὸς κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ; the second column reads: δευτέρα δὲ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, εἰς ἣν Ἰουδαῖοι εἰσῆλθον, τουτέστιν ἡ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας γῆ.

σύνη, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη), the 4 στοιχεῖα and their two qualities (= πῦρ ξηρὸν καὶ θερμόν, ἀήρ θερμὸς καὶ ὑγρὸς, ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ ὑγρόν, γῆ ξηρὰ καὶ ψυχρά), the three ways in which things happen (= τὰ μὲν κατ'εὐδοκίαν, τὰ δὲ κατ'οἰκονομίαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ συγχώρησιν), the three parts of the παθητικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος (= θυμικόν, ἐπιθυμητικόν, λογιστικόν), the 5 αἰσθήσεις (= ὄψις, ἀκοή, ὄσφρησις, γεῦσις, ἀφή), the 5 τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις (= νοῦς, διάνοια, δόξα, φαντασία, αἴσθησις) and the threefold νόμος (= φυσικός, γραπτός, καὶ ὁ ἐν χάριτι πνευματικός)⁵⁶.

As regards 16, the difference between our manuscript and the other manuscripts is that in the latter caput 1 of Regula 80 is preceded by another "caput", viz. ὡς μαθητὰς Χριστοῦ πρὸς μόνον τυπούμενος ἂν βλέπουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ ἀκούουσιν παρ'αὐτοῦ.

17. title: Τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου πρὸς Θαλάσσιον πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἡγούμενον, Περὶ διαφορῶν ἀπόρων τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς

= MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, some excerpts from the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* [CPG 7688] (f. 76^ra, l. 6 - 78^vb, l. 15).

Introduction l. 209-219 (Τὸ κακὸν...οὐδέν; f. 76^ra, l. 10-31), l. 222-239 (τέλος...ἄμειψιν) with in the right margin scholion 12 (f. 76^ra, l. 32 - 76^rb, l. 26), l. 255-264 (οἰόμενος...αἴσθησιν; f. 76^rb, l. 27 - 76^va, l. 4), l. 272-298 (Ἡδονῆς...ἐπινοήματα; f. 76^va, l. 4 - 76^vb, l. 22), l. 327-338 (Καὶ τάχα...ἐπάγουσα [-σιν cod.]; f. 76^vb, l. 22 - 77^ra, l. 7); Question and answer 43 followed by its scholion (f. 77^ra, l. 8 - 77^vb, l. 28); Introduction l. 99-107 (Ἵδατι...κατάκλειστος) followed by scholion 5 (f. 77^vb, l. 29 - 78^ra, l. 9); Question and answer 3 (f. 78^ra, l. 9 - 78^vb, l. 16)⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ For the 4 ἀρεταί, the 4 στοιχεῖα and their two qualities, the 5 αἰσθήσεις and the 5 τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις, see also F. DIEKAMP - B. PHANOURGAKIS - E. CHRYSOS, *Doctrina Patrum de incarnatione Verbi. Ein griechisches Florilegium aus der Wende des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts*, Münster, 1981², p. 296, l. 1-7 (= Chapter 39, V). The source for the diagram on the three ways in which things happen is possibly Ps.-ATHANASIUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Syntagma ad quendam politicum* [CPG 2286], more exactly PG 28, 1400 D4 - 1401 B4. This excerpt is also found as part of EPHRAEM GRAECUS, *De virtutibus et passionibus* [CPG 4055], more exactly 433 F8 - 434 D6 in the edition by J.S. ASSEMANI, *S.P.N. Ephraem Syri opera omnia* III, Rome, 1746.

⁵⁷ These fragments have been identified by C. De Vocht in LAGA - STEEL, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, II ... [cit. n. 2], p. xxvi. To l. 272-298 and 327-338 of the introduction our manuscript adds several lines which are not found in the edition by C. LAGA - C. STEEL, *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, I. *Quaestiones I-LV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugenae iuxta posita* (= CCSG 7), Turnhout - Leuven, 1980. Before εἰ δὲ (l. 283) one can find: τῆς ὀδύνης κζ' πάθη; before ἐκ δὲ τῆς (l. 292) one can find: ὀδύνης πάθη κδ'; after ἐπινοήματα (l. 298) one can find: κοινὰ, τοῦτέστιν ἀμφοτέρων ἥτις λέγεται μοχθηρία, πάθη σ'; before Καὶ τάχα (l. 327) one can find:

18. title: Τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου Διδασκαλίαι πρὸς νέους
= Ps.-BASILIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Admonitio Ascetica* (f. 78^vb, l. 16 - 79^ra, l. 9).

The text was catalogued as ***AskAdm22* by P.J. Fedwick⁵⁸. The first part of this text, which is also the largest part, bears close resemblances to the beginning of Basilus' *Sermo XII (De ascetica disciplina)* [CPG 2890], more exactly to PG 31, 648 C13 - 649 A6. The most striking similarity, however, is found with some lines of the *Vita sancti Basilii Magni* by Ps.-AMPHILOCHIIUS ICONIENSIS [CPG 3253], more exactly p. 171 B8 - 172 A6 in the edition by Franciscus Combefis⁵⁹. This *vita* was obviously the source of the lines in our manuscript.

Of the 3 other Greek manuscripts which according to Fedwick also contain ***AskAdm22*, viz. *Athous, Megistês Lauras 1497* [Λ7], *Athous, Σκήτης τῆς ἁγίας ᾽Αννης 8* [89] and *Hierosolymitanus, Sancti Sepulchri 215*, we have only been able to check the last one. Fedwick⁶⁰ states that in this manuscript ***AskAdm22* is found on f. 177^v - 181^r. On these folia however, we did not find ***AskAdm22*, but respectively ***AskAdm19* (f. 177^v - 178^v), Basilus' *Sermo XII (De ascetica disciplina)* [CPG 2890] (f. 178^v - 180^v) and a text composed of 3 excerpts from Basilus, viz. PG 31, 961 A9 - B13, PG 31, 921 B3 - C1 and PG 31, 1185 A9 - B1 (f. 180^v - 181^r). About the first two manuscripts we can only say that the number of folia Fedwick gives for ***AskAdm22* is in both cases too large for such a small text: f. 124^v - 129^r for *Athous, Megistês Lauras 1497* [Λ7], and f. 274^r - 276^r for *Athous, Σκήτης τῆς*

θεωρία τοῦ ξύλου τῆς παρακοῆς; before ἢ πάλιν a sign was placed referring to the lower margin of f. 76^v, where one can read: ἄλλη θεωρία τοῦ ξύλου τῆς παρακοῆς. For these additions, see LAGA - STEEL, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, II ... [cit. n. 2], p. XXVII.

⁵⁸ Cf. FEDWICK, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis* III ... [cit. n. 51], p. 727.

⁵⁹ Cf. F. COMBEFIS, SS. *Patrum Amphiloicii Iconiensis, Methodii Patarensis et Andreae Cretensis Opera omnia, quae reperiri potuerunt*, Paris, 1644. The textual differences are minor and can easily be explained away. The last word, however, in our manuscript reads ἀπόλαυσιν, while the text in Combefis's edition has ἀντίδοσιν.

⁶⁰ Cf. FEDWICK, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis* III ... [cit. n. 51], p. 517.

ályias "Αννης 8 [89]⁶¹. We may have to conclude that **AskAdm22 is only found in our manuscript.

19. title: Τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου

= MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, some excerpts from *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* [CPG 7688] (f. 79^ra, l. 10-30).

scholion 27 of Qu. 54 (f. 79^ra, l. 11-24); scholion 8 of Qu. 58 (f. 79^ra, l. 24-27); scholion 7 of the Introduction (f. 79^ra, l. 27-30)⁶².

20. title: Ἐκθεσις πίστεως ἐν συντόμῳ

= Ps.-MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, the first part of his *Compendiosa fidei expositio* [CPG 7707.27] (f. 79^ra, l. 31 - 79^rb, l. 36).

The text covers p. 80, l. 13 - p. 81, l. 10 in the edition by S.L. Epifanovič⁶³. Almost exactly the same text but a little shorter (the last word is φῶς on p. 81, l. 7 in the edition by Epifanovič), is found in PG 98, 1237 C6 - 1240 B2 as part of a collection of orthodox dogmatic texts edited in 1768 by Dominicus Becuccius.

21. title: Ἐκ τῶν κανόνων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων

= IURIS PSEUDO-APOSTOLICI COLLECTIONES, *Constitutiones apostolorum* [CPG 1730], VIII, 47, 29.27⁶⁴ (f. 79^rb, l. 37 - 79^va, l. 16).

22. title: Ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων

The text (f. 79^va, l. 16 - 79^vb, l. 3) is a rather strange collection of slightly changed excerpts from the *Doctrina XII apostolorum*, normally called the *Didachè* [CPG 1735]. Sometimes, however, the text is closer to the version of the *Didachè* found in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* [CPG 1730]. Thus, it is aptly placed after the foregoing text also taken from the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*. Finally, alterations were frequently made to match the text of the Bible more closely. The attribution each time to one of the apostles is unparalleled in the texts mentioned above.

For the apparatus at the end of the text, we have used the following abbreviations, besides of course the ones referring to the Bible:

⁶¹ Cf. FEDWICK, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis* III ... [cit. n. 51], respectively p. 317 and p. 323. Apparently Fedwick himself already doubted the presence of this text in the Laura manuscript, since he put a question mark.

⁶² These passages have been identified by C. De Vocht in LAGA - STEEL, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* II ... [cit. n. 2], p. xxvi-xxvii.

⁶³ Cf. С.Л. ЕПИФАНОВИЧЪ, *Материалы къ изучению жизни и творений преп. Максима Исповедника*, Kiev, 1917, p. 80-82.

⁶⁴ See also the *Canones apostolorum* [CPG 1740.2].

Did. = *Didache*⁶⁵

Const. = *Constitutiones Apostolorum VII*, 1-32⁶⁶

- a. Ἰωάννης εἶπεν. Ὅδοι δύο εἰσὶν, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου. Καὶ ἡ (εἰ cod.) μὲν τῆς ζωῆς ὁδὸς ἐστίν, πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου, καὶ δοξάσεις αὐτὸν τὸν λυτρωσάμενόν σε ἐκ θανάτου, ἥτις (εἰ τις cod.) ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη. Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ ἐστίν, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν, ἐν οἷς ὁλος ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται κρέμονται.
- b. Ματθαῖος εἶπεν. Πάντα ὅσα μὴ θέλῃς σοι γενέσθαι, μὴ δὲ σὺ ἄλλῳ (σοὶ ἄλλο cod.) ποιήσεις. Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων τὴν διδαχὴν, εἶπε ἀδελφὲ Πέτρε.
- c. Σίμων εἶπεν. Τέκνον, μὴ γίνου αἰσχρολόγος, μὴ δὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος. Ἐκ γὰρ τούτων γεννᾶται μοιχεία.
- d. Θωμᾶς εἶπεν. Τέκνον, τὸν λαοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ. Μνήσθητι δὲ αὐτοῦ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν (ἡμέρα cod.). Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καθημέραν.

a. 1/2 Ὅδοι...θανάτου] *Did.* I, 1 (p. 1, l. 3), *Const.* I, 2 (p. 386, l. 13-14), *Ier.* 21, 8 || 2 Καὶ...ἀγαπήσεις] *Did.* I, 2 (p. 1, l. 5) | ἡ...ὁδὸς] *Const.* II, 1 (p. 388, l. 1) || 2/3 ἀγαπήσεις...σου?] *Deut.* 6, 5; *Mc.* 12, 30 || 2/7 ἀγαπήσεις...κρέμονται] *Mt.* 22, 37-40 || 5 Δευτέρα...ἐντολὴ] *Did.* II, 1 (p. 2, l. 11) || 5/6 Δευτέρα...ἑαυτόν] *Mc.* 12, 31 | ἀγαπήσεις...ἑαυτόν] *Leu.* 19, 18

b. 1/2 Πάντα...ποιήσεις] *Const.* II, 1 (p. 388, l. 4-5) || 1/3 Πάντα...διδαχὴν] *Did.* I, 2-3 (p. 1, l. 7-8)

c. 1/2 Τέκνον...μοιχεία] *Did.* III, 3 (p. 2, l. 25-27) | μη'...μοιχεία] *Const.* VI, 4 (p. 394, l. 21 - 396, l. 2)

d. 1 Τέκνον...θεοῦ] *Did.* IV, 1 (p. 3, l. 15) | τὸν'...θεοῦ] *Const.* IX, 1 (p. 398, l. 1) || 2 ὡς...ὀφθαλμοῦ] *Deut.* 32, 10; *Ps.* 16, 8 || 2/3 Μνήσθητι...ἡμέραν] *Did.* IV, 1 (p. 3, l. 1-2); *Const.* IX, 1 (p. 398, l. 1-2) || 3 Ἐκζητήσεις...καθημέραν] *Const.* IX, 2 (p. 398, l. 4-5); *Did.* IV, 2 (p. 3, l. 17-18)

23. title: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσηδώρου πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ Πιλουσιότου, Λεοντίου ἐπισκόπου Περὶ Ἱερωσύνης
= ISIDORUS PELUSIOTA, *Epistulae* [CPG 5557], Ep. I, 315 (f. 79^vb, l. 4-29).

⁶⁵ We have used the edition by F.X. FUNK - K. BIHLMAYER, *Die apostolischen Väter, Erster Teil, Didache, Barnabas, Klemens I und II, Ignatius, Polykarp, Papias, Quadratus, Diognetbrief*, Tübingen, 1970, p. 1-9.

⁶⁶ We have used the edition by F.X. FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum* Volumen I, Paderborn, 1905, p. 386-422.

24. title: Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἱππολίτου ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης. Ἐκ τῆς ἑρμηνείας Ρουθ μαρτυρία

= HIPPOLYTUS ROMANUS, *In Ruth* 2, 9.14⁶⁷ [CPG 1880.8] (f. 79^vb, l. 30 - 80^fb, l. 3).

25. MAXIMUS CONFESSOR,

a. title: Ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων τῆς ἁγίας Γραφῆς. Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ

= *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* [CPG 7688], Question and answer 42 together with scholion 3 in the left margin of f. 80^v and scholion 5 in the lower margin of f. 81^r⁶⁸ (f. 80^fb, l. 4 - 81^fb, l. 14).

b. title: Περὶ τῶν κινηθέντων δογμάτων μεταξύ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Μαξίμου καὶ Θεοδοσίου ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας τῆς Βιθυνίας

= first part [\langle συνδιαλέγεσθαι ὑμῖν = PG 90, 140 A4] of the *Gesta in primo exilio seu dialogus Maximi cum Theodosio ep. Caesareae in Bithynia* [CPG 7735] (f. 81^fb, l. 15 - 82^ra, l. 26).

26. title: Ἐκ τῶν ἀσκητικῶν ἁγίου Βασιλείου

= BASILIUS CAESARIENSIS, some questions from *Asceticon magnum sive Quaestiones* [CPG 2875] (f. 82^ra, l. 27 - 82^vb, l. 40 + f. 222^ra, l. 1 - 222^fb, l. 37).

Question and answer 225 (f. 82^ra, l. 29 - 82^va, l. 2), Question and answer 261 (f. 82^va, l. 2 - 82^vb, l. 40 + 222^ra, l. 1 - 222^fb, l. 22), Question and answer 77 (f. 222^fb, l. 23-32), Question and answer 78 (f. 222^fb, l. 33-37). This combination of 4 ἐρωταποκρίσεις was catalogued as \neq Gr 22 by Fedwick, according to whom this combination is only found in our manuscript⁶⁹.

27. title: Ὅροι τῶν πατέρων

= Definitiones (f. 222^fb, l. 37 - 222^va, l. 32). The collection explains the following words:

1. Ἀγαθός (*ἀγαθόν* cod.)· ὁ χωρὶς αἰτήσεως ἀφθόνως τὰ καλὰ χαριζόμενος.

⁶⁷ The fragment of Hippolytus' catena In Ruth edited by H. ACHELIS, *Hippolytus Werke* I,2 (= GCS I), Leipzig, 1897, p. 120 was taken from our manuscript.

⁶⁸ These passages were identified by C. De Vocht in LAGA - STEEL, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* II ... [cit. n. 2], p. xxvii.

⁶⁹ Cf. FEDWICK, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis* III ... [cit. n. 51], p. 773.

2. 'Αγαλλίασις ψυχῆς· εὐλογος αὐτῆς ἔπαρσις μετὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.
3. 'Αγάπη ἐστίν, ἡ πρὸς τὸ καταθύμιον ἐνδιάθετος σχέσις.
4. 'Αγάπη ἐστίν, ἀρετὴ λογικῆς ψυχῆς, κατὰ στέρησιν πασῶν τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν προσγενομένη τῷ μαθητῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
5. 'Αγάπη ἐστίν, αὔξησης φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας.
6. 'Αγγελος ἐστίν, οὐσία λειτουργικὴ, ἀναγγέλλουσα τοῖς ἀξίοις τὴν τοῦ δεσπότου βουλήν.
7. 'Αγνεία ἐστίν, σωφροσύνη ἐπιτεταμένη, ἥ παρατήρησις παντὸς μολυσμοῦ.
8. 'Αγνεία τελεία ἐστίν, ἡ τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν διανοημάτων πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῶν λόγων εἰλικρίνεια, καὶ τελευταία, ἡ κατὰ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἀναμαρτησία.
9. 'Αγνὸς ἐστίν, ὁ ἔρωτι ἔρωτα διακρουσάμενος, καὶ πῦρ πυρὶ αὐτῷ ἀποσβέσας.
10. 'Αδικία ἐστίν, ἕξις (ἕξις cod.) ἀνισότητος ἀποδοτικῆς.
11. 'Ακακος κυρίως ἐστίν, ὁ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, διὰ τῆς κατ'ἀρετὴν ἀσκήσεως ἀποστήσας.
12. 'Ανδρεία ἐστίν ὑπεραληθὴς πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ στερρότης καὶ ἀκλινῆς (ἀκλινῇ cod.) πρὸς τὸ ψεῦδος, ἡ δύναμις ἐπαινουμένη.

1. = DIEKAMP, *Doctrina Patrum*, p. 249, l. 26-27. Not found in DPatm. nor in DOtt. as they are acephalous. || 2. The source for this definition may have been PHILO IUDAEUS, *De specialibus legibus* II, 185, 2-3: χαρὰ δὲ ψυχῆς ἐστίν εὐλογος ἔπαρσις. Not found in DPatm. nor in DOtt. as they are acephalous. || 3. = GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione* [CPG 3149], cf. PG 46, 93 C4-5. Not found in DPatm. nor in DOtt. as they are acephalous. || 4. Not found in DPatm. nor in DOtt. as they are acephalous. || 5. = DIADOCHUS PHOTICENSIS, *Capita centum de perfectione spirituali* [CPG 6106], cf. the edition by É. DES PLACES, *Diadoque de Photicé. Œuvres spirituelles* (= *Sources Chrétiennes*, 5ter), Paris, 1966, p. 84, l. 17-18. Cf. also in DPatm. (f. 120^r), but not in DOtt., of which the beginning is lacking. || 6. = Cf. the same definition in DPatm. (f. 120^v), but not in DOtt., of which the beginning is lacking. || 7. = Cf. the same definition in DPatm. (f. 120^v), but not in DOtt., of which the beginning is lacking. The definition of ἀγνεία as ἐπίτασις σωφροσύνης has been found in the Suda (p. 29, l. 24) and in the Lexicon of Zonaras (col. 24)⁷⁰. || 8. = CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Stromata* 4, 22, 142, 4. Cf. also in DPatm. (f. 121^r), but not in DOtt., of which the beginning is lacking. || 9. = IOHANNES CLIMACUS, *Scala Paradisi*, Gradus XV, cf. PG 88, 880 D5-6. Cf. also in DPatm. (f. 121^r), but not in DOtt., of which the beginning is lacking. || 10. = Cf. the same definition in DPatm. (f. 121^r) and in DOtt. (f. 1^r). || 11. = Cf. the same definition in DPatm.

⁷⁰ For Zonaras' Lexicon, see the edition by I. TITTMANN, *Iohannis Zonarae Lexicon ex tribus codicibus manuscriptis*, Leipzig, 1808. For the Suda, see the edition by A. ADLER, *Lexicographi graeci*, Vol. I, *Suidae Lexicon, A-Ω-Index*, Pars I. A-Γ, Stuttgart, 1928.

(f. 123^v) and in DOtt. (f. 2^v). || 12. = Cf. the same definition in DPatm. (f. 125^r) and in DOtt. (f. 3^v).

28. Περὶ τριάδος (f. 222^va, l. 33 - 222^vb, l. 20). This short text is made up of excerpts from Iohannes Damascenus and Anastasius Sinaita. But see the remark following 29.

Θεὸς ἐστὶν, αἰδὶος οὐσία καὶ ἀπαράλλακτος, δημιουργικὴ τῶν ὄντων, εὐσεβεῖ (-βῆ cod.) συνειδήσει προσκυνουμένη. Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ ἐστὶν, ὁ ὢν αἰὶ ἀγέννητος ὡς μὴ ἔκ τινος γεννηθεῖς, γεννήσας δὲ υἱὸν συναΐδιον. Θεὸς καὶ υἱός, ὁ ὢν αἰὶ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ ἀχρόνως καὶ αἰδίως, ἀρρεύτως καὶ ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένος. Θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, δύναμις ἀγιαστικὴ ἐνυπόστατος, ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἀδιάστατον, καὶ ὁμοούσιον πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ (in right margin: ζῆτ.) τὸ ἄκτιστον, τὸ ἄναρχον, τὸ ἀθάνατον, τὸ αἰώνιον, τὸ ἀπέραντον (ἀπέρβατον cod.), τὸ ἀπλοῦν, τὸ ἀσύνθετον, τὸ αὔλον, τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὸ δημιουργικόν, τὸ ἄτρεπτον, τὸ ἀπαθές, τὸ ἀπερίγραπτον, τὸ ἀόριστον, τὸ ἀπεριόριστον, τὸ ἀσώματον. Ἡ θεὸς προσηγορία εἴρηται ἐν τῇ γραφῇ διττῇ φύσει καὶ χάριτι. Φύσει μὲν, ὡς ποιητής· χάριτι δὲ, καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι λέγονται θεοί.

1/8 Θεὸς...υἱῷ] IOHANNES DAMASCENUS, *Expositio fidei* 13, l. 83-90. Cf. also in DPatm. (f. 146^{r-v}) and in DOtt. (f. 19^{r-v}). For 1/2 see also Ps.-MAXIMUS CONFESSOR, *Compendiosa fidei expositio* [CPG 7707.27], p. 82, l. 1-2. || 8/12 τὸ ἄκτιστον...ἀσώματον] IOHANNES DAMASCENUS, *Expositio fidei* 14, l. 2-5. Cf. also in DPatm. (f. 146^v) and in DOtt. (f. 19^v). || 12/14 Ἡ θεὸς...θεοί] cf. ANASTASIUS SINAITA, *Viae Dux* II, 2, 8-11. Cf. also in DPatm. (f. 146^v) and in DOtt. (f. 19^v).

29. Untitled and immediately following 28 (f. 222^vb, l. 20-25 [= last line]).

= a definition-like text on 'the three sorts of θέλημα found in the Bible', taken from ANASTASIUS SINAITA, *Viae Dux* II, 4, 11-13: Τρισσῶς δὲ πάλιν καὶ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ εὐρίσκομεν (-ωμεν cod.) θέλημα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λεγόμενον· θεϊκὸν καὶ φυσικὸν ἡγουν μέσον, καὶ γὰρ σαρκικὸν ἡγουν τὸ διαβολικόν. Cf. also in DPatm. (f. 147^r) and in DOtt. (f. 20^r).

Remark on 28 and 29: The close relationship between the text in our manuscript and the definitions in DPatm. and DOtt. is beautifully shown by 28, l. 7-8. Lines 89-90 of Iohannes Damascenus' *Expositio Fidei* 13 run: ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδιαστάτως ἐκπορευομένη καὶ ἐν υἱῷ ἀναπαυομένη, ὁμοούσιος πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ. The version of DPatm. and DOtt. is: ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευομένη, ἀδιάστατος καὶ ὁμοούσιος πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ, which is clearly much closer to our manuscript than the original text by Iohannes Damascenus.

Another example is 28, l. 12-14, of which Anastasius' original text runs: Ὅσαχῶς ἡ θεὸς προσηγορία εἴρηται ἐν τῇ γραφῇ; Καὶ δῆλον ὅτι

διττῶς, φύσει καὶ σχέσει· φύσει μὲν ὁ ποιητῆς, σχέσει δὲ καὶ χάριτι καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι λέγονται θεοί. The only difference between the text in our manuscript and the text of DPatm. and DOtt., however, is that before ποιητῆς they have ὁ instead of our manuscript's ὡς.

Finally, we would like to draw attention to 29, where instead of the ἦγουν before τὸ διαβολικόν the original text of Anastasius has ὅπερ σημαίνει, while DPatm. and DOtt. have the rather strange ἦγουν σημαίνει. The text in our manuscript can be seen as a correction of the faulty ἦγουν σημαίνει.

III. Antiochus Monachus

1. title: Ἐπιστολὴ Ἀντιόχου μοναχοῦ τῆς Λαύρας τοῦ ἀββᾶ Σάβα, Πρὸς Εὐστάθιον ἡγούμενον, μονῆς Ἀιταλίνης, πόλεως Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατίας
= *Epistula ad Eustathium* [CPG 7842] (f. 83^ra, l. 1 - 84^vb, l. 35).
2. title: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀντιόχου Πρόλογος⁷¹
= *Pandecta scripturae sacrae* [CPG 7843] (f. 84^vb, l. 36 - 196^rb, l. 2).
3. title: Περὶ ἐξομολογήσεως
= *Exomologesis* [CPG 7844] (f. 196^rb, l. 3 - 197^vb, l. 39).

IV. Old Testament writings

1. untitled
= *Testamenta duodecim patriarcharum*⁷² [CAVT 118] (f. 198^ra, l. 1 - 229^ra, l. 19).

⁷¹ This is of course not the title of the whole *Pandecta*, but of the Introduction. Each chapter has a title, just as it is seen in PG 89. These titles were all written in small uncials.

⁷² Our manuscript was given siglum *e* by R.H. CHARLES (cf. *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs edited from nine MSS together with the Variants of the Armenian and the Slavonic Versions and some Hebrew Fragments*, Oxford, 1908), which was adopted by the subsequent editions. Like Charles, scholars investigating the text of the *Testamenta duodecim patriarcharum* in our manuscript have wondered about the three additions they found in our manuscript, which make it one of the most important witnesses. For the first two additions the case is indeed rather strange. The first one is found on f. 201^va, l. 27 - f. 202^ra, l. 12 (τότε ἐγὼ...δεόμενος) and was inserted after κακία (= *varia lectio* in our manuscript for ἀδικία) in *Test. Levi* II, 3. The second addition is also found in the testament of Levi, more exactly after ἡμερῶν in XVII, 2 (cf. f. 205^va, l. 6 - f. 207^ra, l. 40 [καὶ ἀνέλθομεν...περὶ αὐτοῦ]). They are remarkable since, as M. DE JONGE, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (= *Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti* I, 2), Leiden, 1978, p. XVII says, they run par-

- I. Διαθήκη Ρουβήμ περὶ ἐννοιῶν. Ρουβήμ υἱὸς πρωτότοκος Ἰακώβ καὶ Λίας α΄ (f. 198^ra, l. 1 - 199^vb, l. 30).
- II. Διαθήκη Συμεῶν περὶ φθόρου. Συμεῶν υἱὸς Ἰακώβ καὶ Λίας β΄ (f. 199^vb, l. 31 - 201^ra, l. 40).
- III. Διαθήκη Λευὶ υἱοῦ Ἰακώβ περὶ ἱεροσύνης καὶ ὑπερηφανίας (f. 201^va, l. 1 - 207^va, l. 34).
- IV. Διαθήκη Ἰούδα περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ πορνείας (f. 207^va, l. 35 - 212^ra, l. 34).
- V. Διαθήκη Ἰσάχαρ περὶ ἀγαθότητος (f. 212^ra, l. 35 - 213^va, l. 27).
- VI. Διαθήκη Ζαβουλὼν περὶ εὐσπλαγγνίας καὶ ἐλέους (213^va, l. 28 - 215^rb, l. 31).
- VII. Διαθήκη Δᾶν περὶ θυμοῦ καὶ ψεύδους (f. 215^rb, l. 32 - 217^ra, l. 23).
- VIII. Διαθήκη Νεφθαλὶμ περὶ φυσικῆς ἀγαθότητος (f. 217^ra, l. 23 - 219^ra, l. 33).
- IX. Διαθήκη Γᾶδ περὶ μίσους (f. 219^ra, l. 34 - 220^va, l. 39).
- X. Διαθήκη Ἀσὴρ περὶ δύο προσώπων κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς (f. 220^vb, l. 1 - 223^ra, l. 35).
- XI. Διαθήκη Ἰωσήφ περὶ σωφροσύνης (f. 223^ra, l. 36 - 226^vb, l. 23).
- XII. Διαθήκη Βενιαμὲν περὶ ἐννοίας καθαρᾶς (f. 226^vb, l. 24 - 229^ra, l. 19).

Up to the Testament of Juda IX, 8 the scribe corrected his text in the margin, which resulted in a large number of marginal notes. From then onwards, however, he copied his text more carefully, so that almost no marginal notes are found anymore⁷³.

tially parallel to Aramaic fragments found in the Cairo Genizah and at Qumran. For a comparison between the first addition and the fragment of the Aramaic version of the Levi Testament found in cave 4 at Qumran, see J.T. MILIK, *Le testament de Lévi en Araméen. Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumrân (Pl. IV)*, in *Revue Biblique* 62 [1955], p. 398-406. For a comparison between the second addition and Aramaic and Syriac versions, see CHARLES, *The Greek Versions...* [cit. n. 72], p. 245-256 (= Appendix III).

The supposed third addition, however, is no addition at all. It is f. 222 that was bound in the wrong place: as already said, it should have been after f. 82.

⁷³ Cf. DE JONGE, *The Testaments...* [cit. n. 72], p. XVII.

2. SEPTUAGINTA⁷⁴

a. title: Εὐλογία Ἰακώβ εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα αὐτοῦ υἱούς.
= *Genesis* 48, 8 - 50, 26 (f. 229^ra, l. 20 - 231^ra, l. 30).

b. title: Βίβλος Μακκαβαίων α'.
= *Machabaeorum* Liber I (f. 231^ra, l. 31 - 257^vb, l. 39).

c. title: Βίβλος Μακκαβαίων.
= *Machabaeorum* Liber IV (f. 258^ra, l. 1 - 270^va, l. 33).

d. title: Ἔσδρας α'.
= *Esdras* Liber I (< ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ = 4, 28) (f. 270^va, l. 34 - 274^vb, l. 40).

C. HISTORY

The search for the history of the codex has been fairly frustrating. Not only is the codex almost devoid of direct evidence, but the direct evidence we do have brings us no closer to a solution. What remains are indications coming from codicological features, script, decoration... Taken together, however, these indications become a fairly solid basis for drawing conclusions.

I. Direct Evidence

Several marginal notes are found in our manuscript, but only a few can possibly shed some light on the history of the codex. We only transcribe these⁷⁵:

⁷⁴ Our manuscript was given number 340 by A. RALPHS, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, für das Septuaginta-Unternehmen aufgestellt* (= *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* Band 2), Berlin, 1914, p. 15.

⁷⁵ Other notes, mainly remarks by readers, are found on f. 11^v, upper margin; f. 15^v, lower margin; f. 19^r, lower margin; f. 26^v, upper margin; f. 42^r, upper margin; f. 54^r, upper margin; f. 68^r, right margin; f. 83^r, upper margin; f. 101^r, lower margin; f. 110^v, left margin; f. 138^v, left margin; f. 141^r, lower margin (erased); f. 160^r, right margin; f. 170^v, left margin; f. 177^v, lower margin; f. 178^r, upper margin; f. 189^r, lower margin; f. 258^r, upper and lower margin; f. 265^r, upper margin, f. 274^r, right margin.

On f. 273 in the right margin one can read the beginning of GREGORIUS NAZIANZENUS, *Oratio* 39 (PG 36, 336 A2-7, < πρόξενον = p. 150, l. 1-6 in the edition by C. MORESCHINI - P. GALLAY, *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours 38-41* [= *Sources Chrétiennes* 358], Paris, 1990).

Most of these notes are barely readable, at least on the microfilm, and can therefore only be examined on the manuscript itself.

- (f. 2^r, right margin) + τὸ παρὸν βυβλὴν τοῦ κούτλουμουσιῶ
ἀνακαίνιστη ἀπο θεῶφανη μὲναχο καὶ ἀμαρτολό⁷⁶
- (f. 3^r, lower margin) арсений
- (f. 28^r, right margin) α~ (= μοναχός ?) λέων
- (f. 48^r, lower margin) μακάριος κ κ
- (f. 75^v, lower margin) after two lines that seem to be a prayer, the third
line reads: + ... ιερομοναχος κτό (*ut videtur?*) ὁ αμαρτολός:-
- (f. 88^r, right margin) some sort of monogram, possibly ED and then
μικαὶλ φιλ...πα... κιχ... χαριδιάδης
- (f. 169^r, right margin) ἀντιόχου
- (f. 273^r, lower margin) + ἀνέγνω κ(αὶ) οφελήθη ἐκ ταύτης τῆς
βίβλου. διονύσιος μ(ονα)χο(ς), κ(αὶ) αμαρτ(ω)λ(ός).
- (f. 274^r, lower margin) + ... ἐγὼ στέφαν(ός) ω κατρωρὶς ἤρξατ(ο)
τοῦ αἰωραϊζήν πάν ... | ἐν πρότης μεν ηἰώρακα ἀπὸ τῶν
θεῶ, δῶρων τὴν· ἀγαπῶ | ἐχ ... ἰα παρα π ... πεντε ...
βωσπ ...

The note on f. 3^r was written by Arsenij Suchanov, who between 1653 and 1655 went from Moscow to Mount Athos to buy manuscripts for the *Bibliotheca Synodalis* in Moscow⁷⁷. Several manuscripts he signed with his name, eventually were not taken to Moscow but stayed on Mount Athos. This is the case for our manuscript, but also e.g. for *Athous, Iviron 388* (s. XVI)⁷⁸.

None of the other notes provide us with enough information to identify the persons mentioned with persons known from other sources. The note on f. 2^r was written by what seems to be a 16th or even 17th century hand. The Theophanes who wrote it is prob-

⁷⁶ The note was partially repeated by a later, untrained hand, a little higher than the original note.

⁷⁷ On Arsenij Suchanov, see the extensive biography by С. БЪЛОКУРОВЪ, Арсеній Сухановъ, Ч. I. Бюрафія Арсенія Суханова, in Чтенія въ Императорскомъ Обществѣ Истории и Древностей Россійскихъ при Московскомъ Университетѣ, 156 (1891), Ч. III. Изслѣдованія: р. I-IV, 1-328 and 157 (1891), Ч. IV. Изслѣдованія: р. 329-440, I-CLX. On his journey to Mount Athos, see chapter 5 (р. 326-421); K. TREU, *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments in der UdSSR. Eine systematische Auswertung der Texthandschriften in Leningrad, Moskau, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilisi und Erevan* (= *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alchristlichen Literatur* 91), Berlin, 1966, р. 233-234; and recently also Б.Л. ФОНКИЧ, Греческие рукописи с пометой Арсенія Суханова в Кембриджѣ, in Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы XLVIII, St Petersburg, 1993, р. 304-305.

⁷⁸ In *Athous, Iviron 388* Arsenij left his name on f. 2^r.

ably the same person who on several folia rewrote some letters that had become unreadable⁷⁹.

II. Indirect Evidence

1. Textual history

Valuable information can be drawn from the textual history. Especially in the case of Maximus Confessor, this has been fruitful, as not only the *Liber Asceticus*⁸⁰ and the *Gesta in primo exilio seu dialogus cum Theodosio ep. Caesareae in Bithynia*⁸¹, but also the fragments from the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*⁸² are situated in the Italian branch of the textual tradition. For the 8 chapters from Evagrius' *Practicus* we have already referred to the conclusions drawn by Géhin, viz. that our manuscript is close to the South Italian manuscript *Vaticanus graecus 2028*⁸³. For the Pseudo-Athanasian *Didascalia CCCXVIII patrum Nicaenorum* the situation is not so clear, but the differences with the manuscripts of a certain Italian origin are minor⁸⁴.

Some further indication is provided by Antiochus Monachus' *Pandecta*. Indeed, research has shown that the oldest witnesses of the Italian-Greek family of manuscripts all originate from the "milieu rossanese"⁸⁵. Again, however, this is but an indication and nothing more.

⁷⁹ See e.g. f. 104^v, 105, 114^v, 115, 117,...

⁸⁰ We would like to thank Prof Dr Peter Van Deun, for kindly giving us this information. His edition of the *Liber Asceticus* is in print.

⁸¹ We would like to thank Prof Dr Pauline Allen, for kindly giving us this information. Her edition of the documents relative to the life of Maximus Confessor is in print. The same conclusion was already drawn by BRACKE, *Ad sancti Maximi vitam...* [cit. n. 39], p. 104, footnote 14.

⁸² Cf. LAGA - STEEL, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* II ... [cit. n. 2], p. XXVII: "Cela doit suffire à classer ce manuscrit athonite dans le groupe des témoins d'ascendance italote".

⁸³ Cf. p. 223 and footnote 49. The possibly South Italian provenance of our manuscript makes Géhin's suggestion (cf. *Evagriana...* [cit. n. 49], p. 74) that the Evagrian capita in our manuscript and in *Vaticanus graecus 2028* were copied from the same archetype a lot more acceptable.

⁸⁴ The information on this text was kindly given to us by the Rev Michael Kohlbacher in a letter dated October 12th 1998.

⁸⁵ Cf. S. LUCA, *Attività scrittoria e culturale a Rossano: da s. Nilo a s. Bartolomeo da Simeri (secoli X-XII)*, in *Atti del congresso internazionale su s. Nilo di Rossano (28 settembre - 1° ottobre 1986)*, Rossano - Grottaferrata, p. 41, footnote 74. The examples he gives date back to the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries.

Codicological features, decoration and script seem to confirm a South Italian origin.

2. *Codicological features*

Of these only the fact that the ruling is of the type 00 C2⁸⁶ and the mediocre to bad quality of the parchment⁸⁷ are indicative of a South Italian origin.

Other elements, for example the large dimensions of the codex⁸⁸ or the fact that the quires were ruled according to type 1⁸⁹ or the fact that the fleshside of the parchment is on the exterior ..., neither confirm nor contradict anything.

3. *Decoration*

The decoration of the codex, although sparse, still has some characteristics that could confirm an Italian provenance.

Firstly, one of the manuscript's two ornamental bands, viz. that on f. 56^{Va}⁹⁰, resembles the one found on f. 67^V of codex *Varicanus graecus* 2020, written in Capua in the year 993 by the monk Cyriacus⁹¹.

⁸⁶ That this type of ruling was almost exclusively used in Southern Italy was concluded by J. IRIGOIN, *Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins*, in *Scriptorium* 12 (1958), p. 218 and confirmed by J. LEROY, *Le Parisinus gr. 1477 et la détermination de l'origine des manuscrits italo-grecs d'après la forme des initiales*, in *Scriptorium* 32 (1978), p. 205 and footnote 105.

⁸⁷ This criterium for attributing a manuscript to South Italy was already used by P. BATIFFOL, *L'Abbaye de Rossano, contribution à l'histoire de la Vaticane*, Paris, 1891, p. 84, 89, ... Cf. LEROY, *Le Parisinus gr. 1447*... [cit. n. 86], p. 192, footnote 10: "Comme la plupart des critères codicologiques, la qualité du parchemin ne peut à elle seule garantir l'origine du manuscrit et c'est sur un ensemble de critères de ce genre qu'on doit se fonder pour affirmer l'origine italote d'un manuscrit avec quelque certitude."

⁸⁸ Cf. J. LEROY, *Les manuscrits grecs d'Italie*, in A. GRUYS - J.P. GUMBERT, *Codicologica*, 2. *Éléments pour une codicologie comparée*, Leiden, 1978, p. 56.

⁸⁹ Cf. LEROY, *Les manuscrits grecs d'Italie* [cit. n. 88], p. 63, where he says: "Ce système, qui est de beaucoup le plus fréquent dans les manuscrits grecs, est employé aussi en Italie, assez rarement au X^e siècle mais souvent par la suite, et en particulier au XII^e siècle, dans les manuscrits de Sicile et de Calabre".

⁹⁰ The other one is on f. 54^b.

⁹¹ See plate XCII, picture 591 in K. WEITZMANN, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (= *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters* IV, 2, 1 = *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften* 243. Band), Vienna, 1996 (= reprint of the edition Berlin, 1935).

Secondly, we have the impression that the form of the initials in our manuscript is also typical of Southern Italy. We paid special attention to the form of the initial A, as for this letter some research has already been done by Leroy⁹². In our manuscript, A is frequently found as an initial, its form being very similar to the type called "A en pic" and its subtype "A à boucle", of which the "boucle", however, is sometimes almost as sharp as in the "A en pic". The "A à boucle" is found on f. 14^ra, 17^va, 87^rb, 129^vb, 137^rb, 222^rb; the "A en pic" on f. 41^rb, 96^va, 198^ra, 199^vb, 201^va, 207^va, 212^ra, 213^va, 215^rb, 217^ra, 220^vb, 223^ra, 226^vb⁹³. On f. 219^ra the right leg of the "A en pic" is divided into two parts (fig. 1b). This special feature is also seen in the Italo-Greek *Vaticanus graecus* 2081, f. 11^v.

Finally, on five different places the codex has marginal drawings, i.e. on f. 2^r, 90^r, 99^r, 104^r and 187^r, none of which, however, are typical for South Italy. On f. 2^r someone practised drawing hands holding a cross. On f. 90^r two figures, probably holding a beaker⁹⁴, were drawn, one beneath the other, of which the higher one only in outline, the lower one more elaborately⁹⁵. On f. 99^r somebody seems to have done some exercises in drawing ornamental bands. On f. 104^r and 187^r respectively one and two rosettes were drawn.

4. *Script and palaeographic dating of the manuscript*

Except for, as already said⁹⁶, the outer column of f. 193, the whole manuscript was written by the same scribe. His style of writing is an example of the "minuscule bouletée"⁹⁷, although the thickenings at the end of the strokes are not very pronounced. The

⁹² Cf. LEROY, *Les manuscrits grecs d'Italie* [cit. n. 88], p. 67-70 and ID., *Le Parisinus gr. 1477...* [cit. n. 86], p. 195-202. A comprehensive study on this subject has not yet been undertaken, although Leroy expressed the need for such research in both articles mentioned (see p. 67 and 195 respectively).

⁹³ Somewhat arbitrarily, we admit, we have considered an initial A as an example of "A en pic" when it has an appendage to the left point. If not, we have considered it as an "A à boucle".

⁹⁴ The text beside which these figures were drawn deals with drunkenness (= chapter 5, Περὶ μέθης, of ANTIOCHUS MONACHUS' *Pandecta*).

⁹⁵ It is possible that in the lower part of the right margin something more was drawn. At least on our microfilm it is too faint to be sure about what it is.

⁹⁶ Cf. p. 220.

⁹⁷ On the "minuscule bouletée", see especially M.L. AGATI, *La minuscola «bouletée»* (= *Littera Antiqua* 9, 1-2), Vatican City, 1992. Our manuscript is not mentioned.

script is regular, standing upright but with a slight inclination to the right. The letters were suspended from the lines and are higher than they are broad. The spiritus are sometimes square, sometimes round. The scribe only used abbreviations for the nomina sacra, which are not accentuated either, for the letter ν at the end of a line (e.g. f. 56^{Va}, l. 12) and for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ⁹⁸. Faults in accentuation and orthography, especially iotacism, are not seldomly found. The iota-subscriptum is never written. Many letters have double forms, viz. a minuscule and a majuscule form. This is the case for α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , κ , λ , μ , ν , π , σ , ω . The minuscule forms, however, prevail by large in the case of α , δ , μ , σ , ω . Remarkable is the form of the majuscule β , which does not surpass the line of writing and of which the lines leave no opening⁹⁹. Ligatures do not occur very often, nor do they change the form of the letters much. They are found only, but certainly not always, when the following letters concur: $\epsilon\sigma$, $\sigma\epsilon$, $\omicron\nu$, $\epsilon\iota$, $\sigma\tau$, $\sigma\sigma$. Sometimes at the end of a line the order of the letters $\omicron\sigma$ and $\alpha\sigma$ is inversed, so that α/o is surrounded by the majuscule form of the letter σ .

Taking everything into account, we think that the generally stated 11th century should be narrowed down to the early 11th century¹⁰⁰, maybe even to the last years of the 10th century.

To conclude we wish to stress once again that the Italian provenance of *Athous, Koutloumousiou 39* is a possibility, no certainty. What we have are merely indications, viz. the bad quality of the parchment, the type of ruling, the form of the initials, the textual tradition of certain texts. Taken together, however, these indications make it fairly probable that the manuscript's origin is to be situated in Southern Italy, possibly in the "*milieu rossanese*".

⁹⁸ In the middle of the line above the abbreviations of the nomina sacra the scribe each time put a point. $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is usually abbreviated by *arctatio*, but also the more normal s-shaped symbol is found (e.g. f. 58^{Vb}, l. 24).

⁹⁹ We have found similar forms in *Athous, Iviron 46* (a. 1007), *Parisinus graecus 519* (a. 1007), *London, B.M. 36751* (a. 1008). See K. LAKE - S. LAKE, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, respectively part III. *Manuscripts in the Monasteries of Mount Athos and in Milan*, Boston, 1935, plates 168-169; part IV. *Manuscripts in Paris*, part I, Boston, 1935, plates 251-252; part II. *Manuscripts in Venice, Oxford and London*, Boston, 1934, plates 121-123.

¹⁰⁰ This is also the opinion of CERESA-GASTALDO, *Die Überlieferung...* [cit. n. 19], p. 150-151.

Final note: the Palestinian connections of *Athous, Koutloumousiou 39*

Although several, mainly Maximian texts in our manuscript have been shown to be part of the Italian branch of the textual tradition, an Italian provenance does not explain everything. Indeed, some texts clearly refer to the Palestine region. First of all we refer to the *Confessio fidei* by Iohannes II Hierosolymitanus, of which our manuscript appears to be the only witness as far as the Greek text is concerned. But more important still is the case of the two additions in the *Testamenta XII patriarcharum*, which were shown to have a lot in common with Aramaic texts found in the Cairo Genizah and at Qumran. Even if the general assumption is correct that these additions are spurious, their texts are undoubtedly of old age and must have had their origin in the Palestine region. In other words, we may have to conclude that in some way or another our manuscript was in part copied from texts coming from Palestine and may therefore be considered as new evidence for the contacts which existed between the Palestine region and Southern Italy.

The case of our manuscript is certainly not exceptional. We can refer for example to the already mentioned *Vaticanus graecus 2028*, a South Italian manuscript from the same period as our manuscript, i.e. the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. Not only does this manuscript make the Italian provenance of our manuscript more probable¹⁰¹. It is also an example of a manuscript with Palestinian roots copied in Italy. Indeed, the originality of its contents suggests that the Vaticanus has Palestinian connections¹⁰².

We hope to have shown that, as we have announced in the introduction, codex *Athous, Koutloumousiou 39* indeed presents an interesting case. It is of great value because of its age and contents. But equally important, because of its Palestinian roots, its possibly South Italian provenance and its conveyance to Mount Athos, the manuscript is a beautiful example of the contacts which existed between the different parts of the Byzantine world.

¹⁰¹ See p. 247 and footnote 83.

¹⁰² Cf. GÉHIN, *Evagriana*...[cit. n. 49], p. 75: "Par l'originalité des pièces qu'il comporte, le *Vaticanus gr. 2028* est un témoin erratique de corpus palestiniens aujourd'hui disparus".

Two additional remarks

After the conclusion of this article, we came upon the following two things:

1. For the first two questions of II. 1 an interesting parallel is found in Theognostus' *Thesaurus* (ed. J.A. MUNITIZ [= CCSG 5]). Theognostus has the full text of both, in a different order it is true and in the first question with reference to seven synods:

a. Qu. 1: Πῶς δεῖ πιστεύειν;

= cf. Theogn., *Thes.* xx, 5-12 (p. 203-204), followed by ἐπὶ τούτοις, τὸ κοινὸν τῆς τριάδος, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τῶν ὑποστάσεων τῆς τριάδος and Theogn., *Thes.* xx, 49-61 (p. 205)

b. Qu. 2: Ὅποιον δεῖ ἔχειν ἡμᾶς τὸ φρόνημα περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ποίας τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπολήψεις;

= cf. Theogn., *Thes.* xx, 66-88 (p. 205-206)

As chronologically it is impossible that our manuscript took the text from Theognostus, we have to assume that our manuscript or its ancestor and Theognostus used the same source. This common source is to be situated between the sixth and the seventh council, as our manuscript still only mentions 6 councils, which was changed, deliberately it would seem, into 7 councils probably by Theognostus. Other texts which may go back to this same source are the two texts edited by Lilla (cit. n. 20) and the text edited in PG 89, 1400-1404 [CPG 6969].

2. As to the Greek text edited in footnote 25, the words Διαιρέσεις...ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς θεός were taken from GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, *Contra Eunomium* I, 199 (p. 84, l. 23-26 in the edition by W. JAEGER, *Contra Eunomium libri, Pars prior: libri I en II (vulgo I et XIIB)* [= GNO I], Leiden, 1960²).

Carolingian Ecclesiology and Heresy

a Southern Gallic Juridical Tract against Adoptionism

by

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Frequently scholars of early medieval canon law confront compilations that are difficult to describe because there seems to be no discernible rationale for the content or arrangement of the work. Yet the likelihood that a medieval compiler would produce a text without meaning seems slight; one of the tasks of the canon law scholar is therefore to attempt to recover the rationale for the text's composition. Complicating that recovery is the possibility that the text has changed its form: because medieval canon law texts are sometimes extremely fluid in their transmission, subject to almost undetectable addition and subtraction of canons throughout, the orientation of a text may vary from transcription to transcription, according to each medieval transcriber's reading and response to the text. Supplementation often accrues at the end of a text, when notes, related or unrelated, are appended in a codex, and so it is often particularly difficult to determine where a text ends, or once ended. The canon law scholar may at times have to abandon the attempt to perceive the "original" version, and turn rather to consideration of the extant composite representation. As long as the elements show unity of subject, theme, form, or source, it would seem that they can be considered in combination to constitute a "text", and that such a text, whatever the precise conditions of its composition, can be the subject of analysis.¹

¹ Bernhard RADLOFF, "Text" (art.) in *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: approaches, scholars, terms*, ed. Irena R. MAKARYK (Toronto, 1993) pp. 639-641 (p. 639): "A text is a structure composed of elements of signification by which the greater or lesser unity of those elements makes itself manifest. A text

A text that exemplifies these problems and possibilities is an unpublished sequence of thirty-six *capitula* that is found in five early Carolingian manuscripts of the *Collectio Dacheriana*, apparently as a supplement to the collection. This Supplement bears no title, descriptive heading, or internal rubrication that might indicate its topic, purpose, or the rationale of its arrangement. However, its transmission in a recognisable form in five manuscripts which number the constituent elements of the text sequentially, one through thirty-six, indicates that this collection of decretals and creeds should be considered a coherent text, or at the very least, a dossier of interrelated materials.² It will be suggested here that the Supplement is a late eighth or early ninth century southern Gallic contribution to the Adoptionist Controversy which was exercising Spanish and Gallic clerics in that period, and that it reflects both the political and theological dimensions of the controversy. Correspondences between the Supplement and the writings of the Spanish anti-Adoptionist Beatus of Liébana suggest that the Supplement was assembled by a compiler who was aware of the Spanish perspectives on the problem and who responds to them rather more directly than did Alcuin in the texts that have dominated the history of the dispute since the time he wrote them.³

comprises, consequently, elements of signification, the unity of these elements and the manifestation of this unity."

² The content of the Supplement is registered in brief form in the Appendix. Lengthier discussion of the manuscript evidence, the transmission of particular elements of the text, and argument for the integrity of the composite text, is in A. FIREY, "A Carolingian Lyonnaise Supplement to the *Collectio Dacheriana*" *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Syracuse, N.Y., 11-18 August 1996) ed. Kenneth Pennington (forthcoming).

³ On the Adoptionist Controversy, see the recent articles in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt Karolingischer Kultur (Akten zweier Symposien vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anlässlich der 1200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main* 2 vols., ed. Rainer BERNDT S.J. (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte, 80; Mainz 1997), especially André BONNERY, "A propos du Concile de Francfort (794). L'action des moines de Septimanie dans la lutte contre l'adoptianisme" II pp. 767-786; John CAVADINI, "Elipandus and his Critics at the Council of Frankfurt" II pp. 787-808; Theresia HAINTHALER, "Von Toledo nach Frankfurt. Dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur adoptianistischen Kontroverse" II pp. 809-860; Dominique URVOY, "Les conséquences christologiques de la confrontation islamochrétienne en Espagne au VIII^e siècle" II pp. 981-992. Earlier literature comprises E. AMANN, "L'Adoptionisme espagnol du VIII^e siècle" *Revue des sciences religieuses* 16 (1936) pp. 281-317; idem, Chapter IV ("L'Adoptionisme espagnol") in *L'époque carolingienne*, vol. 6 of the *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, edd.

Both manuscript provenance and some aspects of its content indicate that the Supplement might have been compiled in Lyons during or soon after the punitive exile there of the Adoptionist bishop Felix of Urgel after his condemnation at the Council of Aix in A.D. 799, when he was entrusted to the care of bishops Leidrad and his successor Agobard, and where he remained until his death in A.D. 818.⁴

The canon law collection the Supplement accompanies, the *Collectio Dacheriana*, is known among early medievalists as one of the most popular of the pre-Gratianic *corpus*: with fifty-two manuscript witnesses, the *Dacheriana* is surpassed only by the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana* and the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries in its extant manuscript representation.⁵ Part of its attraction, no doubt, lay in

Augustin FLICHE and Victor MARTIN (Paris, 1947) pp. 129-152; John CAVADINI, *The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul, 785-820* (Philadelphia, 1993); Ann FREEMAN, "Additions and corrections to the *Libri Carolini*: links with Alcuin and the Adoptionist controversy" in *Scire litteras: Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben* ed. Sigrid KRÄMER and M. Bernhard BAYER (Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Abhandlung, N.F. 99; Munich, 1988) pp. 159-169; A. GRÖSSLER, *Die Ausrottung des Adoptionismus in Reiche Karls des Grossen* (Eisleben, 1879); Wilhelm HEIL, "Der Adoptionismus, Alcuin und Spanien" in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben* 5 vols. ed. Wolfgang BRAUNFELS II: *Das Geistige Leben* ed. H. BEUMANN and B. BISCHOFF (Düsseldorf, 1965) pp. 95-155; idem, *Alkuinstudien I: Zur Chronologie und Bedeutung des Adoptionismus-streites* (Düsseldorf, 1970); Susan A. RABE, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: the Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia, 1995); Karl SCHÄFERDIEK, "Der adoptionistische Streit im Rahmen der spanischen Kirchengeschichte" *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 80 (1969) pp. 291-311.

⁴ In addition to the works cited above, information on Felix may be found in Donald A. BULLOUGH, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age" in *Carolingian Essays: Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies* ed. Uta-Renate BLUMENTHAL (Washington, D.C., 1983) pp. 1-69 (pp. 49-58). Cf. also Allen CABANISS, "The Heresiarch Felix" *Catholic Historical Review* 39 (1953) pp. 129-141.

⁵ The essential bibliography for the *Dacheriana* comprises G. HAENNI, "La Dacheriana mérite-t-elle une réédition?" *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4^e sér., 34 (1956) pp. 376-390; idem, "Note sur la Dacheriana" *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 50 (1956) pp. 277-289; idem, "Note sur les sources de la Dacheriana" *Studia Gratiana* 11 (1967) pp. 3-22; Gabriel LE BRAS, "A propos de la «Dacheriana»" *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 4^e sér., 9 (1930) pp. 518-524; idem, "Les deux formes de la Dacheriana" in *Mélanges Paul Fournier* (1929) pp. 395-414; Hubert MORDEK, "Zur Handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Dacheriana" *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 47 (1967) pp. 574-595; idem, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonessammlung*

its design, which made it suitable both as a textbook and as an episcopal juridical compendium: in three books the collection assembles pertinent canons concerning (first) penance, crimes and judgements, (second) accusations, judges, witnesses, and procedure, and (third), the regulation and privileges of clergy.⁶ Like so many early medieval canon law collections, it is of uncertain date, provenance, and authorship, although there are indications that it originated in Lyons.⁷ From Lyons, the *Dacheriana* appears to have been transmitted quite rapidly to Rheims, whence comes a significant proportion of the surviving manuscripts. Thus, the collection obtained favour at two major centres of Carolingian canonistic activity and production, and was influential among jurists of both northern and southern regions of the Carolingian empire. The

des fränkischen Gallien: Studien und Edition (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 1; Berlin, New York, 1974) pp. 250-263; F. EHRMANN, "Der kanonische Prozess nach der Collectio Dacheriana" *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* (1897) pp. 260-266; Paul FOURNIER, "Notice sur le manuscrit H.137 de l'Ecole de médecine de Montpellier" *Annales de l'Université de Grenoble* 9 (1897) pp. 357-389; FOURNIER, Paul, and Gabriel LE BRAS, *Histoire des collections canoniques en occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien* 2 vols. (Paris, 1931-32; repr. Aalen, 1972) I, pp. 103-109 et passim; Friedrich Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des Canonischen Rechts im Abendlande* (Graz, 1870; repr. 1956) pp. 848-852; Georg PHILLIPS, "Der Codex Salisburgensis S. Petri IX.32. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der vorgratianischen Rechtsquellen" *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, (Vienna) phil.-hist. Klasse 44 (1863) pp. 437-510; Jacqueline RAMBAUT-BUHOT, "Un corpus inédit de droit canonique de la réforme Carolingienne à la réforme Grégorienne" in *Humanisme actif: Mélanges d'art et de littérature offerts à Julien Cain* 2 vols. (Paris, 1968) pp. 271-281. [The ms. discussed in this article as Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, 2.Qq.E.17 is actually Palermo, Archivio della Cattedrale, 14]; G. SCHMITZ, "Die Überlieferung der sog. 'Abbrevatio Ansegisi et Benedicti Levitae', mit einem Anhang: Die Abbrevatio- und Dacheriana-Rezeption in der 17-Bucher-Sammlung" *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 40 (1984) pp. 176-199; GILLMAN, F., "Eine Würzburger Dacheriana" *Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht* 87 (1907), pp. 587-598. The only printed edition of the text is in Luc D'ACHERY and Louis-François-Joseph DE LA BARRE, (edd.) *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae Bibliothecis delituerant* 1 (Paris 1723; repr. Farnborough 1967) 1st ed. vol. XI p. 1-200; 2nd ed. (1723) vol. I p. 509-564.

⁶ That the collection seems destined for an episcopal audience is confirmed by comparison of the *Dacheriana* with its chief source, the *Collectio Hispana Systematica*. The *Dacheriana* omits *Hispana* canons pertaining to monks and monasteries, and also to metropolitans, and selects canons that relate directly to the duties, particularly the penitentiary and juridical obligations, of a bishop.

⁷ MORDEK, *Kirchenrecht*, pp. 259-260.

Supplement to be considered in these pages is transmitted in manuscripts of the *Dacheriana* whose shared and limited provenance suggests that it, too, was compiled in Lyons or its environs.⁸

Although the manuscripts have all been assigned a southern French provenance and dated to the ninth century, they present the Supplement in different ways. Three of the manuscripts contain only a *tabula titulorum*; one of the manuscripts has no *tabula titulorum* but provides full transcription of many of the texts indicated in the *tabula titulorum*; and a fifth manuscript has both the *tabula titulorum* and full transcription of most of the texts. It is possible that the *tabula* represents the original form of the Supplement, which was then expanded by scribes who attempted to provide full transcriptions of the indicated texts; it is also possible that the Supplement originally existed in full and the manuscripts with only the *tabula* preserve but a vestige of the compilation. One element of the Supplement that is present in the two *in extenso* transcriptions, a sermon by Augustine, is not registered in the *tabula*. The other elements are numbered, one through thirty-six, in all the *tabulae*.

The *Dacheriana* Supplement falls into divisions that not only provide convenient segments for analysis, but also may have been a structural framework for the text. There is, first of all, a sequence of eight decretals from the fifth and sixth centuries (i.e., the period when Spain was under Arian domination) drawn from the *Collectio Hispana* and arranged in chronological order.⁹ Then follows, in the

⁸ The manuscripts are: Albi, Bibliothèque Rochegude, 43 [15]: fol. 38^v-39^v (*tabula titulorum* only) [saec. IX^{4/4}; probably southern France]; Lyons, Bibl. Mun., 571: fol. 15^v-17^v (*tabula titulorum* only) [saec. IX^{2/4}; southern France]; Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1927: fol. 40^v-41^v (*tabula titulorum*); fol. 107^v-129^v (*textus*) [saec. IX ca. med.; more southerly France]; Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 10741: fol. 85^v-127^v (*textus* only) [saec. IX²; Lyons]; Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 3879: fol. 8^v-9^v (*tabula titulorum* only) [saec. IX med; probably southern France]. I have, after examination of each of these manuscripts *in situ*, followed Hubert MORDEK, *Kirchenrecht und Reform*, pp. 260-263, regarding their date and provenance. In a terse footnote, ("La Dacheriana mérite-t-elle une Réédition?") Dom Gerard Haenni recorded that the same supplement is found in another manuscript: Valère (Sion), Archivum Capituli Sedunensis, ms. 120 [saec. IX^{3/4}; Lyons area]; this report is erroneous.

⁹ The *Collectio Hispana* is most easily consulted in J.-P. MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina* 84, the reprint of the 1808 edition by F.A. González. This edition is much castigated, and has sometimes incomprehensible renditions of the texts. For portions of the *Hispana*, corrective to the González edition may be found in Gonzalo MARTÍNEZ DÍEZ and Felix RODRÍGUEZ, *La Coleccion Canonica Hispana* 4 vols. in

manuscripts that transcribe the texts in full, a sermon of Augustine, numbered sixty-seven in the Maurist edition.¹⁰ After this punctuation of papal juridical material by homiletic exegesis, there follows a sequence of creeds, drawn in part from the *De Synodis* of Hilary of Poitiers, and more late antique papal decretals and imperial letters written in response to theological controversies.¹¹ The tripartite structure is most easily remembered as a geographical design: the first set of decretals is directed to Spain; the Augustine text separates the first and last sequences; the third set of decretals is directed to the Eastern Roman Empire, with Oriental creeds intermingled. Chronologically, the text encompasses a cycle, beginning with decretals composed after the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), returning to pre-Chalcedonian discussions, and ending with Chalcedon and its ramifications. Within this design are woven political, theological, and historical perspectives that emerge and recede according to the nature of the source material cited by the compiler or compilers. The material in the first part, from the *Collectio Hispana*, appears to have particular political resonance in the Spanish context of the Adoptionist controversy of the eighth century; the Augustine sermon adds a significant theological element to the jurisprudence of the Supplement; the use of Hilary's *De Synodis* and other early legal sources describing previous heresies possibly analogous to Adoptionism is an exercise in historical jurisprudence. There is art in the integration of these disparate sources and perspectives: shared elements of imagery, vocabulary, and allusion serve to unite the parts into a whole.

The political issues of the Adoptionist dispute revolve around the question of the authority of the see of Toledo. Historians have long concurred that, in Spain, the Adoptionist controversy had a significant political dimension, particularly with regard to Iberian metropolitical and episcopal power and the relation of the Church in Spain to the papacy.¹² The almost incidental articulation by

6 (Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Canónica, 3; Madrid, 1962-1984, to date); the decretals discussed in this article have not yet been re-edited.

¹⁰ At present, the most readily available printed edition of this sermon is in MIGNE, *PL* 38, col. 433-437.

¹¹ Critical editions of these texts are listed under each item in the Appendix.

¹² This historiographic perspective is reviewed by HEIL, "Adoptianismus" pp. 99-102. See Ramón DE ABADAL Y DE VINYALS, *La batalla del Adopcionismo en la desintegración de la Iglesia visigoda* (Barcelona, 1949), the adjusted analysis by SCHÄFERDIEK, cit. supra, "Concile" pp. 774-779, and URVOY, "Conséquences" pp. 984-985.

Elipandus, bishop of Toledo (A.D. 754-800), of a belief in the adoption by God of Christ's humanity transformed political tensions within the Spanish ecclesiastical hierarchy into a battle over orthodoxy which transcended national borders, but to those near the origins of the dispute, the political aspect of the controversy remained prominent.¹³ The early phases of these eighth century ecclesiastical tensions in Spain are obscure, but it appears that the catalyst is to be found in the proselytising in Baetica, a region in southern Spain, by Egila, likely a native of the Iberian peninsula, but ordained by Wilcharius of Sens, "archbishop of the Gauls."¹⁴ It has been variously suggested that Wilcharius was charged by the papacy with promoting some sort of ecclesiastical reform in Spain, and therefore ordained Egila as a bishop without a fixed see to act as an apostolic agent, that Charlemagne arranged for Egila's mission to Spain as part of a strategem for Frankish imperial expansion, or that Egila's presence was requested by a local Iberian community.¹⁵ Whichever interpretation prevails, it seems clear that Egila and an ally he acquired in Baetica, Migetius, shared a devotion to Rome that was unusual, if not anomalous, among the Spanish clergy. The independence of Egila and Migetius from Toledan metropolitical authority and their concomitant appeal to authority above the metropolitan provoked Elipandus, bishop of Toledo to proclaim the supreme teaching authority of the see of Toledo. Here entered the theological element: in asserting his teaching authority and refuting several theological positions of Migetius, Egila's ally, Elipandus stated that "Jesus Christ was adoptive with respect to His humanity, although in no way adoptive with respect to His divinity," a remark which was interpreted by his opponents to indicate that he was committing the theological errors of dividing the person of Christ and declaring that Jesus was

¹³ As yet there has appeared no sufficiently synthetic description of the political and theological facets of the Adoptionist controversy, which were likely to have been not always clearly perceived by the participants themselves. Scholarly literature is reviewed by HEIL, pp. 95-99, who considers previous scholarship to have been weighted in favour of theological pursuits; CAVADINI, pp. 14-17, notes the neglect of doctrinal issues by historians who have focussed upon political interpretations of the evidence.

¹⁴ Useful discussion of Wilcharius is found in Roger COLLINS, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710-797* (Oxford, 1989) pp. 219-221 and BONNERY, "Concile" p. 774.

¹⁵ Review of these positions is to be found in CAVADINI, pp. 138 (n. 32), 138-139 (n. 38).

not God's begotten Son.¹⁶ Elipandus's phrasing not only elicited corrective attention from pope Hadrian, but also fed resistance to the dominance of Toledo in another region of Spain, Asturia, which had a history of cultural separation from the rest of the Iberian peninsula. Here resided the more formidable adversary of Elipandus, Beatus of Liébana, whose young supporter, Heterius, had recently been ordained as a bishop, and who may have been intended to provide an episcopal counterbalance to the authority of Elipandus.¹⁷

¹⁶ Elipandus's remark is cited in the *Adversus Elipandum* of Beatus and Heterius, most recently edited critically by Bengt LÖFSTEDT, *Beati Liebanensis et Eterii Oxomensis Adversus Elipandum Libri Duo* (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievals, 59; Turnhout, 1984); also in *PL* 96, cols. 893-1030: "Qui non fuerit confessus Ihesum Christum adobitibum humanitate et nequaquam adobitibum diuinitate, et hereticus est <et> exterminetur" (*Epistola ad Fidelem*, in Beatus, *Adversus Elipandum* I, xliii: LÖFSTEDT, p. 30); "Et per istud [CAVADINI: *leg. istum*; cf. I.xlii, I.xlviii] Dei simul et hominis filium, adobituum humanitate, et nequaquam adobituum diuinitate, mundum redemit" (*Symbolus fidei Elipandianae*, in Beatus, *Adversus Elipandum* I, xli: LÖFSTEDT, p. 29).

¹⁷ Considerable variation is to be found in the scholarly literature regarding Heterius. One of the few pieces of evidence about him is his profession of orthodoxy embedded in the *Beati et Eterii Adversus Elipandum* (LÖFSTEDT pp. 30-31). This profession includes the clause "*ego Etherius Hoxomae sedis indignus nuncupatus episcopus, qui ab archiepiscopo Toletano nuncupor esse hereticus...*"; it has been proposed (apparently because of the word "nuncupatus") that Heterius was the titular bishop of Osma, but resident and active in Asturia. COLLINS, *Conquest*, p. 227, does not accept the identification of Heterius as a titular bishop, maintaining forcefully that such an administrative rôle was "totally unacceptable" and "anachronistic" in the early middle ages, and that there must have been "some form of Christian community" in Osma that Heterius governed. Collins' position seems slightly inconsistent, for on p. 219, while noting that "an itinerant bishop without an at least titular see... was an anomaly in the ecclesiastical organisation of the Early Middle Ages," he accepts that such seems to have been the position of Egila. Heil (p. 101) draws a parallel with what he believes to have been the situation in Ireland, where, he asserts, nominal bishops operated under abbatial control. Cavadini (p. 45) raises the possibility that Beatus, using Heterius, was attempting to establish episcopal authority in the "free state" of the Asturias, which, unlike Toledo, was not under Ummayad control. Other authors note that as bishop of Osma, Heterius would have been responsible to Elipandus as his metropolitan. Further diversity in reading the evidence results from some uncertainty with regard to Beatus's status. Historians who consider him to have been an abbot suggest that Heterius was a monk under his authority, who remained under his authority even after episcopal consecration (HEIL, cit. supra; CAVADINI p. 167n.8); others speak of the two as monks under the authority of the abbot Fidelis, to whom Elipandus addressed his letter of complaint (this appears to be the position of AMANN, "L'Adoptionisme" p. 288).

The compiler of the Supplement to the *Dacheriana* may be seen to address this complex situation by assembling in the first section of the tract a sequence of letters written to Spanish recipients by popes of the fifth and sixth centuries that function collectively to provide historical precedents and parallels to aspects of the Adoptionist controversy. These decretals thus both retain their character as historical documents and assume the atemporal form of juridical injunctions to a present audience. The strategy of consecrating bishops in order to extend political influence would seem to be rather pointedly addressed in the first decretal of the Supplement to the *Dacheriana*, pope Leo's letter written *ca.* A.D. 446 to the bishops of Caesarea Mauritania, *Cum de ordinationibus*.¹⁸ The Pope expresses his distress that he has heard "that to unworthy persons and to those far from priestly merit has highest pastoral rank and the governance of the Church been given. This is not to have care for, but rather to harm the people's interests, and not to maintain discipline but to increase differences. For the integrity of those governing is the well-being of those subject to them, and where obedience is undamaged, there the form of doctrine is sound."¹⁹ Leo reminds his audience that in improper ordinations,

¹⁸ This decretal (Jaffé 188; Mansi V.1267-1273; *PL* 54 cols. 645-656; *PL* 84 cols. 775-780) is distinguished from the others in that it was a widely-circulated letter transmitted in a number of early medieval collections (cf. MAASSEN, pp. 258-259). This popularity may account for its inclusion in the Supplement sequence even though Mauritania had not been a Spanish ecclesiastical province since the Roman period: the letter had achieved sufficient juridical status to warrant its use as an opening declaration or prologue to the substance of the successive letters. On the transmission of Leonine decretals in early medieval canon law collections, see A. CHAVASSE, "Les lettres de S. Léon le Grand dans le supplement de la Dionysiana et de l'Hadriana et dans la Collection du manuscrit du Vatican" *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 38 (1964) pp. 154-76; idem, "Les Lettres du Pape Léon le Grand (440-461) dans l'Hispana et la Collection dite des Fausses Décrétales" *Revue de Droit Canonique* 25 (1975) pp. 28-39; K.C. SILVA-TAROUCA, "Beiträge zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Papstbriefe Des 4.-6. Jh." *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 43 (1919) pp. 467-81, 657-92; C.H. TURNER, "The Collection of the Dogmatic Letters of St. Leo" in *Miscellanea Ceriani: Raccolta di scritti originale per ondrare la memoria de Ceriani* (Biblioteca Ambrosiana; Milan, 1910) pp. 688-739.

¹⁹ "... necessarium fuit ut dolorem cordem nostri... datis nunc quoque ad dilectionem vestram litteris promeremus, mirantes tantum apud vos per occasionem temporis impacati aut ambientium praesumptionem, aut tumultum valuisse popularem, ut indignis quibusque et longae extra sacerdotale meritum constitutis pastorale fastigium, et gubernatio ecclesiae dederetur. Non est hoc consulere populis, sed nocere, nec praestare regimen, sed augere discrimen. Integritas enim

the ordainer is as culpable as the ordinand; he also warns that the consequence of such ordinations would be that "the governing of the Lord's Church be entrusted to men who are ignorant of the lawful constitutions."²⁰

An initial reading of *Cum de ordinationibus* in the context of the Spanish Adoptionist controversy might yield the suspicion that the citation of the decretal was advantageous to Adoptionist apologists as well as to the orthodox. Not only was Egila's ordination an incipient cause of scandal, but also the ordination of Heterius was suspect on account of its haste, his youth, and the exercise of episcopal authority outside an established diocese or among a very small number of Christians.²¹ The admonitions of Leo in *Cum de ordinationibus* that even a properly conducted ordination is "pernicious" if made illegitimately, and that bishops ought not be ordained hastily or before they have come of age, "newly-formed from baptism, or recently converted from secular business,"²²

praesidentium salus est subditorum, [et ubi est incolumitas obedientiae, ibi sana est forma doctrinae.] The clause noted here in square brackets is omitted in the transcription in Paris, B.N., lat. 1927. (PL 84, col. 777; Mansi V.1267-1268)

²⁰ "Et quid est 'communicare peccatis alienis,' nisi et talem effici ordinantem, qualis est ille, qui non meruit ordinari. Sicut enim boni operis sibi comparat fructum, qui rectum tenet in eligendo sacerdote [al. sacerdotem] iudicium, ita gravi semetipsum afficit damno, qui in suum collegium adsumit indignum... Si enim ad honores mundi sine suffragio temporis, sine merito laboris indignum est pervenire, et notari ambitus solent, quos probitatis documenta non adjuvant, quam diligens, et quam prudens habenda est dispensatio divinorum munerum, et coelestium dignitatum ne in aliquo apostolica et canonica decreta violenter, et his ecclesia domini regenda credatur, qui legitimarum institutionum nescii..." (PL 84 col. 778; Mansi cols. 1268, 1270)

²¹ The youth of Heterius does seem clearly attested: Elipandus remarked in his letter to the abbot Fidelis, "Adulescentiam sane fratris nostri Heteri lacte adhuc alitam et nondum ad robur perfectae intelligentiae perductam uestra fraternitas erudiat..." (LÖFSTEDT p. 31). The question of the size and distribution of Christian communities in Spain at this time is elegantly integrated into Collins' analysis of the politics of the Adoptionist controversy: he observes (*Conquest*, p. 227) that Burgo de Osma, Heterius's see, is on a confluent of the Duero, which is usually believed to have been depopulated in the middle of the eighth century. The episcopal list compiled by Pius B. GAMS, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae quotquot innotuerunt a beato Petro apostolo* (Regensburg, 1873; repr. 1957) p. 56 notes no bishop in the century before Heterius's consecration in A.D. 785 [783].

²² "Monente [ms: Memento] vero apostolo, atque dicente, *Et hi autem probebentur primum, et sic ministrant*, quid aliud intelligendum putamus nisi ut in his provectionibus ... laborum merita cogitemus, ne aut a [ms: ad] baptismo novelis, aut a saeculari actu repente conversis officium pastorale credatur." Cochlaeus

would surely have seemed most uncomfortable to Beatus or one of his partisans, as would have Leo's decree that bishops should not be consecrated to govern hamlets where the flocks and congregations are small and where the care of a priest would suffice, lest the office of bishop be devalued.²³

text (see note 154); Mansi col. 1269; Paris 1927 fol. 109^r. "Principatus autem, quem aut seditio contulit, aut ambitus occupavit, etiam si moribus atque actibus non offendit, ipso tamen initii sui perniciosus exemplo..." Mansi col. 1268; Paris 1927 fol. 108^r. Leo also protests the consecration of bishops "before the age of maturity, before the time of examination, before the merit of obedience, of labour, before the experience of discipline." ("Quid est *cito manus imponere* [I Tim. 5:22], nisi ante aetatem maturatis, ante tempus examinis, ante meritum oboedientiae, laboris, ante experientiam disciplinae sacerdotalem honorem tribuere non probatis?" Mansi col. 1268; Paris 1927 fol. 108^r, where "ante" is replaced by "aut").

²³ "Illud sane, quod ad sacerdotalem pertinet [ms. *add.* ad] dignitatem, inter omnia volumus canonum statuta servari: ut non in quibuslibet locis, neque in quibusque castellis, et ubi ante [ms. *add.* annos] non fuerunt episcopi, consecrentur: cum ubi minores sunt plebes, minoreque conventus, presbyterorum cura [ms. *cara*] sufficiat, episcopalia autem gubernacula non nisi maioribus populis, et frequentioribus civitatibus oporteat praesidere, ne quod sanctorum patrum divinitus inspirata decreta vetuerunt, viculis, et possessionibus vel obscuris, et solitariis municipiis tribuatur sacerdotale [ms. *sacerdote*] fastigium et honor, cui debent excellentiora committi, ipsa sui numerositate vilescent... inutile est ut sacerdotalis dignitas inconsiderata ordinandis facilitate superflua multiplicatione minuatur." Cochlaeus text; Hinschius p. 624; Paris 1927 fol. 110^v-111^r.

If one is to believe the notoriously unreliable editions, there were at least three versions of this letter in circulation by the mid-ninth century. The *Collectio Hispana*, as represented by González, transmitted the shorter version, corresponding to that printed in Mansi, while the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, as edited by Cochlaeus, transmitted a longer version that, however, omitted five short paragraphs present in the González-Mansi version. Two manuscripts at least of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals present a composite version which appends those five paragraphs after the long version: cf. Paul HINSCHIUS, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (Leipzig, 1863; repr. 1963) pp. 622-625. It is not possible to determine which version would have been familiar to the compiler of the Supplement or to his readers. The transcription of the full text in Paris, B.N., lat. 1927 is closer to the *Dionysio-Hadriana* version than to the González version, but the errors and variant readings in the manuscript suggest that the letter was derived from a Visigothic exemplar. Furthermore, there are indications that the transcriber of Paris 1927 supplied full texts to expand a *tabula titulorum* that may have comprised the normal form of the Supplement, and in some instances was unable to provide the texts known to the author of the *tabula* (vide FIREY, "A Carolingian Lyonnaise Supplement"). The passage concerning the impropriety of ordaining bishops for new or underpopulated sees is found in the Cochlaeus and Hinschius texts, but not in the Mansi or González versions.

While there may have been improper or ill-advised conduct of ordinations on the anti-Adoptionist side, a prominent theme in the Supplement decretals is that the papacy will exercise its authority to ensure that the dignity and orthodoxy of episcopal office are not compromised. *Cum de ordinationibus* mentions Leo's rulings in the specific cases of two bishops who previously held heretical beliefs but who, he decides, may retain their offices if they send certificates of their orthodox faith to him.²⁴ Similar precedent is recorded in Hormisdas's *Inter ea quae notitia*, the third item in the Supplement: clerics who are shown to deviate from the tenets of faith are to write out statements of their errors.²⁵ Perhaps the compiler of the Supplement was censuring the political strategies of those who consecrated Egila and Heterius; nevertheless, the claims to papal jurisdiction in disputed ordinations would not have been attractive, it would seem, to Elipandus of Toledo.²⁶

Complementing Leo's papal critique of questionable episcopal authority is the Supplement's attention to an historical model of Spanish resistance to heresy that would have special appeal to anti-Adoptionist readers. In the first of the Supplement's two decretals from pope Hormisdas, a letter to the Spanish bishops written

²⁴ "Donatum autem Salacensem ex Novatiano cum sua, ut comperimus, plebe conversum ita dominico volumus gregi praesidere, ut libellum fidei suae ad nos meminerit dirigendum, quo et Novatiani dogmatis damnet errorem, et plenissime confiteatur catholicam veritatem. Maximum quoque ex laico, licet reprehensibiliter ordinatum, tamen si Donatista iam non est, et ab spiritu schismatica pravitatis alienis est, ab episcopali quam quoque modo adeptus est, non repellimus dignitate, ita ut ipse libello ad nos edito catholicum se esse demonstret." *PL* 84 cols. 779-780; Hinschius p. 625. Cf. note 19 supra: these decisions are recorded in the González-Mansi and Hinschius versions, but in neither the Cochlaeus version nor the transcription in Paris 1927.

²⁵ Jaffé 498; Mansi VIII.467-468; *PL* 84 cols. 823-824. "Scienti peccare necessaria confessio est. Necesse est, ut errorem sibi scribat, qui monstratur instituisse pravo itineri." (col. 823; Paris 1927 fol. 112')

²⁶ Even resolved cases are to be sent to the Pope for review: "Si quae [ms. Sic] vero [ms. om.] aliae emeruerint causae, quae ad statum ecclesiarum et ad concordiam pertineant sacerdotum, illic sub timore domini volumus iudicio ventilentur, et de componendis atque compositis omnibus ad nos relatio plena mittatur, ut ea quae iuxta ecclesiasticum morem iuste et rationabiliter fuerint definita, nostra quoque sententia roborentur." (Leo, *Cum de ordinationibus*, Cochlaeus text; Hinschius p. 624; Paris 1927 fol. 111') This diplomatic phrasing expresses potential papal support for local resolutions, but there is the unspoken corollary that such decisions might be reversed, as well.

around A.D. 517, *Inter ea quae notitiae*, Hormisdas addresses the question of whether or not Spanish bishops should receive into communion Greek clerics who may have been in communion with Acacius, whom the pope's predecessors condemned as a heretic.²⁷ Like Leo's letter, *Inter ea* is weighted toward explication of episcopal responsibility for the well-being of the flock under the bishop's care, with a less prominent but implicit subtext of papal supervision and direction.²⁸ It is in this letter that the *Dacheriana* Supplement moves into the central realm of explicit discussion of heresy and its consequences. Ignorance, declares Hormisdas several times, is no excuse:

It is intolerable that through ignorance anyone be immersed in the mire of another's error. This is a concern worthy of the faithful, that they should ever keep watch with careful attention, and keep themselves guileless from every perversity. This indeed is the innocence of faith, that it looks ahead, lest it stray or fall... Whence we order that everyone watch with care and all solicitude for deception, and that there be now no place of ignorance, that no-one use the excuse of simple-mindedness.²⁹

²⁷ See n. 25 supra. The full transcriptions of the *Dacheriana* Supplement omit the second part of the document, in which, to clarify the question of whether or not an oriental cleric is to be admitted to communion, Hormisdas helpfully sends a little book. It seems that this *libellus* may have been understood to be the section of the letter that follows the sentence, "Bonifatius notarius sanctae ecclesiae Romanae ex scrinio editi exemplaria libelli exequitur." Depending on the rubrication of the exemplar used by the Supplement transcribers, this appendix to the letter may have appeared to be an independent text, although Hormisdas's subscription closes it. The part of the letter omitted in the full transcriptions asserts the doctrinal authority of the Roman See, citing *Tu es Petrus*, "because the Catholic religion is always kept beyond stain in the apostolic see." A catalogue of those condemned by the See follows, and enumerates Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus of Alexandria, Timothy the parricide, Peter of Alexander, Acacius, and Peter of Antioch; it sets forth the councils and popes by whom they were condemned, and commends in particular the general letters of Pope Leo, wherein true doctrine is set forth.

²⁸ It may be noted that the compiler of the Supplement omitted another letter available to him in the *Hispana* from Hormisdas to the Spanish bishops. In some respects, the omission may seem surprising, as *Benedicta trinitas* (PL 84 cols. 819-822) reiterates some of the very points made in the first Leonine letter of the sequence. However, further reflection leads one to think that the Hormisdas decretal does little or nothing to expand or improve upon those points, and could thus be passed over.

²⁹ "Laudo [ms. laudamus] propositum utri [ms. viri] hoc zelo [ms. zelum] circa fidem et apostolica [ms. apostolicam] instituta serventis [ms. serventem], ut nec

Two measures are prescribed by Hormisdas for proper management of a community containing heretical members: first, he tells the bishops, "you should separate yourself from the communion of all those who err"; second, "Confession is necessary for one who knows he sins."³⁰

The second letter from Hormisdas cited in the Supplement, *Quid tam dulce sollicito*, directed to the bishops of Baetica, continues the discourse regarding communion with clergy who may have been exposed to heretical contact, and contains a reference to papal arbitration in response to a petition submitted by the bishops of Baetica.³¹ Hormisdas notes, "because you have made reference to old privileges and patristic rulings in these letters, we have written back to our brother and fellow bishop in that region, Sallustius, indicating to you also specifically those things which are said more generally to them, that they should not wrench away privileges granted by us, and that they should judge nothing more fitting to faith than that the decisions of the fathers be kept in their honour."³²

The letter to Sallustius mentioned by Hormisdas is included in the *Collectio Hispana*, and it seems at first perplexing that the compiler of the *Dacheriana* Supplement chose not to transcribe such a clarifying text. The omission, however, may be quite in keeping with the compiler's intent: if he is setting forth accrued documentary evidence that throughout the period between Chalcedon and

[ms. ne] per ignorantiam quidem [ms. quidam] quemquam coeno erroris alieni pateretur immergi. Digna haec cura [ms. cara] fidelibus, ut sollicito studio semper invigilent, et inculpatos se ab omni perversitate conservent. Ipsa est enim fidei innocentia, ut praevideat, ne vel casu possit errare. ... Unde pro subreptione mandamus, ut omnis cura et sollicitudo omnis invigilet, et ut iam nullus sit ignorantiae locus, nullus utatur simplicitatis excusatione praeterita." *PL* 84 col. 823; Paris 1927 fol. 112^v, 112^r.

³⁰ "...documenta quaeque de ecclesiae scriniis assumentes, ad concilium vestrum pro generalitatis instructione direximus, ut ex illis plenius, quae sunt acta discentes, ab omni vos errantium cognatione [Mansi: communione] separetis. ... Scienti peccare necessaria confessio est." *PL* 84 col. 823; Paris 1927 fol. 112^r.

³¹ Jaffé 511; Mansi VIII.478-479; *PL* 84 cols. 827-830.

³² "Sed quia privilegiorum veterum et statutorum paternorum indidistis iisdem litteris mentionem, ad Sallustium fratrem et coepiscopum nostrum sub hac parte rescripsimus, vobis quoque strictim quae dicta sunt illis latius indicantes, nec [Mansi: ne] privilegia nobis indulta convellere [Mansi: convellerent], et nihil tam conveniens fidei judicare, quam ut in honore suo a patribus decreta serventur." *PL* 84 col. 830; Paris 1927 fol. 113^r.

the conversion of Arian Spain to Catholicism, popes wrote to Spanish bishops urging both orthodoxy and fraternal solidarity, *Quid tam dulce* fulfills this purpose. The text of *Quid tam dulce* might seem to signal an historically sanctioned Baetican independence from Toledo combined with a demonstration of papal regulation, which was, anti-Elipandus Baeticans argued, the appropriate mode of ecclesiastical government. In contrast, the letter to Sallustius has the less appealing suggestion that the bishops of Spain convene a council, which is possibly what Elipandus had done to condemn Migetius.³³ The compiler may have decided to leave some details of history undiscussed. Citation of *Quid tam dulce* alone also keeps the focus of the *Dacheriana* Supplement's first decretal sequence on the subject of prior heresies and the need for appropriate episcopal response to them, through knowledge, teaching, and discriminate communion.

In the first section of the *Dacheriana* Supplement, the compiler constructs an historiography that denies the sovereignty of Toledo: the decretals assert the teaching and governing authority of Rome. They form a documentary record of orthodox papal communication with Spanish bishops during the Arian period; they also establish historically the full status of Spanish sees other than Toledo, for the decretals are addressed to bishops of Baetica, to its metropolitan Seville, and to the king of Visigoths, *not* to a metropoli-

³³ "Vices itaque nostras per Baeticam Lusitaniamque provinciam, salvis privilegiis quae metropolitanis episcopis decrevit antiquitas, praesenti auctoritate committimus, augentes tuam huius participatione ministerii dignitatem, revelantes nostras eiusdem remedia dispensationis excubias ... Paternas igitur regulas et decreta a sanctis definita conciliis ab omnibus servanda mandamus ... Quoties universum poscit religionis causa concilium, te cuncti fratres evocante conveniant, et si quos eorum specialis negotii pulsar contentio, iurgia inter eos oborta compesce, discussa sacris legibus determinando certamina." *PL* 84 cols. 827-828. While many historians have believed that Elipandus convened the Council of Seville *ca.* A.D. 782 to condemn Migetius, Cavadini argues that both the absence of documentary records for such a council and the phrasing of the existing evidence suggest that no such council took place (p. 12, p. 137n.22). Elipandus's condemnation of Migetius's teaching, quoted in the *Adversus Elipandum*, begins, "Ego [Elipandus] et caeteri fratres mei in Ispanlitanis tanto tempore dijudicavimus...": this evidence appears sufficiently ambiguous to preclude resolution of the question. It does seem that neither Spanish nor Frankish anti-Adoptionists would have advocated the suggestion of holding a council in Spain, for it would presumably be convened by the dominant metropolitan, Elipandus.

tan at Toledo for dissemination to his suffragans.³⁴ The compiler chooses the papal decretals over other, more obvious anti-Arian sources available to him in the *Collectio Hispana*: the numerous decrees of the councils convened in Toledo. By doing so, he affirms that with the support of the popes, a strain of orthodox faith was maintained in Spain throughout the Arian years, and it was not, according to his documentary record, the see of Toledo that preserved it.

The first section of the Supplement is not, however, merely a crude representation of political history. The content of the decretals draws the reader into a more profound examination of ecclesiastical ranks and powers, until, in Augustine's sermon, the compiler achieves a vision of the Church that has its foundation in the premise that Jesus was true God, and not the Son of God by adoption. It is in the nexus of Christology and ecclesiology that the compiler of the Supplement locates his argument, and he proceeds in the first section by selecting letters containing doctrinal commentary with implications for the definition of Christ's person.

The decretals of Hormisdas instructed Spanish bishops that it was their episcopal responsibility to protect the faithful from heretical contamination; in the Gregorian letters that follow in the Supplement, the references to previous instances of heresy in Spain and responses to them become more explicit. *Respondere epistolis vestris*, to Leander of Seville, moves the discussion into details of theological disputes over the nature and substance of the persons of the Trinity.³⁵ Gregory responds to a question about the signification of three immersions in the rite of baptism: "Where there is one

³⁴ There are references in the letters to important physical evidence confirming papal sanction of non-Toledan authority: one of the letters from Gregory the Great mentions sending to king Reccared a small key containing filings from St. Peter's chains, "that what had bound his neck for martyrdom may loose yours from all sins," a gift conveying both the papal claim to the power of the Petrine keys to loose and bind and also its favourable disposition to Reccared. Similarly, Gregory also advises Reccared that he has sent to bishop Leander of Seville the pallium. *PL* 84 col. 840.

³⁵ Jaffé 747; Mansi IX.1059-1060; *PL* 84 cols. 831-834; *Sancti Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistularum Libri I-VII* ed. Dag NORBERG (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 140; Turnhout, 1982) I, 41 pp. 47-49; Pierre MINARD, *Grégoire le Grand, Registre des Lettres Tome I (Livres I et II): Introduction, Texte, Traduction, Notes et Appendices* (Sources Chrétiennes, 370; Paris, 1991) pp. 194-201.

faith, diversity of custom does no harm to holy Church."³⁶ The Roman Catholics signify by their three immersions Christ's three days in the tomb, "so that, when the infant is a third time brought forth from the water, the resurrection after the three-day period may be expressed."³⁷ Gregory has apparently been advised by Leander that another interpretation is circulating, and on this he comments: "If anyone should perhaps think that this is done out of veneration for the highest Trinity, there is not anything to prevent immersing the person to be baptised in water once, because since there is one substance in three persons, it can in no way be reprehensible in baptism to immerse the infant in the water either thrice or once, when both in three immersions the trinity of persons, and in one immersion the singularity of divinity may be signified."³⁸ "But," he continues in a changed direction, "because up until now an infant has been immersed in baptism three times by heretics, I do not think it should be done by you, lest, while they number the immersions, they divide divinity, and while they do as they have done, they should take pride in having vanquished our custom."³⁹

It is, however, in a less obvious vein of theological discourse that the compiler finds a theme that will both refute Adoptionist descriptions of Christ's person and demonstrate that orthodox Christology is the foundation of orthodox ecclesiology. In *Respondere epistolis vestris*, Gregory, after expressing to Leander his joy at king Reccared's conversion from Arianism to Catholicism, warns of the remaining perils of both relapse into heresy and soul-endangering pride. These almost peripheral remarks are more fully

³⁶ "...quia in una fide nihil officit sanctae ecclesiae consuetudo diversa." (NORBERG, p. 48; Paris 1927 fol. 114^v)

³⁷ "Nos autem quod tertio mergimus, triduanæ sepulturae sacramenta signamus, ut dum tertio infans ab aquis educitur, resurrectio tridui temporis exprimitur." (*ibid.*)

³⁸ "Quod si quis forte etiam pro summae trinitatis veneratione aestimet fieri, neque ad hoc aliquid obsistit, baptizando semel in aquis mergere quia dum in tribus personis una substantia est, reprehensibile esse nullatenus potest, infantem in baptismate in aquam vel ter, vel semel immergere, quando et in tribus mersionibus personarum trinitas, et in una potest divinitatis singularitas designari." (*ibid.*)

³⁹ "Sed quia nunc hucusque ab haereticis infans in baptismate tertio mergebatur, fiendum apud vos esse non censeo, ne dum mersiones enumerant, divinitatem dividant; dumque quod faciebat faciunt, se morem nostrum vicisse gloriantur." (*ibid.*)

developed in the next letter in the Supplement's decretal sequence, *Explere verbis excellentissimo*.⁴⁰ King Reccared himself is the recipient of this letter, in which Gregory commends and congratulates him for his conversion and, *ipso facto*, the conversion of the Visigothic people. The letter adopts the position that it is through Reccared alone, apparently, that this miracle occurred: "through your Excellency, the whole Gothic people has been brought over from the error of the Arian heresy into the firmness of right belief."⁴¹ The point is restated in Gregory's exaggerated description of his own uninvolved involvement in the matter: "I, sluggish and useless, am torpid in inert sloth, while kings labour in collecting souls for the profit of the heavenly homeland."⁴² He elaborates upon this *topos* at some length, noting, among other points, that God accepted the offerings of Abel and rejected those of Cain: "Thus it is plainly shown that the person making the offering was not made pleasing by virtue of the gifts, but the gifts were made pleasing by virtue of the person offering them."⁴³ Eventually he has established his rhetorical platform in such a way that he can jump from it into a counter-argumentative admonition concerning humility. He warns Reccared,

It behooves your Excellency, therefore, to preserve above all humility of spirit, and then cleanness of body. Indeed, since it is written, "Everyone who exalts himself shall be humbled, and he that humbles himself shall be exalted" (Luke 14:11), it is certainly clear that he who does not separate his mind from the root of humility truly loves high things. For often the evil spirit, so that it may destroy the good it previously was unable to oppose, comes to the mind of the worker after the work has been done, so that the mind, deceived, may admire itself for the greatness of the things which it has done. When through this hidden swel-

⁴⁰ Jaffé 1279; Mansi X.200-203; *PL* 84, cols. 835-840; *Sancti Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistularum Libri VIII-XIV, Appendix* ed. Dag NORBERG (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 140A; Turnhout, 1982) IX, 229 pp. 805-811.

⁴¹ "...quod per excellentiam tuam cuncta Gothorum gens ab errore Arianæ hæresis in fidei recte soliditatem translata est ..." (NORBERG, pp. 805-806)

⁴² "Haec me plerumque etiam contra me excitant, quod piger ego et inutilis tunc inertio otio torpeo, quando in animarum congregationibus pro lucro caelestis patriæ reges elaborant." (NORBERG, p. 806)

⁴³ "Ex qua re patenter ostenditur, quia non offerens a muneribus, sed munera ab offerente placuerunt." (NORBERG, p. 807)

ling it has been praised by itself, it is deprived of the grace of him who endowed it with the gift.⁴⁴

This concern with personal exaltation is then associated with the power of government: "The very government also of your kingdom with respect to your subjects should be tempered with moderation, lest power usurp your mind. For indeed, a kingdom is ruled well when the glory of reigning does not dominate the soul."⁴⁵

Pergenti tibi, the next item in the Supplement, gives another Gregorian commentary on the subject of exaltation and humility: "Moreover, I pray, let noble laity, or [any] distinguished man love you for your humility, not dread you for your pride. And yet, when you perchance become aware that they are perpetrating some injustice on the poor, turn immediately your humility into uprightness, that you may always be both the subject for those acting well and the adversary of those acting badly."⁴⁶ In the course of his discussion of episcopal qualifications, Leo had commented that it is unacceptable that those ordained be motivated by a desire for exaltation, and warns lest the governance of the Church be committed to those who "devoid of all humility wish not to rise from the lowest grade, but to begin with the highest."⁴⁷ This seemingly conventional, even formulaic rhetoric unites the decretals and the

⁴⁴ "Oportet ergo excellentiam vestram ... summopere custodire prius humilitatem cordis, ac deinde munditiam corporis. Cum enim scriptum sit: *Omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur, et qui se humiliat exaltabitur* (Luke xiv:11); profecto liquet quia ille veraciter alta amat, qui mentem suam ab humilitatis radice non desecat. Saepe namque malignus spiritus, ut bona destruat [quibus prius adversari non valuit,] ad operantis mentem post peractam operationem venit, eamque tacitis cogitationibus in quibusdam suis laudibus excutit, ita ut decepta mens admiretur ipsa, quam sint magna quae fecit. Quae dum per occultum tumorem apud semetipsam extollitur, eius qui donum tribuit gratia privatur." (NORBERG, p. 808)

⁴⁵ "Ipsa quoque regni gubernacula erga subiectos magno sunt moderamine temperanda, ne potestas mentem surripiat. Tunc enim regnum bene regitur, cum regnandi gloria animo non dominatur." (NORBERG, p. 809)

⁴⁶ Jaffé 740; Mansi IX.1055-1056; *PL* 84 cols. 841-842; CCSL 140A Appendix I, pp. 1092-1094. "Laici autem nobiles vel vir gloriosus precor pro humilitate te diligant, non pro superbia perhorrescant. Et tamen, cum eos fortasse contra quoslibet inopes iniustitiam aliquam agere cognoscis, humilitatem protinus in erectionem verte, ut eis semper et bene agentibus subditus, et male agentibus adversarius existas." (NORBERG, p. 1093)

⁴⁷ *Cum de ordinationibus*: "his ecclesia domini regenda credatur, qui... et totius humilitatis ignari non ab infimis sumere incrementum, sed a summis volunt habere principium..." (Mansi col. 1270)

Augustine sermon and, it will be argued, provides a rhetorical frame for the Supplement's ecclesiology. It is the paradox of Luke 14:11 — *Every one that exalts himself shall be humbled and he that humbles himself shall be exalted* — that is developed more fully in the sermon of Augustine transcribed in the Supplement.

Sermon 67 is not one of the better known texts of Augustine.⁴⁸ While a considerable quantity of Augustinian material is adduced by all sides in the Adoptionist controversy, sermon 67 is not cited in any of the surviving conciliar texts, Alcuinian letters, Spanish anti-Adoptionist literature, or Elipandus's writings. Yet it is a text that fairly sizzles with language and exegesis that is charged for both Adoptionists and anti-Adoptionists. To appreciate the import of the text, it is necessary to recall the history of Adoptionist disputation in Spain. While the initial spark can be traced to the antipathy between Elipandus and Migetius, the full combustion is seen in the forceful polemical exchanges of Elipandus and Beatus of Liébana. When considered with reference to Beatus's *Adversus Elipandum*, Augustine's Sermon 67 is striking for the number of points at which it coincides with Beatus's favoured themes and interpretative stances, and it sets out some important points of its argument in similar logical and verbal sequences. Just as conversants tend to exchange and echo the vocabulary and semantic constructs of their interlocutors, the *Dacheriana* Supplement reverberates with highly connotative words, Scriptural references, and arguments that reflect, support, answer, and expand the discussion represented in Beatus's treatise.

For all that he is usually described as a mystic, Beatus (like many mystics) was a strong apologist for the institutional Church. His charge was that Elipandus, in advocating an Adoptionist theology, endangered the very foundation of the Church, not merely by creating a schismatic environment, but by denying the relation between Christ and the Church. If the person of Christ is misunderstood, there can be no reification of His salvific effort. Christ is not only the head of the church, but also the eucharistic and sacrificed body. By merging the image of the head and the body with

⁴⁸ Cf. Manfred OBERLEITNER, Franz RÖMER, Johannes DIVJAK, Rainer KURZ, and Dorothea WEBER, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte 263, 267, 281, 276, 289, 292, 306, 350, 601) for the infrequency of the sermon's transmission in medieval manuscripts.

the Christological problem of the relation of divinity with human flesh, Beatus recasts the Christological problem as an ecclesiological one as well. His treatise *Adversus Elipandum* is as much an ecclesiological exposition as a doctrinal one; indeed, Beatus' Christology and his ecclesiology are inseparable.⁴⁹ If, he argues, Elipandus divides the divine and the human natures in Christ, he is separating the head from the body, and if he separates the head from the body, he is dividing the head of the Church, Christ, from the Church, the members of the body.⁵⁰

Augustine's sermon is on the Biblical lemma of Luke 10:21: "In that hour Jesus exulted in the Spirit, and said, I confess to you, Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and knowing, and revealed them to the little ones."⁵¹ In its opening words, the sermon is raising three of the most controverted points of Adoptionist Christology. First, since the fourth century days of Arianism, to which Adoptionism is at many points related, this Scriptural passage was one which raised

⁴⁹ Cf. CAVADINI, pp. 52-59. *et passim*.

⁵⁰ "...quia illi, qui mali sunt, non quaerunt nisi diuisionem, hereticus non quaerit nisi separationem, et hoc elaborat, ut scindat, non sarciat, ut rumpat, non iungat. Separat Verbum a carne et seorsum praedicat Deum et seorsum hominem. Separat caput a corpore: seorsum praedicat caput et seorsum corpus. Et nescit, infelix, quia Deus et homo unus est Christus et caput est ecclesiae suae, in quo homo est Christus. Et caput Christi Deus est, id est tota diuinitas caput est homini, quem solus suscepit Filius. Et homo Filius est caput ecclesiae suae, qui illi capiti coniungitur et fit totus Christus, id est caput et corpus una persona. Non sunt heretici cibus Domini. Non enim de illis dixit Dominus: Meus cibus est, ut faciam uoluntatem eius, qui misit me, ut perficiam opus eius. Sic et nos, cum in una spe fide et caritate fuerimus, cibus Domini sumus, et in membris eius transformamur. Ecce eucaristiam, id est bonam gratiam, quam accepistis, oculis uestris uidistis." *Adversus Elipandum* I.lxxii, LÖFSTEDT p. 55.

⁵¹ The sermon is, in the printed edition, on the Biblical lemma of Matthew 11:25: "I confess to you, Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and knowing, and revealed them to the little ones." In his recent translation, Edmund HILL, O.P. (*The Works of Saint Augustine: a translation for the 21st Century: Part III — Sermons, vol. III: (51-94) on the New Testament* ed. John E. ROTELLE, O.S.A. (New York, 1990) p. 220n.2) has observed that the sermon was most likely preached on the parallel text of Luke 10:21, because the sermon begins with the remark that "the Lord Jesus exulted in the Spirit", the first clause in the Luke version of the text, and he notes that the Maurist editors, whenever possible, preferred to supply Mattheian references. This suggestion is almost certainly right, as other points in the sermon correspond to neighbouring Lucan passages.

the problem of the extent of Christ's knowledge, and was thus taken as an indication of the extent of his divine and human natures.⁵² Second, the verb "exsultare", and also "exaltare" resonated with implications about the relationship of the persons of the Trinity, and about Christ's relationship to humanity.⁵³ It is the allusion in the sermon's lemma to "the little ones", *parvuli*, that appears to point particularly to an Adoptionist exegesis that incensed Beatus of Liébana seemingly beyond measure. In his "Creed", Elipandus had written, "Both we are adoptive ones and he is adoptive; both we are christs and he is the Christ; both we are little ones and he is the Little One... he is a servant among servants."⁵⁴ For

⁵² Discussion of Arian and anti-Arian views of Christ's omniscience is found in R.P.C. HANSON, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: the Arian Controversy 318-381* (Edinburgh, 1988) pp. 106-108, 453-455, 496-497, 838-841 et passim. CAVADINI, p. 205n.150 suggests that Adoptionism might be derived from *anti*-Arian theology, although on p. 1 he acknowledges its association with "certain currents in Arian theology," and cites R. GREGG and D. GROH, *Early Arianism: a View of Salvation* (Philadelphia, 1981) pp. 50-70.

⁵³ The punning is rooted in the Vulgate translation of verses in both Psalm 88 ("et in nomine tuo exultabunt tota die et in iustitia tua exaltabuntur") and Kings 2:1 ("exultavit cor meum in Domino exaltatum est cornu meum"). Numerous authors played upon the phonetic and conceptual parallels in the two words. Augustine was fond of this rhetorical tactic: e.g., "et exsultantis atque dicentis: exaltabo te Domine" (*Enarr. in Ps.*, Ps. 29, II.1), "exultante etiam propheta et dicente: exaltare super caelos" (*ibid.*, Ps. 56), "sic exaltant deum in faucibus suis... sic exsultant in gloria sua, sic exaltantur in salute" (*ibid.*, Ps. 149), "et impletur vox exsultantis, exaltabo te, Domine" (*Sermo* 336), and so it is no surprise that in the sermon transcribed in the Supplement, Augustine moves from Luke 10:21 ("Jesus exulted in the Spirit") to Phil. 2:9, "Therefore God also exalted him." Beatus also elided the differences in the two words: quoting Gregory the Great (*Hom. in Hiezech.* II.3), he wrote in the *Adversus Elipandum*, "De quo suo capite exsultat corpus, id est sancta ecclesia, quum per psalmistam dicit: Nunc autem exaltauit caput meum super inimicos meos." (II.40) The contrast to humility is present in Bede's writings ("sternat vestimenta sua in via, id est membra sui corporis humiliet in praesenti ut exaltet ea deus in futuro memor illius davidici quia exultabunt ossa humiliata" *Hom. evang.* II.3), and was continued by Bernard of Clairvaux (*Sermo* 20, *Sermones de diversis*): "Si dixisset, 'Qui humiliatus fuerit exaltabitur', exultassem utique tamquam certissime humiliatus..."

⁵⁴ Beatus, *Adv. Elip.* "Siquidem et in suis epistulis non est ausus te cum dicere deitate exinanita: 'Et nos adoptivi et ille adoptivus, et nos Christi et ille Christus, et nos parvuli et ille parvulus' et cetera spurcitia." (LÖFSTEDT p. 35); "Et ille se [Deo] aequari voluit, qui simili sensu de eo dicit: 'Et ille Christus et nos christi; et ille adoptivus et nos adoptivi, et ille parvulus et nos parvuli, et ille servus et nos servi'" (p. 41); "Hoc totum quare dicimus, nisi ut nemo se praesumat

Beatus, the "little ones" are those who, as yet unready for the solid food of faith, feed on the body and blood of Christ. The body and blood are conflated in his exegesis with the milk supplied from the two breasts of Mother Church, the Old and New Testaments;⁵⁵ this allows Beatus to develop a secondary reinforcement of the distinction between the *parvuli* and Christ, for in contrast to the nursing *parvuli*, Beatus presents Christ as the spouse of the Church.⁵⁶

The distinction between Christ and other men was both obvious and urgent for orthodox apologists in Christ's resurrection from the dead; Augustine's sermon and Beatus's discussion coincide on this point. Augustine contrasts Christ to Lazarus: like Christ, Lazarus lay in his tomb and was resurrected, but, merely a human and a sinner, Lazarus was not the Christ, but only the man liberated by Christ. Augustine points out that for Lazarus to be revived, it required Christ's command, "Lazarus, come out!"⁵⁷ At the spiritual level of interpretation, Augustine likens Lazarus's bindings to the bonds of sin that can be loosened by the Church because of another of Christ's mandates, "whatsoever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," a commission Augustine relates also to

Christianorum Christo comparari, ut Elipandus facit, qui dicit: 'Et ille Christus et nos Christi, et ille seruus et nos serui'" (p. 41); "Certe dicitur: 'ille homo et nos homines, ille Deus et nos dii, ille filius et nos filii, ille Christus et nos christi, ille seruus et nos serui, ille paruulis et nos paruuli'" (p. 41) *et passim*.

⁵⁵ "Et tunc occidit corpus Christi, quando per philosophiam suam mentes fidelium conturbat et fidei suae associat, et hoc maxime mente paruulis, qui adhuc lacte utuntur, id est carne et sanguine Christi pascuntur et necdum ad solidum cibum fidei peruenerunt. Aufert tunc lactem, id est carnem et sanguinem Christi, et praebet suum lactem, id est carnem et sanguinem, quam sibi ipse fingit. Aufert mammas ecclesiae, id est duo testamenta legis et euangelii, et praebet mammas suas, id est ad fidem suam peruersam et legem et euangelium exponit et ad ipsam fidem ipsas scripturas dirigit in peruersitate qua sentit." Beatus, *Adu. Elip.* II.14 (LÖFSTEDT p. 114)

⁵⁶ "...Christus et ecclesia est caput et corpus, una persona. Et qum loquitur scribtura de capite, refertur ad corpus, et qum loquitur de corpore, refertur ad caput, sicut Esayas ait: *Induit me uestimentum salutis, quasi sponsum decoratum corona et quasi sponsam ornatam munitibus suis*. In una enim persona duplici uocabulo nominata et caput (id est sponsum) et ecclesiam (id est sponsam) manifestauit." Beatus, *Adu. Elip.* II.11 (LÖFSTEDT p. 112) *et passim*.

⁵⁷ "Mortuus est autem peccator, maxime ille quem moles consuetudinis premit, quasi sepultus est lazarus... Quis eum suscitabit, nisi qui remoto lapide clamauit, dicens: *Lazare, prodi foras?* [Jn 11:43]" *PL* 38 col. 434; Paris 1927 fol. 121^r.

Christ's remark to the disciples about Lazarus in John 11:44, "unbind him, let him go free."⁵⁸ As a counterpoint to Christ's raising up of Lazarus, Augustine reminds his audience of the different conditions of Christ's own resurrection from the dead. Christ raised himself from the dead, something no man can do, and it was Christ who raised himself, not the Father alone who raised Him:

No one who is dead is his own resuscitator. He who was able to raise himself was he who, while his flesh was dead, did not die, and so he raised up that which was dead. He who was alive in himself raised himself, although in the flesh that was to be raised, he was dead. Not indeed did the Father alone raise the Son, on which account the Apostle said, "therefore God also exalted him," but the Lord himself raised up himself, that is, his body, whence it is said, "Pull down this temple, and in three days I will raise it up."⁵⁹

Beatus made exactly the same point, citing this same text of John 2:19:

No one else died for the world; only He. No one else by his own will was born, or by his own will grew, or by his own will died... and thus he said to the Jews, "Tear down this temple, and in three days I shall raise it up"; he did not say, "Tear down this temple, which the Father will raise up," but "I shall raise it up." And in the third Psalm he said, "I slept and rested, and arose." This all was the unrestricted power of Christ, of him who died by his own power, who rose by his own power. And he who has this power is God, and not just any God, but omnipotent God, who can do all things.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ "Dicit ergo aliquis, quid prodest ecclesia, si iam confessor uoce dominica resuscitatus prodit? Audi quid prodest ecclesia confitenti, cui dominus ait: *quae solueritis in terra, soluta erunt et in coelo* [Mt 18:18]? ipsum lazarum attende: cum uinculis prodit. Iam uiuebat confitendo; sed nondum liber ambulabat, uinculis irretitus. Quid ergo facit ecclesia, cui dictum est, *quae solueritis, soluta erunt*; nisi quod ait dominus continuo ad discipulos, *soluite illum, et sinite abire* [Jn 11:44]?" *PL* 38 col. 434; Paris 1927 fol. 121^v.

⁵⁹ "Nullus mortuus est sui ipsius suscitator. Ille se potuit suscitare, qui mortua carne non mortuus est. Etenim hoc suscitauit quod mortuum fuerat. Ille se suscitauit, qui uiuebat in se, in carne autem sua suscitanda mortuus erat. Non enim pater solus filium suscitauit, de quo dictum est ab apostolo, *propter quod <et> deus eum exaltauit* [Phil 2:9]: sed etiam dominus se ipsum, id est, corpus suum; unde dicit, *soluite templum hoc, et in triduo suscitabo illud* [Jn 22:19]." *PL* 38 col. 434; Paris 1927 fol. 121^v.

⁶⁰ "Nullus ex illis mortuus est pro mundo; solus iste. Nullus ex illis propria uoluntate natus aut propria uoluntate creuit aut propria uoluntate mortuus ... Sic enim ait Iudeis: *Soluite templum hoc, et in triduo suscitabo illud*; non dixit: 'Soluite templum hoc, quem Pater suscitet', sed 'ego suscitabo illud'. Et in psal-

The rhetorical strategies used by both Beatus and compiler of the Supplement to address the problem raised for them in Elipandus's formulation, "both we are christs and he is the Christ, both we are little ones and he is the Little One" distinguished Christ from the rest of humanity. A different strategy was needed to address the assertion, "he is a servant among servants," for there was explicit Scriptural description of Christ as a servant in Paul's Letter to the Philippians:

But he emptied himself, taking the form of a slave (*servus*), he was made in the likeness of men, and when he found he was like a man in fashion, he lowered himself and was obedient unto the death, even a death on the cross; and on this account God exalted him and gave him a name above all names, so that in the name of Jesus every knee should bend and every tongue in the heavens, earth, and regions below should confess that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father. (Phil. 2:7-11)

Despite its Scriptural attestation, the word *servus* had great capacity to scandalise the orthodox in its heterodox application. In the context of the Adoptionist controversy, Pope Hadrian's remarks to Elipandus capture the fervour brought to the word's use: "You have absolutely fearlessly hissed through that venomous throat of yours what it is shameful to say, namely that our Liberator is a *slave*! ... How is it, hateful whiners, disparagers of God, that you were not afraid to call the very one who freed you from service to the devil a *slave*?"⁶¹ In a more judicious tone, Agobard, bishop of Lyons, writing against Elipandus's fellow-Adoptionist Felix, bishop of Urgel, noting Felix's fondness for references to "the form of a servant", said, "Although it is indeed also possible that it is said piously, nevertheless, it is to be taken into account that it can be said impiously as well."⁶² Beatus accused "the heretics" of saying, "But

mo tertio ait: *Ego dormiui et quieui, exsurrexi*. Hoc totum libera Christi potestas, eius, qui potestate sua mortuus est, potestate sua resurrexit. Et qui potestatem habet, Deus est, et non quislibet deus, sed omnipotens Deus, qui omnia potest." *Adv. Elip.* I.ix (LÖFSTEDT p. 6).

⁶¹ cit. and trans. CAVADINI, p. 75. On the dispute over *servus*, see CAVADINI, "Elipandus and his Critics" pp. 794-804.

⁶² "Videtur mihi etiam vestra caritas commonenda de hoc, quod Felix frequenter gaudet dicere *hominem adsumptum* vel *formam servi*. Quamquam enim et pie dici possit, sicut et frequentissime dictum a sanctis patribus invenitur, tamen considerandum est, quod etiam impie dici possit..." *Adversum Dogma Felicis* Sviii, in *Agobardi Lugdunensis Opera Omnia*, ed. L. VAN ACKER (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, 52; Turnhout, 1981) p. 78.

he who suffered was the *servus* of God, and he said about himself, *O Domine, ego servus tuus*, O Lord, I am your slave and I am the son of your slave woman (*ancilla*). When Scripture says this, how are you [the imagined orthodox interlocutors] able to assert, when a naked man, who hung on a cross, cried that he was abandoned by God, that He was God?"⁶³ Orthodox apologists wanted to ensure that the use of the word *servus* did not distinguish Christ from God, to affirm that God was present in the human form, and to assert the unity of the person of Christ. It was necessary to supply rhetoric that conformed to Scripture and proclaimed the unique Christ, God the Son.

Both Beatus and Augustine's sermon synthesise the term *servus* and the complementary term "lord" to preclude any apparent degradation of Christ. Beatus continues his discussion of Christ's resurrection with further citation of Psalm 3 that enables him to explain that references to Jesus calling God the Father "Lord" do not distinguish a lord from a servant. Rather, the distinction between the first two persons of the Trinity is between father and son: "For because the Father also raised him up, he said in the same Psalm, *The Lord lifted me up*. He calls "Lord" him he considers Father. For if he did not consider him Father, the apostle Peter would not have said about him to the Jews, *The Lord God of our fathers raised his son Jesus...*"⁶⁴ The introduction of the relationship of father to son into the discussion of Philippians 2:7 allows Beatus to explain, "He is called the servant with respect to the Father, because he emptied himself, that is, he showed himself as visible to the world, because, *accepting the form of a servant*, said the Apostle, *he was made in the likeness of man, he found himself like a man in aspect*. And therefore he is the servant of the Father, who with the Father is the one Lord and the one God."⁶⁵ Beatus rehearses the

⁶³ "Sed homo est, qui patitur; servus Dei est, qui patitur, ipso de se dicente: *O Domine, ego servus tuus, ego servus tuus et filius ancillae tuae*. [Ps. 115:16] ... Qum hoc uerum dicat scribtura, quomodo uos potestis firmare, qum homo nudus, qui pendet in cruce, a Deo se derelictum clamitet, quod Deus sit[?]" *Adv. Elip.* II, xlii (LÖFSTEDT, p. 134).

⁶⁴ "Nam quia et Pater eum suscitauit, dicit in eodem psalmo: *Dominus suscitauit me*. "Dominum" dicit, quem Patrem habet. Nam si eum Patrem non haberet, Petrus apostolus de eo non diceret Iudeis: *Dominus Deus patrum nostrorum suscitauit Filium suum Iesum...*" *Adv. Elip.* I.ix (LÖFSTEDT, p. 6)

⁶⁵ "Servus dictus est Patri, quia semetipsum exinaniuit, id est semetipsum mundo uisibilem hostendit, quia *formam serui accipiens*, inquit apostolus, in

argument again as he pursues his point, to reiterate that Christ considered himself a servant of the Father, for one can be neither lord nor servant to oneself, but was Himself God: "He is servant to the Father alone, because he does the will of the Father, as he himself said regarding himself: *I did not come to do my will but the will of him, the Father, who sent me...* Although indeed he had called God his Father, since truly God is the same in nature and of His essence, we should then in no way disregard that, remaining God, he was also made man, who would live under God according to the binding law of humanity's nature."⁶⁶

Augustine's interjection "and therefore God exalted him" in the sermon's account of Christ's resurrection⁶⁷ shows that he had the passage from Philippians in his thoughts when he composed his text, and although his subsequent reference to the *servus* is a passing one, these almost incidental allusions may have had particular significance to the compiler of the Supplement. Like Beatus, Augustine establishes a larger set of rôles and relationships seen in Christ; he identifies Christ as lord as well as slave:

He took upon himself the soul, he took upon himself the body, he took upon himself the complete man: he joined it to himself, the Lord makes himself one person with the slave... Christ in heaven, Christ on earth: Christ both in heaven and also on earth together; not two Christs, but the same Christ both in heaven and also on earth. Christ in the presence of the Father, Christ in the womb of the virgin; Christ on the Cross, Christ descending to those in the underworld; moreover, on the very same day, Christ in Paradise with the confessing thief.⁶⁸

similitudinem hominum factus est, habitu inuentus ut homo. Et ideo Patris est seruus, qui cum Patre est unus Dominus et unus Deus." (ibid.)

⁶⁶ "Soliis Patris est seruus, quia facit voluntatem Patris, sicut ipse de semetipso ait: *Non ueni voluntatem meam facere, sed voluntatem eius, qui misit me, Patris.* ... Quamuis enim Deum suum Patrem dixerit, quoniam Deus sit etiam ipsa natura et de illius essentia, tamen nullatenus ignoramus, quod manens Deus homo quoque factus sit, qui sub Deo iuxta deuitam [*leg. debitam*] legem naturae humanitatis existeret." (ibid.)

⁶⁷ Vide n. 59 *supra*.

⁶⁸ "Suscepit animam, suscepit corpus, suscepit plenum hominem: coaptat sibi, unam facit dominus cum seruo personam... Christus in coelo, Christus in terra: simul Christus et in coelo et in terra: nec duo Christi, sed idem christus et in coelo et in terra. Christus apud patrem, Christus in utero uirginis: Christus in cruce, Christus apud inferos subueniens quibusdam: ea autem ipsa die Christus in paradiso cum latrone confitente." PL 38 col. 436; Paris 1927 fol. 122^v.

Augustine explains that Christ's capacity to be simultaneously God and man is through grace: "This pertains, moreover, to the assumption of that very man [by divinity]: total grace, unique grace, perfect grace. What could that man who is Christ deserve, if you were to take away grace, such grace by which it was necessary for one man to be Christ, the very Christ whom we recognise?"⁶⁹ In this passage, the sermon explicitly sets forth the proposition known to theologians as "the grace of union", for which, in the Adoptionist controversy, Alcuin is usually given much credit.⁷⁰ This proposition, that Christ in his humanity is Son of God not by nature or adoption, but through the particular grace of the hypostatic union, is useful to the anti-Adoptionists because it precludes the sequential biography of a human, then divine Christ necessary to the Adoptionists, and stresses the contemporaneity of his divine and human existence.⁷¹

The sermon also coincides with another Beatan argument against the Adoptionists. Because they see Christ as a *servus*, argued Beatus, fools do not see His divine nature.⁷² "*Stultus dixit, 'Non est Deus'*"; The fool said, 'He is not God', "[Ps. 14:1; 53:1] is the renowned exegetical *locus* in this discussion. Augustine is careful to point out that the mysteries are revealed neither to the wise and knowing, nor to the foolish and ignorant, but rather to the *parvuli* "the little ones": "He [Luke] did not continue," says Augustine, "You have revealed them to the foolish and ignorant," but rather "to the little ones."⁷³ Augustine comments, concerning the *sapientes et prudentes*, "Calling themselves wise, they became foolish [Romans 1:22]."⁷⁴ Thus both Augustine and Beatus arrive at the identification of those who deny God as the fools, an identification that will emerge as a damning castigation of the Adoptionists.

⁶⁹ "Quantum autem pertinet ad ipsius hominis susceptionem, tota gratia, singularis gratia, perfecta gratia. Quid meruit homo ille qui christus est, si tollas gratiam, et tantam gratiam, qua unum oportebat esse christum, et ipsum esse quem novimus?" (ibid.)

⁷⁰ Cf. AMANN, "L'Adoptianisme" p. 308.

⁷¹ Cf. CAVADINI, pp. 79-80.

⁷² II,xlii (LÖFSTEDT, pp. 134-135) *et passim*.

⁷³ "et non dixit, reuelasti ea stultis et imprudentibus: sed ait, abscondisti quidem a sapientibus et prudentibus, et reuelasti ea paruulis." PL 38 col. 436; Paris 1927 fol. 123^v.

⁷⁴ PL 38 col. 436, 437; Paris 1927 fol. 123^v.

Augustine's exegesis of *Dixit stultus in corde suo, non est Deus* is part of his discussion of Lazarus. To those, the *stulti*, who deny God, life is hidden in the tomb; the resurrection is revealed to those who confess.⁷⁵ Augustine returns to this point when he writes, "Hear, therefore, the Lord confessing: I confess to you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth. What do I confess? What do I praise you for? (For this confession, as I said, is a praising.) Because you have hidden these things from the wise and knowing, and revealed them to the little ones."⁷⁶ Christ's own words, Augustine reminds his readers, affirm the paradoxical distribution of the most important knowledge, knowledge of Christ's identity, knowledge of His distinction from Lazarus, knowledge of the identity of the knowers, knowledge that the correctness of their knowledge has bearing on their salvation.

Beatus, like many before him, discusses the *stulti* of Psalms 14 and 53 who deny God (*Non est Deus*), but in exegesis which he turns against the Adoptionists. First, he establishes that Adoptionists deny that it was Divinity on the Cross:

The heretics also say this: "He is not God." When we say to them, "Who is he?" they answer and say, "He is a man, for if he were God, he would not have said, *God, my God, why have you forsaken me?* And therefore you ought not so absurdly call him God, but merely the adopted son, just as we are adopted, because he who hung naked on the Cross is neither the true God nor the true Son of God."...

Behold, we find that these heretics are like the Jews, because they stripped Christ and placed him naked on the cross and there he hung dead, and that nakedness, cross, and death were a scandal to the Jews, and they said, "He is not God." These heretics also say this: "He is not God." The Jews stripped Christ of his clothes; these strip away faith.

⁷⁵ "Mortuus est autem peccator, maxime ille quem moles consuetudinis premit, quasi sepultus est lazarus. Parum enim erat, quia mortuus; etiam sepultus. Quisquis igitur malae consuetudinis, malae uitae, terrenarum scilicet cupiditatum mole premitur, ita ut in illo iam factum sit, quod in quodam psalmo miserabiliter dicitur, *dixit stultus in corde suo, non est deus* [Ps. 14:1; 53:1]; fit talis, de quali dictum est, *a mortuo, uelut qui non sit, perit confessio.*" PL 38 col. 434; Paris 1927 fol. 121r.

⁷⁶ "Audi ergo dominum confitentem: confiteor tibi, pater, domine coeli et terrae. quid confiteor? in quo te laudo? haec enim confessio, ut dixi, laudem habet. Quia abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus, et reuelasti ea paruulis." PL 38 col. 436; Paris 1927 fol. 123r.

The nakedness of Christ was a scandal to the Jews; the humility of Christ is a scandal to these heretics.⁷⁷

Beatus elaborates upon the suggestion that it was Christ's humility that occasioned scandal, and subverts the Adoptionist argument that God could not be humiliated on the Cross, by situating Christ's humility in His humanity:

How much humility did the Son of God have, when the very devil himself, who tempts all to sin and recognises something of his own in them, recognised nothing of his own in Christ, since he said, "We know indeed that you are holy", and yet doubted that he was God? And humility did this, that is, humanity, which he had assumed. And that humanity scandalised all the proud and lofty, just as it scandalises today.⁷⁸

The paradoxes of Luke 14:11 and Luke 10:21 merge and form a third paradox: it is not merely the humble who are exalted, it is not merely to the humble that the hidden truth is revealed, but the truth revealed is the paradox of the humility of the wise and exalted One, the humility that was his Humanity. It is this humility that scandalises the Adoptionists, and proves to Beatus their *stultitia*:

Thus it happens that the crucified Christ preached by the apostles is both a scandal to the Jews and a nonsense to the pagans, just as today unbelieving pagans [mock God], because God was made man. It is his very humility that is displeasing to the pagans, whence they insult us,

⁷⁷ "Hoc et isti heretici dicunt: 'Non est Deus'. Qum nos eis dicimus: 'Quis est?', respondunt et dicunt: 'Homo est, nam si Deus esset, non diceret: *Deus, Deus meus, quare me dereliquisti?*' [Matt. 27:46]. Et ideo non debetis tam absurde dicere Deum, sed tantum filium adoptivum, sicut et nos sumus adoptivi, quia nec verus Deus est, qui nudus pendet in cruce, nec verus filius Dei."...

Ecce et istos inuenimus similes Iudeorum, quia illi nudauerunt Christum et nudum eum imposuerunt in crucem et ibi mortuus pependit, et ipsa nuditas, crux et mors facit scandalum Iudeis, et dicunt: "Non est Deus". Hoc dicunt et isti heretici: "Non est Deus". Nudauerunt illi Christum uestimentis, nudant et isti fide. Illis fecit scandalum Christi nuditas, istis facit scandalum Christi humilitas." (II, xlii; LÖFSTEDT, pp. 134-135)

⁷⁸ "Quantam humilitatem habuit Filius Dei, qum et ipse diabolus, qui omnes temptabat ad peccandum et aliquid suum in illis cognoscebat, et in Christo, ubi nihil suum cognouit qum diceret: 'Scimus enim, quia sis sanctus', et eum Deum esse dubitauit? Et hoc humilitas faciebat, id est humanitas, quam assumpserat. Et ipsa humanitas omnes superbos et elatos scandalizabat, sicut et hodie scandalizat." I, lxxxiv (LÖFSTEDT, p. 63). On the theme of humility in the Adoptionist debate, see CAVADINI, "Elipandus and his Critics" pp. 796-797.

saying, "what sort of God do you worship, who was born of a woman, and was crucified..." This causes scandal to the pagans, this causes scandal to the Jews, because in the wisdom of God, the world does not know God through wisdom; it was pleasing to God to make believers saved through the foolishness of preaching. What is wisdom, except the Word of the Father? except Divinity? except God? What is foolishness, except the flesh of that Word? except the humanity of that Divinity?⁷⁹

Thus, Beatus argues, the Adoptionists have misunderstood not only Christ's divinity but also his humanity; and by their ignorance, their lack of recognition, the heretics separate Christ from the Church. Humility is the pivotal point between orthodox Christology and orthodox ecclesiology. Failure to understand the significance of humility indicates a fatal misunderstanding of the person of Christ, and it is this failure that is at the centre of Adoptionist theology, according to their opponents. Beatus's discussion of the *stulti* who deny God has formed a loop of discourse that returns to the point that a correct understanding of Christ's nature is essential to a correct formulation of ecclesiology:

Whoever says, "It is He, and there is no other," is the body of the head, because he recognises the head, that is, he is the body of Christ, because he recognises Christ. And whoever says "It is not He," is the body of the devil, because he knows a head which separates its body from the body of Christ, just as that head is also separated. ... The priests of the Jews, not recognising Christ, not recognising that He was God, redeemer of the world, the head of the Church, killed the head. Now priests of Christians, not recognising the body, that it is the body of the supreme head, kill the body of Christ. ... And when the head of the Church suffers, it is reproduced in the body, and when the body, which is the Church, suffers, it is reproduced in the head. The true Church is from the head, Christ, of whom it is the body, because the mediator is Christ... And when one does not know the body, one does not know the head, of which it is the body. And when one kills the body, one kills

⁷⁹ "Ita fit, ut praedicatus ab apostolis Christus crucifixus et Iudaeis esset scandalum et gentibus stultitia... Sicut et hodie increduli pagani faciunt [inridebant Deum], quia Deus factus est homo. Ipsa est humilitas, quae displicet paganis, unde nobis insultant dicentes: 'Qualem Deum colitis, qui natus ex muliere est...et crucifixus est...' Hoc facit scandalum paganis, hoc Iudeis; quia in sapientia Dei non cognovit mundus per sapientiam Deum, placuit Deo per stultitiam praedicationis saluos facere credentes. Quid est sapientia, nisi Verbum Patris? nisi Diuinitas? nisi Deus? Quid est stultitia, nisi caro ipsius Verbi? nisi humanitas ipsius Diuinitatis?" I, lxxxiii (LÖFSTEDT, pp. 61-62).

the head. Not to the extent that one kills the body corporeally, but spiritually.⁸⁰

Both Augustine and Beatus advance to the proposition that the ability to see Christ's true nature, to discern properly what is masked or hidden, is in the gift of eyes which see light. It is, perhaps, in the extended meditations upon light common to both Sermon 67 and the *Adversus Elipandum* that we see most fully the extent to which Beatus and the compiler of the Supplement turned Augustinian theology against the Adoptionists.

Augustine's sermon *lemma* continues, "Blessed are the eyes which see the things you are seeing". In addressing his audience, Augustine insists that such a blessing is no cause for exaltation:

And so it is said of them, "Calling themselves wise men, they became fools" (Rom. 1:22). Before they said that, what was before? "And their foolish heart was darkened" (Rom. 1:21). Say not that you are a light to yourself. At most, say that you are an eye; you are not light. What benefits an open and healthy eye if there is no light? Therefore say, there is no light for you from you, and proclaim what is written: "You will light my lamp, Lord; with your light, you will light up my darkness" (Ps. 18:28). For me there is nothing but darkness; you, however, are a light putting to flight the darkness, illuminating me; not a light existing from me for me, but sharing no light (*lumen non participans*) except in you."⁸¹

⁸⁰ "Qui dicunt 'Ipse est, et non est alter', corpus capitis est, quia cognoscit caput, id est corpus Christi est, quia cognoscit Christum. Et qui dicit 'Non est ipse', corpus diaboli est, quia cognoscit caput, qui separavit corpus suum a corpore Christi, sicut et ipse caput separatus est. Sacerdotes Iudaeorum in lege non cognoscentes Christum quod ipse esset Deus, redemptor mundi, caput ecclesiae, occiderunt caput. Nunc sacerdotes Christianorum in euangelio non cognoscentes corpus quod sit summi capitis corpus, occidunt Christi corpus. ... et quum patitur caput ecclesiae, refertur ad corpus, et quum patitur corpus, quod est ecclesia, refertur ad caput. Ecclesia certa est de Christo capite, cuius est corpus, quia mediator est Christus... Et quum non cognoscit corpus, non cognoscit caput, cuius est corpus. Et quum occidit corpus, occidit caput. Non adhuc occidit corporaliter corpus, sed spiritualiter." II,xiii-xiv (LÖFSTEDT, pp. 113-114)

⁸¹ "Denique de illis sic ait, *dicentes se esse sapientes, stulti facti sunt*. Antequam hoc dicerent, quid rursum? *Et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum*. Dic quia tu tibi lumen non es. Ut multum, oculus es; lumen non es. Quid prodest patens et sanus oculus, si lumen desit? Ergo dic, a te tibi lumen non esse; et clama quod scriptum est, *tu illuminabis lucernam meam, domine: lumine tuo, domine, illuminabis tenebras meas*. Meae enim nihil nisi tenebrae: tu autem lumen fugans tenebras, illuminans me: non a me mihi lumen existens; sed lumen non participans, nisi in te." PL 38 col. 437; Paris 1927 fol. 123°.

The Augustinian idiom "lumen participans" is one of great importance to Beatus, who attaches his similar exposition of light and the eye that sees it to the body that has the eyes, thus bringing his audience back to his central ecclesiological theme of the relation of Christ to the Church, as well as rehearsing a tested analogy for the relations of the Trinity.

The mind thus guides the soul, just as the head does in the body. The Spirit then guides the mind, just as the eyes in the head. And just as a man sees through the eyes and distinguishes light from darkness and walks or works in the daytime, because the light of his eyes participates with the light of the sun and both are one light, thus that spirit, which is light, participates with Christ, who is the sun, and becomes of both one light, that is, one spirit. But this spirit, which we mention, is not one nature with the Spirit of God. In this way we said light and light, because one is the illuminating light, the other the illuminated light, just as one is the illuminating sun, the other the illuminated eyes. These eyes do not see in the dark, unless they participate with light, or with the sun, or with lamps. Christ is understood to be the sun, and the holy fathers, that is the prophets, the apostles, and the doctors, are the lamps.⁸²

...However, He is always in the light and sees us and all the saints who are in the light with Him. And we think that no-one sees us, when we think or act badly. Thus then we are not with God, and He is with us, just as a blind man does not see the light of the sun, and nevertheless the light of the sun illuminates his whole body; the sun itself does not change, but rather the blind man, who has lost the light of his body. Thus God himself never changes, but we, who lose the light of the soul through sin.⁸³

⁸² This allusion meshes with Augustine's discussion of John the Baptist, wherein he says John was mistaken for the Light; he was not the Light, but one of the lamps lit by the Lord: "Sic et Ioannes amicus sponsi, Christus putabatur, lumen putabatur. Non erat ille lumen; sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. ... Si uerum lumen quod illuminat omnem hominem; ergo et Ioannem recte dicentem, recte confitentem, *nos autem de plenitudine eius accepimus*. Vide si aliud dixit, quam, *tu illuminabis lucernam meam, Domine*. Denique iam illuminatus, testimonium perhibebat. Propter caecos, lucerna diei testimonium perhibebat. Vide quia lucerna est: *uos*, inquit, *misistis ad Ioannem, et uoluistis exsultare ad horam in lumine eius: ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens*. Ille lucerna, hoc est, res illuminata, accensa ut luceret." *PL* 38 col. 437; Paris 1927 fol. 123^v-124^r.

⁸³ "Quae mens sic est in actione animae sicut caput in corpore. Qui spiritus sic est in actione mentis sicut oculi in capite. Et sicut homo uidet per oculos et discernit lucem a tenebris et in die ambulat aut operatur, quia participat lumen oculorum suorum cum lumen solis et utrumque unum lumen est, sic ille spiritus, qui lumen est, participat cum Christo, qui sol est, et fit unum lumen utrorumque, id

In elaborating upon the metaphysical optics of faith, Beatus not only reintroduces the rôle of Christ as the spirit-bearing head of the Church, but also weaves in the theme that the ability to see and recognise the truth of the two natures in Christ is necessary for participation in the body of the Church. Thus, his example of the blind man who cannot see the light, although the light is there, is analogous to his comments on the fools who cannot recognise God. Similarly, Augustine's sermon closes with an admonition that brings the image of light back to the question of the danger of pride, and enwraps it in the final folding of his themes of worldly wisdom and foolishness, the *parvuli* and the humble:

But that it not be extinguished, do not suffer the wind of pride. Therefore, I confess to you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and prudent, those thinking themselves light, and who were darkness, and because they were darkness, and thought themselves to be light, they could not be illuminated. Those, moreover, who were darkness, and confessed that they were darkness, were the little ones, not the great, they were humble, not proud.⁸⁴

In Augustine's sermon 67, the compiler of the Supplement harvested the essential components of the theological foundations of orthodox ecclesiology that he wished to propound. To a degree remarkable in such a short, discrete composition written nearly

est unus spiritus. Sed non est ipse spiritus, quem dicimus, cum Dei spiritu una natura. Quemadmodum diximus lumen et lumen, quia aliud est lumen inluminans, aliud lumen inluminatum, sicut aliud est sol inluminans, aliud oculi inluminati. Qui oculi in tenebris non vident, nisi participantur lumini, aut soli aut lucernis. Qui sol Christus intelligitur, lucernae vero patres sancti, id est prophetae, apostoli atque doctores.

...Et tamen ille semper in lumine est et nos videt et omnes sancti, qui in lumine cum eo sunt. Et nos putamus, quod nemo nos videt, quum malum cogitamus aut facimus. ... Sic tunc non sumus cum Deo et ille nobis cum est, sicut caecus non uidet lumen solis, et tamen lumen solis totum corpus eius inluminat; sed sol se non mutauit, sed caecus, qui lumen sui corporis perdidit. Sic Deus se nunquam mutat, sed nos, qui lumen animae perdimus per peccatum." *Adu. Elip.* I. c. ci (LÖFSTEDT pp. 76-77)

⁸⁴ "Sed ut non extinguatur, ventum superbiae non patiatur. Ergo, confiteor tibi, pater, domine coeli et terrae, quia abscondisti haec a sapientibus et prudentibus, lumen se putantibus, et tenebrae erant, et eo quod tenebrae erant, et lumen se putabant, nec illuminari potuerunt. Illi autem qui tenebrae erant, et tenebras se esse confitebantur, parvuli erant, non magni, humiles erant, non superbi." *PL* 38 col. 437; Paris 1927 fol. 124.

four centuries before, the sermon contained seminal commentary on issues that were central to the compiler's concerns, in precisely the language that would resonate with the compiler's contemporaries. The sermon elucidates the clearly divine powers of the incarnate Son, it proclaims the grace that unites the *servus* and the *dominus* in one person, it identifies the *stulti* who say "*Non est Deus*" as those who cannot recognise the divine nature of Christ, and it presents the *parvuli* as those who see the truth of Christ, in contrast to Elipandus's declaration that "*et nos parvuli et ille parvulus*." These were all valuable assets to a compiler who appears to have recognised that he had found the Augustinian roots of anti-Adoptionist discourse, and could supply them concisely to his audience. To have authentic Augustinian formulation of these points to substitute for the Beatan texts with which the compiler seems to have been familiar must have been an impressive *tour-de-force*, for there is evidence of Frankish chauvinism with regard to Iberian authorities in the Adoptionist debate. In their rather disingenuous remark that, "we do not read those [Spanish] doctors, nor have their writings come to us," Alcuin and his coterie revealed an attitude developed in response to Elipandus's insistent and proto-nationalist quotation of persons representing the laudable traditions of Spanish theology.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Alcuin, *Adv. Elip. Libri IV, Epist. Praef.* PL 101, col. 242: "Dicit praefatus venerabilis Felix, 'Hispaniae doctores Christum adoptivum solitos esse nominare;' sed illos doctores nos non legimus, neque ad nos illorum scripta pervenerunt; et si dixerint, forte simplex ignorantia eos defendit a mucrone anathematis, non pertinax erroris defensio excommunicationis percutit gladio. Maior quoque auctoritas doctorum totius mundi debet esse, quam paucorum in Hispania. Igitur beatus Isidore, cui nihil Hispania clarius habuit, multa nomina ponit de Deo Christo in Etymologiis, vel aliis scripturis suis, sed in nullo loco invenimus eum adoptivum vel nuncupativum Deum, Dei Filium Christum nominasse, sed semper universalis sanctae Dei Ecclesiae in catholica fide eum consentire invenimus." Alcuin's attacks on the authorities cited by Elipandus and Felix form a framework for his citation of patristic authorities and scripture, and also seem to reflect a genuine irritation with his opponents: repeatedly he cites Elipandus's list of Iberian authorities in order to reject them: cf. *Epistola episcoporum Franciae*: "Sequitur in eodem libello vestro: 'Item praecessores nostri Eugenius, Hildephonsus, Iulianus, Toletanae sedis antistites, in suis dogmatibus ita dixerunt in missa de caena Domini...' quae ex parentum vestrorum dictis posuistis, ut manifestum sit, quales habeatis parentes, et ut notum sit omnibus, unde vos traditi sitis in manus infidelium." (MGH Conc. II p. 145)

The prominence in the Augustine sermon of the discussion of light and darkness as metaphors for true belief and error serve the compiler well in providing a bridge to the next section of the Supplement. Carolingian (and contemporary Hispanic) authors seem to have been especially partial to word-play on proper names, and the opportunity to allude, it seems, to one of the famous instances from late antiquity must have struck the compiler as fortuitous. In the Creed of the Long Lines, the heretic Photinus is deliberately miscalled "Scotinus", changing his name from "Man of Light" to "Man of Darkness."⁸⁶ An analogy between Adoptionism and Photinianism will eventually emerge as a prominent feature, perhaps even the culmination, of the theses of the third section of the Supplement, but interposed between Augustine's sermon and the specific exposition of Photinus's errors are texts that supply other elements of the compiler's anti-Adoptionist argument.

In its range of Christological issues, as well as in its use of sources, the third section of the Supplement is somewhat complex. It may have been this complexity that left some later scribes seemingly so nonplussed that they abandoned transcription of the whole of the Supplement.⁸⁷ There appear to be several units in the

⁸⁶ cited by Athanasius (*De synodis* 26) and Socrates (*Historia ecclesiastica* II.19.7-28). Lucifer of Cagliari also notes the pun (*De non parcendo in Deum deliquentibus* xviii).

⁸⁷ The manuscripts vary in their representation of the third part of the Supplement. The full transcription of the Supplement in the manuscript with no *tabula* ends at the conclusion of Augustine's sermon and is thus not a witness for the third part of the Supplement. The transcription of the sources *in extenso* in the other manuscript (Paris 1927) that provides such transcriptions becomes intermittent: the creeds of Nicea and Constantinople are transcribed; the Formula of Chalcedon, the letters of Leo, Celestine, and Hormisdas and Justin are not; the first citation (item 30) from Hilary's *De Synodis* is not but the professions of faith from Sardica and Syrmium are; the full transcription then ends, without continuation of the remainder of the material from *De Synodis* or transcription of the last two items listed in the *tabula*, an "expositio fidei catholicae sancti Hieronimi presbiteri" and the "definitio dogmatum ecclesiasticorum Grecorum, cap. liiii" that is probably some portion, perhaps the fifty-fourth chapter, of Gennadius's *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*. All three copies of the *tabula* list all the elements of the third section, in the same order.

The omissions in ms. Paris 1927 of the anti-Eutychian material may have been deliberate; it also seems possible that the scribe expanding the *tabula titulorum* did not know what to make of the Celestine and Hormisdas texts. While it might be argued that it was absence of source material that produced the omissions in the full transcription (and such an argument might be plausible with regard to

composition of the third section. It begins with a sequence of professions of faith from the councils of Nicea, Constantinople, and Chalcedon: the first two creeds are those specified and reiterated in the Formula of Chalcedon as the authoritative credal pronouncements of the Church.⁸⁸ The next two items, registered in the *tabula* under the summary rubrics "Leo ad Flavianum episcopum Constantinopolitem" and "Leo ad Iulianum episcopum Coensem" cannot be identified with certainty, for there are no full transcriptions of them in the known manuscripts of the Supplement. All seven of Leo's extant letters to Flavianus and half of his twenty extant letters to Julian are primarily about the Eutychian controversy and its ramifications. In view of the position of the two letters in the Supplement, following the Formula of Chalcedon, it seems almost certain that this portion of the Supplement collected a significant amount of anti-Eutychian Christology. Probably best known of Leo's letters to Flavianus is "The Tome", *Lectis dilectionis tuae*, the comprehensive exposition of Eutyches' Christological errors that is also endorsed in the Chalcedonian definition as the other authoritative and orthodox statement of Christology.⁸⁹ The Tome is often accompanied in early medieval canon law collections by a letter to Julian, *Licet per nostros*, which, Leo tells Julian, he intends as an addition to the Tome as a further explication.⁹⁰ These might be the

the portion drawn from Hilary's *De Synodis*), it seems less likely in the cases of the decretals, which would have been readily available and quite easily identified.

⁸⁸ *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman TANNER, 2 vols. (London, 1990), I pp. 83-84.

⁸⁹ "Quibus etiam epistulam maximae et senioris urbis Romae praesulis beatissimi et sanctissimi archiepiscopi Leonis quae scripta est ad sanctae memoriae archiepiscopum Flavianum ad perimendam Eutychis malam intelligentiam, consequentissime coaptavit utpote et magni illius Petri confessioni congruentem et communem quandam columnam nobis adversum prava dogmata existentem, ad confirmationem rectorum dogmatum." (TANNER, p. 85)

⁹⁰ For a preliminary register of the early medieval collections in which these letters are found, see MAASSEN (*cit. n. 4 supra*) pp. 261-262, 263; more comprehensive treatment is in C.H. TURNER, "The Collection of the Dogmatic Letters of St. Leo" *cit. supra*, n. 18 (pp. 714-735). See also Karl SILVA-TAROUCA, "Beiträge zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Papstbriefe des 4.-6. Jh." *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 43 (1919) pp. 467-481, 657-692. "Licet per nostros, quos ab Urbe pro fidei causa direximus, plenissimas ad fratrem nostrum Flavianum litteras miserimus contra nimiae impietatis errorem... etiam hanc paginam quae illis epistolis consonaret adjecimus, ut unanimiter atque constanter his qui evangelium Christi corrumpere cupiunt resistatis: quoniam sancti

two texts of the Supplement. Following Leo's letters is the letter of Pope Celestine to the Gallic bishops on the errors of Pelagianism and the set of *capitula* composed by Prosper of Aquitaine that is regularly appended to this letter. The following three items are the exchange between Pope Hormisdas and the Emperor Justin on the implementation of the Chalcedonian settlement, and the *exemplar precum* that was apparently proposed by Syrian theologians as a refinement of the Chalcedonian formula and forwarded by Justin to Hormisdas. The Supplement then cites reports of the councils of Sardica, Syrmium, Antioch, and the twenty-six definitions refuting Photinus: these are all drawn from the *De Synodis* of Hilary of Poitiers, a text Hilary designed to clarify the errors of Photinus. Refutation of the Photinian heresy is also included in the *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* of Gennadius of Marseille, which may be the source of the last item or items of the Supplement; again, the absence of a full transcription and a somewhat enigmatic rubric in the *tabula* prevent quite certain identification.⁹¹

With the exceptions of the Celestinian discussion of predestination and the correspondence between Hormisdas and Justin, the third section of the Supplement is dedicated to explicit Christological discussion. In order to interpret these materials, it is helpful to recall another aspect of the eighth century Adoptionist Controversy. Frankish disputation with Adoptionists was not directed against Elipandus alone: his colleague Felix, bishop of Urgel, was in some respects the more prominent target, for he was invited to Aix-la-Chapelle for a public debate with Alcuin, he was the subject of condemnation at the Council of Aix in 799, and after his deposition at that Council he resided in Lyons, where he had been entrusted to the care of bishop Leidrad. He was therefore at the very place where, the manuscript evidence suggests, the Supplement was compiled. Not only Alcuin, but also Agobard, Leidrad's successor, wrote treatises against Felix and his doctrinal errors. Even before his exile, however, southern Gallic clerics had experience with him: after the ecclesiastical tensions in the Iberian peninsula came to the attention of the pope and emperor, Alcuin sent a delegation comprising Leidrad of Lyons, the Visigoth

Spiritus in nobis atque in vobis una est eruditio eademque doctrina: quam quicumque non recipit, non est membrum corporis Christi; nec potest eo capite gloriari." *PL* 54 col. 803.

⁹¹ See Appendix.

Benedict of Aniane, and Nebridius of Narbonne to Felix to request his presence at Aix-la-Chapelle, and, presumably, to begin the effort of persuading Felix to modify his theological position.⁹² There is thus evidence for a relatively extensive period during which prominent, well-educated, and juridically trained southern Gallic and Visigothic participants in the debate were responding to Felix, and this evidence, taken in conjunction with the provenance of the Supplement, seems strong reason to propose that it was discourse with Felix that occasioned the composition of the Supplement. Some of the content of the third part of the Supplement that at first seems problematic in an anti-Adoptionist context may make sense when considered in relation to other Frankish responses to Felix.

An initially puzzling aspect of the third portion of the Supplement is the quantity of anti-Eutychian material represented in the Chalcedonian and Leonine texts. Eutychianism, the doctrine that Christ had not two natures after the Incarnation but one only, was an erroneous reaction to Nestorianism; it was Nestorianism that pope Hadrian and, following him, Alcuin repeatedly presented as the historical parallel to Adoptionism.⁹³ Whatever accusations of Eutychianism were made in the Adoptionist Controversy seem to have come from Felix, and to have been directed against his Frankish adversaries.⁹⁴ It is thus not

⁹² These facts, along with references to the primary sources, are conveniently presented by H. QUILLIET, "Adoptionisme: I. Adoptionisme au VIII^e siècle" in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* ed. A. VACANT, E. MANGENOT, and E. AMMAN, vol. I (Paris, 1902) col. 407; they are reviewed in the literature cited in note 2 *supra*. The dating of the relevant documents has been revised by HEIL, *Alkuinstudien* (see pp. 67-70). Bonnery places the mission after the condemnation of Felix, and sees it as a more general effort to extinguish Adoptionism (pp. 785-786).

⁹³ Cf. CAVADINI, pp. 71-106, on the development of the charge of Nestorianism in anti-Adoptionist disputation.

⁹⁴ Considering the passage in Alcuin's *Adversus Felicem Urgellitanum Episcopum Libri VII* (PL 101, col. 119-230; lib. III cap. 17, col. 172) "We do not confess two natures in the one person of Christ that are, as you charge, with Eutyches, confused..." Cavadini opines that it must have been Alcuin who introduced the allusion to Eutyches, as the Iberian authors showed no previous inclination to adduce figures of the Chalcedonian debates in their arguments (CAVADINI cit. p. 97; cf. p. 203 n.133.). Felix, however, had been engaged in direct personal debate with Alcuin, and in exile had been surrounded by Gallic disputants, and it seems plausible that he entered into the Frankish terms of debate to some extent. The text seems to bear the interpretation that Felix had implied that Alcuin's theology had Eutychian tones.

immediately clear why an anti-Adoptionist text would direct a reader's attention to the Eutychian heresy.

If, however, the compiler of the Supplement assumed defensive or negotiative stances as well as accusatory or expository ones, the anti-Eutychian passages may be read as mirroring the pattern of discourse seen in other sources refuting Felix. Alcuin's and Agobard's writings show an effort to respond to whatever hints or allegations Felix made regarding the possibility that anti-Adoptionist polemicists might lapse into Eutychianism as they argued against Adoptionism. Both of these anti-Adoptionist authors make clear that they do understand, and do not subscribe to Eutychianism. Alcuin, in his *Adversus Felicem Urgellitanum*, at several points states explicitly that, of course, the error of Eutyches is to be rejected as much as that of Nestorius: "Because you say that a certain abbot Beatus and his disciple Heterius, a bishop, resist this sect of yours, we praise them in that they endeavour to defend the truth. But if what you say is true, that they confuse the two natures of Christ into one, like wine and water [mixed], in no way do we consent to that: but in this, if it be true, we judge them to be wholly reprehensible. The Catholic faith holds what we defend, preach, and love, that there are two proper and perfect natures in Christ..."⁹⁵ A few paragraphs later, Alcuin returns to his protestation that he is not guilty of endorsing Eutychianism: "We follow neither the division of Nestorius, who, on account of the two natures, wanted to insert into Christ two persons, nor the confusion of Eutyches, who, on account of the one person, wanted to insert into Christ one nature. Both, deviating from the Catholic faith, were equals in impiety, because they did not adhere to right belief, but were unlike in error, because the one confused, the other divided."⁹⁶ Agobard of Lyons, writing after Felix's death about the

⁹⁵ "Quod vero quemdam Beatum abbatem et discipulum eius Hitherium episcopum dicitis huic vestrae sectae primum contraire, laudamus eos in eo quod veritatem defendere conati sunt. Sed si verum est quod dixistis, eos duas naturas Christi in unum confundere, sicut vinum et aquam, hoc nullatenus consentimus: sed in eo, verum est, valde eos esse reprehensibiles iudicamus. Catholica enim fides habet, quam nos defendimus, praedicamus et amamus, in Christo duas naturas esse proprias et perfectas..." *Adu. Fel. Lib. VII* I,vii (PL 101 col. 133).

⁹⁶ "Nos non sequimur nec Nestorianam divisionem, qui propter duas naturas personas in Christo inserere voluit; nec Eutychetis confusionem, qui propter unam personam unam naturam in Christo inserere voluit. Ambo a catholica fide deviantes, impietate pares, quia fidem rectam non tenuerunt, sed errore impares, quia iste confundit, ille dividit." *ibid.* I,xi (PL 101, col. 136).

danger that Felix's teachings might continue to have influence, also makes clear that he understands and rejects the heresy of Eutyches:

The heretic Nestorius thus divided the two natures in the unique Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ... In contrast, however, Eutyches in his teaching spoke about the unique Son of God as a singular person, as if He were of one substance. And although he confessed the eternal birth of His divinity, he did not deny the temporal birth of His humanity; notwithstanding, he so mixed and confused the two substances, that he thought to proclaim merely one substance. ...The truth of faith, which among us holds a middle place [between the two poles of contradictory errors], deserted both, that is, Nestorius and Eutyches...⁹⁷

The Supplement is thus not wholly anomalous, but it is in many respects a novel contribution to the controversy. Even if explicable, the quantity of anti-Eutychian, Chalcedonian material is unusual: although Alcuin and Agobard allude to Eutychianism, there is little reference to the Council of Chalcedon or to Leo's Tome in the Frankish sources; Beatus does not mention them, and Elipandus's allusions to Chalcedon are limited.⁹⁸ Complementing the anti-Eutychian material is a striking absence in the Supplement of the anti-Nestorian texts that saturate the Frankish arguments.⁹⁹ In this,

⁹⁷ "Nestorius hereticus sic duas naturas in unico Filio Dei Domino nostro Iesu Christo dividit... E contrario autem Eutyches in dogmate suo sic de unici Filii Dei loquitur singulari persona, quasi de una substantia. Et quamquam sempiternam divinitatis eius nativatem confiteatur, temporalem quoque humanitatis non neget, ita tamen utramque substantiam permiscet atque confundit, ut unam tantummodo praedicare intellegatur. Cum ergo utrumque, id est Nestorium et Eutycen, veritas fidei abiciat, quae medium inter nos tenet locum..." *Adu. Dog. Fel.* iv (VAN ACKER, pp. 75-76).

⁹⁸ Neither Elipandus nor Beatus cite Chalcedon. Elipandus does cite from the *Collectio Hispana* Leo's letters "Lectis litteris" and "Promisse me" (HAINTHALER, "Toledo" pp. 826-827) but not, apparently, the text of "Lectis dilectionis tuae" (Cf. CAVADINI, pp. 44-47). Alcuin cites generously from the Council of Ephesus, and also mentions Chalcedon as the standard of orthodox Christology (CAVADINI pp. 86, 195n.87). Cf. Jesús SOLANO, "El Concilio de Calcedonia y la controversia adopcionista del siglo VIII en España" in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart* edd. Aloys GRILLMEIER and Heinrich BACHT 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1954) vol. II (*Entscheidung um Chalkedon*) pp. 841-871.

⁹⁹ Further, the Supplement does not take opportunity to recall Celestine's anti-Nestorian activity, which would have been easy to do, as it began with the pope's objections to the warm reception given the Pelagians by the Nestorians, and the compiler has already laid the foundations for the connection with his citation of the letter to the Gallic bishops.

the Supplement is in accord with Beatus, although Beatus did make a passing reference to the Council of Ephesus, where Nestorius was condemned; the compiler of the Supplement did not even include in the sequence of texts from oecumenical councils any record of Ephesus.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps most intriguing is the compiler's choice of an historical analogy to Adoptionism: while Beatus had hinted that Elipandus might have Manichean tendencies,¹⁰¹ and Alcuin flirted briefly with the suggestion that the Adoptionists had something in common with Pelagians,¹⁰² only the compiler of the Supplement seems to have seriously considered the Photinians as an important analogue. Agobard, however, does briefly mention Photinians in his *Adversus Felicem*, and that two sources emanating from Lyons should share this trait may indicate that both Agobard and the compiler of the Supplement had been exposed to similar and possibly distinctive discourses.

While our knowledge of Photinus and his teachings is limited and indirectly obtained, some of the descriptions we have are uncannily apt renditions of Adoptionist doctrines: Photinus is said to have believed that Christ was "mere man", called Son of God because of his merit, and that many have been made Saviours and Christs, who by good works and emulation of Christ may be adopted as the Sons of God.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ This is a notable deviation from Alcuin's orientation, for in 798 and 799 Alcuin was particularly engaged with dissemination of material from Ephesus. See BULLOUGH, p. 49.

¹⁰¹ In addition to the brief allusion to the Council of Ephesus noted above, Beatus refers to the Creed of Nicea (I, lxxiv; LÖFSTEDT, p. 57). Comparisons of Adoptionists to Manicheans are found in I, xliv, lxxxv, cxviii; II, xxv, lx.

¹⁰² In remarks directed to Felix, Alcuin refers to "antecessor tuus Pelagius." (PL 101 col. 164) and "cum antecessoribus tuis Pelagio et Nestorio" (col. 222).

¹⁰³ Conc. Sirm. (adv. Phot.) cap. ix: "Si quis hominem solum dicit de Maria Filium, anathema sit." Filastrius: "Hic [Paulus Samosatenus] Christum hominem iustum, non deum verum praedicabat, iudaeizans potius... Post istum Fotinus doctrinam eius secutus in omnibus similiter praedicabat..." *Diversarum Hereseon Liber*, capp. lxiv-lxiv, ed. F. HEYLEN (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 9; Turnhout, 1957) pp. 243-245. Apponius, *In canticum canticorum expositionem* cxxxix (viii, 6) 12: "...ita et quam dursit aemulatio superborum praesumentium posse se Christo Domino nostro aequari per opera bona, demonstravit: sicut insanus Fotinus — ut in alio libello dictum est — non meruit dicere tantos effici christos vel salvatores, quanti reperti fuerint sermone suo et vitae exemplo convertisse impios ab errore, dum unus et solus ab uno Verbo sit adsumptus redemptor Christus et totius mundi salvator..." (ed. B. DE VREGILLE and L. NEYRAND,

An even richer set of relations between the Supplement's anti-Adoptionist arguments and earlier anti-Photinian rhetoric may be in evidence if the compiler was familiar with the *Commentarius in Epistulas Paulinas* of Ambrosiaster. Elements of Ambrosiaster's text correspond remarkably with passages of the Supplement's Augustine sermon.¹⁰⁴ First, there is discussion of the power that raised Christ from the dead. In his exposition of Photinianism, Ambrosiaster noted that "...Photinus did not concede that Christ was God, and yet did not dare deny that His was the body raised from the dead... and... with a certain impiety, seems to have denied that he was God, who, he said, raised himself from the dead. Indeed, one reads that the Lord said, *Tear down this temple and in three days I shall raise it up*. This is said concerning the temple of his body. Therefore it signifies that he himself raised his body from the dead, and nevertheless, moreover, it says that he was raised by his Father, on account of the fact that every power of the Son is from the Father, so that the deeds of the Son be the deeds of the Father, from whom all things come."¹⁰⁵ This is, of course, the *locus* discussed in Augustine's sermon to establish the divinity of Christ with

Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 19; Turnhout, 1986) pp. 272-273. Cf. Vigilius of Thapse, *Dialogus contra Arianos, Sabellianos, et Photinianos* PL 62 col. 182 (I,4).

¹⁰⁴ On Ambrosiaster's descriptions of Photinus, see Lydia Agnew SPELLER, "New Light on the Photinians: the evidence of Ambrosiaster" *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 34 (1983) pp. 99-113.

¹⁰⁵ "Paulus apostolus non ab hominibus neque per hominem, sed per Iesum Christum et deum patrem, qui suscitavit eum a mortuis. ...hoc dicto duas hereses damnavit, et Manichaei et Fotini, quia Manichaeus Christum hominem negat et non negat crucifixum, et Fotinus Christum deum esse non concedit et tamen ipsum se, hoc est corpus suum excitasse a mortuis negare non audet, ut Manichaeus, cum crucifixum non negat, stulte eum hominem non fateri videatur, et Fotinus impietate quadam deum negare, quem se ipsum a mortuis excitasse fatetur. legit enim dixisse dominum: *solvite templum hoc et ego tribus diebus excitabo illud*. hoc autem dicebat de templo corporis sui. igitur ipse se excitasse a mortuis corpus suum significat. et nihilominus tamen a patre suo dicitur excitatus, propterea quod omnis virtus filii de patre est, ut gesta filii gesta sint patris, ex quo sint omnia." *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur Commentarius in Epistulas Paulinas, Pars Tertia: in epistulas ad Galatas, ad Efesios, ad Filippenses, ad Colosenses, ad Thesalonicenses, ad Timotheum, ad Titum, ad Filemonem* ed. Henry Joseph VOGELS (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 81; Vienna, 1969) pp. 5-6.

the argument that no human, no matter how meritorious, can raise himself from the dead.¹⁰⁶

Ambrosiaster also addresses a problem raised by Photinian theology that would emerge in the second decade of the Adoptionist controversy: he argues against Photinus's suggestion that the Word incarnate was *called* (as distinct from being) Son.¹⁰⁷ The same proposal was made around A.D. 797 by Felix when he suggested that it might improve discussion to speak of Christ as "*Deus nuncupatus*," a rhetorical emendation that had the effect of renewing Alcuin's wrath.¹⁰⁸ This striking coincidence in theological expression does not secure either the date of the Supplement or the precise reasons that the compiler chose to direct the reader's attention to Photinianism as an apt parallel to Adoptionism, for there is no corroborating evidence within the Supplement to indicate that this issue was of especial concern to the compiler, although it may have influenced the compiler's inclination to associate Photinianism and Adoptionism.

A less speculative framework in which to situate the interest of the Supplement's compiler in Photinianism is the testimony of Agobard regarding Felix's doctrines. The evidence of the *Adversus Felicem* seems to mesh with elements of the Supplement. Agobard claims that Felix taught that Christ was, with respect to His humanity, created from the substance of the Virgin and thus was (in this respect) the Son of God not by nature, but by grace, election, predestination, will, favour, and assumption. This formula presented to Agobard a number of problems: how to describe the Son of the Father who has no spouse and of a virgin mother, how to explain

¹⁰⁶ The same point is made with the same citation by Pseudo-Augustine, *Solutiones*, cap. lxxvii: "Cum autem dicit: *Lazare, veni foras*, et statim ille qui iam faetebat e sepulcro vivus processit, magnum eius divinitatis indicium est. Ut et illud quod dicit: *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem*, ex hac ipsa Lazari resurrectione intellegi potest, quomodo debeat accipi; quia non utique metuebat divinitas mortem quae verbo mortuos suscitabat, sed humanum affectum per humanam tristitiam indicabat. Item crux passio vel sepultura uno vel altero dictu domini discutiuntur, quominus ei in potentia vel infirmitas ascribatur, cum dicit ad Iudeos: *Solvite templum hoc, et in triduo suscitabo illud*; item ait: *Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam*." ed. B. SCHWANK, in *Florilegia Biblica Africana saec. V* (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 90; Turnhout, 1961) p. 202.

¹⁰⁷ *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti* xci, cit. SPELLER, p. 111

¹⁰⁸ Cf. CAVADINI, p. 82-83, p. 190n.56,57.

that a human might be the Son of God, and how to account for the temporal birth of an eternal entity. Each of these problems had at one time or another been raised as corollaries to Photinus's central thesis that Christ was a man adopted as the Son of God, although Agobard has recourse explicitly to the Photinian precedent in only two instances.

Agobard's first reference to Photinus synthesises the issues of the eternal existence of the Son and His human lineage, and thus asserts both the conjunction of humanity and divinity in Christ and the identity of the Son as true God. Responding to Felix's suggestion that the Virgin was the mother of God in different ways, and that Christ was Son in different modes, Agobard objects that if Christ were born in two modes, he would have been born in two situations or times. "If he [Felix] were Catholic," he notes, "he would believe that both God and man are one and the same, and born in one mode at one time. If, however, he were a Nestorian or Samosatran or Photinian, he would believe that only a man was born of the Virgin, and that happened at one time. Now, however, because he says the holy Virgin was mother of God in one way and mother of the man in another, I think that, just as he does not speak in the usual way, so too he does not speak in a Catholic way."¹⁰⁹

The continuation of this passage adverts to a contrast between nature and grace that Felix seems to have introduced into the debate, and that exercised Agobard considerably. "By reason of sequestering divinity from humanity, he [Felix] believes that she [the Virgin] was the mother of God in one way and the mother of the man in another, and he explains to some degree, saying, 'by the nature of assumed humanity, she was his own birth-mother indeed, but by the grace and esteem of divinity, she was made mother of God.'"¹¹⁰ This application of the terms "nature" and "grace" to the

¹⁰⁹ "Iste autem, si catholicus esset, unum eundemque esse et Deum et hominem, et unum uno modo et semel tantum natum crederet. Si autem esset Nestorianus aut Paulianista sive Fotinianus, solum hominem crederet ex ea natum, et semel tantum. Nunc autem, quia dicit sanctam Virginem aliter Dei esse genitricem et aliter hominis, ego puto quia, sicut nec usitato more loquitur, ita nec catholico." *Adv. Dog. Fel.* xiv (VAN ACKER p. 82)

¹¹⁰ "Iste autem, qua ratione sequestrando ab humanitate divinitatem, aliter eam Dei et aliter hominis genitricem esse credit, et hic ex parte aperit dicendo *natura quippe humanitatis adsumptae propriam eam esse genitricem, Dei vero matrem gratia et dignatione divinitatis factam.*" (ibid.)

Virgin's status as mother is a refraction of their application to the status of Christ as Son. To refute Felix's related claim that Christ was the Son of God with respect to His divinity by nature, and by grace with respect to His humanity, Agobard refers to the Photinians. Citing Avitus, "that most forceful opponent of the Photinian heretics", Agobard begins by arguing that the man descended from Abraham who could claim to exist before Abraham could only be true God as well as true man, both Son of God and Son of Man.¹¹¹ Abraham himself witnessed the unity of the two natures: "The greatest of the patriarchs, when he saw that day without end and in which God remains, wished to see such a one in whom man was united to God. I saw, he said, and I rejoiced, because just as he perceived him in whom was genuine majesty, so also he longed with desire for him in whom adopted humility was shown."¹¹² Lest Avitus's use of the word "adopted" weaken his case, Agobard adds another citation from Avitus that refers to Galatians 4:4, a text Agobard adduces at several points to affirm that it was God's own Son, not an adopted son, who was sent for our salvation, and that Christ's existence did not begin at birth from Mary: "But that... Avitus neither believed nor taught that our Lord was an adopted Son with regard to His humanity is apparent from [ano-

¹¹¹ This argument replicates that of pseudo-Eusebius against the Photinians: "Numquid hic homo, Fotine, ante Abraham fuit dicens: ante Abraham ego sum et non deitas fili dei, quae una semper cum patre fuit? Nam cum hic homo filius David et filius Abrahae nuperrime sit genitus, utique haec cuncta superius dicta ipsa divinitas fili dei est operata, antequam hominem adsumeret, qui pro nostra salute denuo de spiritu sancto de virgine Maria natus est; unde deus verus et homo verus est, sicut et filius dei et filius hominis est, dum de Deo Deus et secundum carnem idem ipse filius hominis." *De Trinitate libelli septem* III.55-56 (ed. V. BULHART, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 9; Turnhout, 1957) pp. 44-45. It is also found in Ambrosiaster, *Quaestiones* xci.

¹¹² "Beatus quoque Avitus, Photinianorum hereticorum validissimus expuglator, scripsit, dicens: 'Certe circumfremantibus Iudaeis et in Dominum nostrum exerta blasphemiarum tela vibrantibus, quem respondisse credimus: *Amen dico vobis, ante Abraham ego sum*, (Io. 8:58) nisi quia per concordiam genitoris et generis ipse per traducem maternorum parentum <descendit> ex Abrahae seminae, qui sine annorum numero Abraham praeivit aeternitate? Qui maximus patriarchum, cum videret illum diem, in quo sine fine permanet Deus, concupivit talem illum videre, quo homo unitus est Deo. *Vidit*, inquit, *et gavisus est* (Io. 8:56), quia, sicut cernebat illum, in quo erat genuina maiestas, ita et istum desiderio concupierat, in quo adoptata illustrabatur humilitas.' *Adv. Dog. Fel.* xli (VAN ACKER, pp. 108-109).

ther text of his] that says, 'moreover, the Apostle says, *Truly after the fullness of time, God sent his Son*. And indeed, he who was sent existed before he was sent...' Behold, a catholic doctor testifies truthfully against Felix, that our Lord was the Son of the Father neither by adoption nor by election, but by stock and characteristic."¹¹³ The phrase "neither by adoption nor by election" is a shortened version of the Felician formulation Agobard repeatedly strives to refute, that Christ was Son "according to his humanity not by nature but by grace, election, will, favour, predestination, assumption, et cetera."¹¹⁴

While Agobard struggled against Felix's assertion that Christ was human by grace, the compiler of the Supplement appears to favour the doctrine of the grace of union as the means of elucidating the relation between grace and the conjoined natures of Christ. The glimpse of this doctrine in Augustine's sermon has already been noted; Leo's exposition of the union of Christ's natures, if the *Tome* was the transcribed text, reiterates the point. The reiteration is effected in part by the rhetorical parallels between the Augustinian and Leonine passages: both comprise a series of short clauses listing the seemingly contrary attributes united in Christ. Augustine's description of the effects of the hypostatic union, it will be recalled, was as follows: "The Lord made one person with the slave. How great is this grace? Christ in heaven, Christ on earth; Christ at once both in heaven and on earth; not two Christs, but the same Christ both in heaven and on earth. Christ in the presence of the Father, Christ in the womb of the Virgin; Christ on the Cross, Christ descending to those in the underworld; on the very same day, moreover, Christ in Paradise with the confessing thief."¹¹⁵ This passage

¹¹³ "Sed quia haec dicens nec credidit nec docuit, Dominum nostrum adoptivum esse filium iuxta humanitatem, apparet ex eo, quod ibidem praemisit dicens: 'Apostolus autem dicit: *Postquam vero venit plenitudo temporum, misit Deus Filium suum*. (Gal. 4:4) Enimvero qui mittitur, erat antequam mitteretur...' Ecce catholicus doctor veridice contra Felicem testatur, quod Dominus noster nec adoptione nec electione sit Filius Patris, sed genere et proprietate." (VAN ACKER, *ibid.*) It is in commenting on Galatians 4, too, that Ambrosiaster discussed Photinus.

¹¹⁴ *Adu. Dog. Fel.* capp. xvii, xviii, xx, xxiii, xxxvii (VAN ACKER, pp. 83, 84, 85, 91, 103)

¹¹⁵ "Unam facit dominus cum seruo personam. Quanta ista gratia? Christus in coelo, Christus in terra: simul Christus et in coelo et in terra: nec duo Christi, sed idem Christus et in coelo et in terra. Christus apud patrem, Christus in utero

may have been elaborated in the Supplement with Leo's "Therefore, with the quality of both natures whole and joined in one person, majesty took on humility, strength took on weakness, eternity took on mortality: and in order that the debt of our condition be paid, inviolable nature was united with passible nature so that, as was fitting for our recovery, one and the same Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, could both die in the one and not die in the other."¹¹⁶

Leo's identification of Christ as Mediator may be another clue to the Supplement's Christological and ecclesiological orientation. It is the union of Christ's natures, Leo explained in his letter to Julian, that permits Christ to be Mediator: "He would not be the mediator between God and man unless that same God and that same man had been one, and authentic in each."¹¹⁷ The possibility of Christ's mediation exists because of his simultaneous divine power and human sympathy, seen so clearly at two moments showing Christ's power over death: the episode of Lazarus's resurrection and the moment when, hanging on the Cross, Christ promises the thief entry into paradise. Both instances are adduced by Beatus, Augustine, and Leo, whose *Tome* observes, "It is not part of the same nature to weep with the emotion of compassion for a dead friend, and when the stone was removed from the tomb on the fourth day, to raise with a voice of majesty that same friend alive; or to hang on the cross, and turning day to night, to cause all of the elements to tremble; or to be pierced with nails and to open the gates of paradise to the faith of the thief; so it is not part of the same nature to say, 'I and the Father are one,' and to say, 'the

uirginis: Christus in cruce, Christus apud inferos subueniens quibusdam: ea autem ipsa die Christus in paradiso cum latrone confitente." *PL* 38 col. 436; Paris 1927 fol. 122^v.

¹¹⁶ "Salva igitur proprietate utriusque naturae, et in unam coeunte personam, suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas, et ad resoluendum conditionis nostrae debitum, natura inviolabilis naturae est unita passibili; ut quod nostris remediis congruebat unus atque idem mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus et mori posset ex uno et mori non posset ex altero." (SILVA TAROUCA, p. 24)

¹¹⁷ "Verus homo vero unitus est Deo, eandem gerens in Verbi Deitate personam et tenens communem nobiscum in corpore animaque naturam. Non enim esset Dei hominumque mediator nisi idem Deus idemque homo in utroque et unus esset et verus." *PL* 54 col. 809-810.

Father is greater than I.”¹¹⁸ *Mediator* was a word avoided by Elipandus:¹¹⁹ perhaps because it situates Christ in both his human and divine locations concurrently. Felix, however, was not shy about this term.¹²⁰ In this respect, it has been noted, Felix moves closer to Beatus, who had perceived Elipandus’s reluctance to

¹¹⁸ “Sicut ergo, ut multa praeteream non eiusdem naturae est, flere miserationis affectu amicum mortuum, et eundem remoto quatrduanae aggere sepulturae ad vocis imperium excitare redivivum, aut ligno pendere et in noctem luce conversa omnia elementa tremefacere, aut clavis transfixum esse et paradisi portas fidei latronis aperire, ita non eiusdem naturae est dicere *Ego et Pater unum sumus* et dicere *Pater maior me est*.” (SILVA TAROUCA, pp. 27-28) In addition to the reference cited immediately above, Augustine says of the thief, “Et ibi latro quid meruit, nisi quia illam viam tenuit, ubi ostendit salutare suum? A qua tibi pes non exeat. In eo enim quod se accusavit, deum laudavit, et vitam suam beatam fecit. Praesumpsit quidem a domino, et ait illi, *domine, memento mei, cum veneris in regnum tuum*. Considerabat enim facinora sua, et pro magno habebat, si ei uel in fine parceretur. Dominus autem continuo, cum ille diceret, *memento mei*; sed quando? Cum ueneris in regnum tuum: *amen*, inquit, *dico tibi, hodie me cum eris in paradiso*. Misericordia obtulit quod miseria distulit.” PL 38 col. 436; Paris 1927 fol. 122^v-123^r. Augustine’s comments on Lazarus have been discussed above. Beatus’s remarks also define parallels between Lazarus and the thief. Of Lazarus, Beatus writes, “Et ipse Dominus in euangelio caeco illuminatio dixit: *Tu credis in filio Dei? Et dixit: Quis est, Domine, ut credam in eum? Respondit ei Ihesus: Et uidisti eum, et qui loquitur te cum ipse est*. Item in euangelio secundum Iohannem, quando ad Lazarum suscitaturus uenit, *dixit Marta ad Ihesum: Domine, si fuisses hic, frater meus non fuisset mortuus. Dixit illi Ihesus: Resurget frater tuus. Dicit ei Marta: Scio, quia resurget in resurrectione in nouissimo die. Dicit ei Ihesus: Ego sum resurrectio et uita. Qui credit in me, et si mortuus fuerit, uiuet; et omnis, qui uiuit et credit in me, non morietur in aeternum. Credis hoc? Et ait illi Marta: Vtique, Domine. Ego credidi, quia tu es Christus Filius Dei, qui in hunc mundum uenisti*.” *Adv. Elip.* I.xvii (LÖFSTEDT, p. 12) The thief is mentioned also in demonstration of the dual natures of Christ. “Foris scribitus est, quum affigitur cruci. Intus scribitus est, quum paradisu latroni promittit in cruce. Foris scribitus est, quum spiritum moriens secundum rationem humanae carnis emittit. Intus scribitus est quum in passione sol fugit, dies absconditur, terra concutitur. Foris scribitus est, quum sepelitur. Intus scribitus est, quum tertia die sepulcri liminibus remotis erumpit in lucem” (I.cxvii; LÖFSTEDT, p. 91). The appeal to the example of the thief seems to have had special significance in the context of the Adoptionist controversy: Elipandus accused Migetius of proclaiming that he (Migetius) was like Christ, and that he (Migetius) spoke Christ’s words “Amen, Amen, I say to you, this day you shall be with me in paradise” (Luke 23:43). (CAVADINI, p. 20)

¹¹⁹ CAVADINI, p. 67. In contrast, it was a word favoured by Beatus: cf. *Adv. Elip.* I.lvi, lxxxi, II.xiv, lxxviii, lxxi, etc.

¹²⁰ CAVADINI, p. 208n.5.

accept this designation for Christ as one of his greatest failings, and away from Elipandus's thought.¹²¹

Leo pursued the question of Christ's rôle as Mediator with reference to the text of Philippians 2:9-10: "... *He was mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus*, in whom dwelt the *fullness of divinity corporeally*, because it is the promotion of the assumed, not the Assuming, when God *exalted him and gave him the Name which is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow ... every tongue should confess that Jesus the Lord is in the Glory of God the Father.*"¹²² Thus the term "mediator" became tightly linked to one of the most provocative proof-texts of the Adoptionist Controversy. Not only the description of Christ as *servus* in Phil. 2:7, but also Paul's choice of verbs to elucidate the dynamic of the Incarnation gave rise to dispute. Both Adoptionists and anti-Adoptionists considered Phil. 2.9 ("Therefore God has highly exalted him and bestowed on him the name which is above every name") a textual *crux*, and there appears to have been some difference, too, in their treatment of the preceding text, "though He was in the form of God, [He] did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a slave, being born in the likeness of men. And being found in human form He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death" (Phil. 2:6-8). Adoptionists were particularly adept at developing exegesis of Phil. 2:6-7 and its reference to the self-emptying of the Word, whereas anti-Adoptionists seem to have avoided discussing it.¹²³ Pope Hadrian, in his comments on Phil. 2, omitted all mention of Phil. 2:6-7. Alcuin, who cited Phil. 2:7 rarely, "almost always omits the *exinanitio* (emptying) of verse 7," and instead

¹²¹ *ibid.*, p. 121.

¹²² Ep. ad Iul.: "Nec Verbum igitur in carnem, nec in Verbum caro mutata est, sed utrumque in uno manet... ut esset *mediator Dei et hominum Iesus Christus* (I Tim 2:5) in quo inhabitaret *plenitudo Divinitas corporaliter* (Coloss. 2:9), quia assumpti, non assumptis provectio est, quod *Deus illum exaltavit et donavit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur quoniam Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.* (Phil. 2:9-11)" PL 54 col. 807.

¹²³ On the exegesis of *deitate exinanita*, see CAVADINI, "Elipandus and his Critics" pp. 791-794. In *The Last Christology*, Cavadini notes Beatus's willingness to cite Phil. 2:7 (p. 93).

tried to develop a model of "pouring in", "receiving", "taking", rather than "emptying" when discussing the *forma servi*.¹²⁴

The Supplement may present yet another approach to guiding the reader through the verse. In the *Tome*, Leo clarifies the parallel verbs "emptied" and "humbled" in order to preclude the possibility that the divine element might be diminished when Christ took the form of a slave. In exegesis that synthesises all the volatile terminology (*forma Dei, forma servi, semet ipsum exinanivit, exaltavit*), Leo equates the actions of *exinanitio* and *inclinatio*, and thus prepares the way for the substitution of "lowering" for "emptying": "He took the form of a slave without stain of sin, increasing the human and not diminishing the divine: because that very emptying of Himself by which the Invisible made himself Visible and the Creator and Lord of all wished to be one of the mortals, was the bending down of pity, not a defect of power. Accordingly, he who made man, remaining in the form of God, was made man in the form of a slave. Indeed, both natures retain their own quality without defect: and just as the form of God did not consume the form of a slave, so the form of a slave did not diminish the form of God."¹²⁵ If the compiler of the Supplement intended that readers refer to the *Tome*, the passage just cited would be a return to the theme raised in the first part of the Supplement and in the sermon: the relationship between exaltation and humility, as seen in the exalted Christ who humbled Himself. In this respect, too, the closeness of the Supplement's hypothesised position and Felix's is striking. Felix seems to have agreed with Leo's modification of *se exinanivit* to *humiliavit*: he is reported to have written that, "The Son of God was the son of man, not by mutability of nature, but in dig-

¹²⁴ Cf. CAVADINI, pp. 34-35, 76, 91-100 (p. 92).

¹²⁵ "Adsumpsit formam servi sine sorde peccati humana augens, divina non minuens, quia exinanitio illa qua se invisibilis visibilem prae-buit et creator ac dominus omnium rerum unus voluit esse mortalium inclinatio fuit miserationis non defectio potestatis. Proinde qui manens in forma Dei fecit hominem, forma servi factus est homo. Tenet enim sine defectu proprietatem suam utraque natura, et sicut formam servi Dei forma non adimit, ita formam Dei servi non minuit... Ingressitur ergo haec mundi infirma filius Dei de caelesti sede descendens et a paterna gloria non recedens... dum in invicem sunt et humilitas hominis et altitudo divinitatis..." (SILVA TAROUCA, p. 25-26)

nity: similarly, too, was the son of man the Son of God, not by a change of substance, but in the Son of God was the true Son."¹²⁶

In contrast, there appears to be some distance between the Supplement's approach to the ecclesiological relation of the head and members and Agobard's explication of the image.¹²⁷ Responding to Felix's remark that Christ is indeed the head of the Church, Agobard argued, "This is true in part, but it would be more truthfully expressed if it were said: 'sometimes the head speaks with the voice of the body' as in the example 'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?' and 'I hungered and you gave food to me to eat' and other instances of this sort..."¹²⁸ This construction, in which the head speaks on behalf of the body, appears to be Agobard's attempt to emphasise the importance of Christ's rôle as the unique Mediator, a point to which Agobard returns at the conclusion of this argument: "Behold, through the Spirit of Christ are we made his members. Moreover, when we have been made his members, Christ is in us, and in this way he is the head of us, that is, of the Church, who works all things not in each of us, but in all of us; therefore, not all things are in each of us, but some, just as in all there are not some things, but all things. ... But because all things are done through the mediator of God and men, who is both God and man, therefore is it said that this mediator, Christ, is also the head of the Church."¹²⁹ Agobard reiterates that among

¹²⁶ "Dei Filius esset hominis filius, non mutabilitate naturae, sed dignatione: similiter et hominis filius esset Dei Filius, non versibilitate substantiae, sed in Dei Filio esset verus Filius." (Alcuin, *Adv. Fel.* V.1, *PL* 101 col. 188; cit. CAVADINI, p. 110) This "condescension", observes Cavadini, "cannot be taken in and of itself as an allusion to a process of self-emptying, but its use does become more significant once it is noticed that there is no balancing reference to the "exaltation" of a "human being" as there always is in the Carolingian [i.e., Alcuinian] parallels" (p. 110).

¹²⁷ Cavadini notes the similarity between Felix's and Beatus's ecclesiology, and the prominence of this aspect of their thought. (p. 118).

¹²⁸ "Hoc ex parte verum esse potest, sed verius diceret, si dixisset: *Aliquando ex voce corporis loquitur caput*, sicut est illud, *Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris?* et *Esurivi et dedistis mihi manducare*, et cetera huiusmodi." Cap. xxxvii (VAN ACKER, p. 103)

¹²⁹ "... Ecce per Spiritum Christi efficitur eius membra. Effecti autem membra eius, Christus in nobis est, et hoc modo caput est nostrum, id est Ecclesiae, qui operatur omnia non in singulis, sed in omnibus, in singulis ergo non omnia, sed aliqua, sicut in omnibus non aliqua, sed omnia. Dividit Spiritus gratias, dividit Dominus ministraciones, dividit Deus operationes, sancta Trinitas, unus vide-

the members of the body, the graces are different and partial, whereas in Christ they are all and wholly present: "... to each man were different graces given, so that each man of the body should not have all graces, all ministries, all the operations poured into the body through one head, Christ..."¹³⁰ This explanation preserves the idea that Christ is *unicus*, unique. What Agobard seems to fear is that Felix is once again proposing that Christ may be considered one among many christs: "He [Felix] moreover, as it seems to me, strives in such a way to join head and body, so that indeed he may call them one person... On this account it appears in his words that he would join in some way the body of the Saviour to the Church more than to the holy Trinity."¹³¹

To refute Felix's diminution of the distance between the unique Christ and the rest of humanity that would permit likening the rest of humanity to Christ, Agobard deployed both the technical and common senses of the word "person" to reveal the differences between the person of Christ and common persons. He explained that the union of the head and the body is not like the hypostatic union, but rather that the church is like a corporate personality, comprised of persons united in the spirit:

...Truly, by all means, it is the case that Christ and the Church are frequently called by the Apostle the head and the body. And therefore they are one person, because the body of the head is called the body, and the head of the body is likewise called the head. Indeed, the head is not designated with reference to itself, but with reference to the body. But, nevertheless, limit and discrimination are to be maintained in how they are called one person. And not, indeed, in the same fashion in which we believe the Word and the flesh to be wholly one person in the Son of God (not joined from two persons, but from two substances); rather are Christ and the Church believed to be one person which is con-

licet Deus, qui et nunc operatur omnia in omnibus, et in futuro erit omnia in omnibus et in singulis. Sed quia omnia per mediatorem Dei et hominum fiunt, qui est utique Deus et homo, ideo dicitur et est ipse mediator Christus caput Ecclesiae." Cap. xxxvii (VAN ACKER, pp. 104-105)

¹³⁰ "...et in eodem in uno Spiritu singulis hominibus diversae gratiae dantur ita, ut unus ex corpore homo non omnes gratias habeat, omnes ministraciones, omnes operationes infusas in corpore per unum caput Christum." (ibid., p. 104)

¹³¹ "Iste autem, ut mihi videtur, propterea elaborat in tantum coniungere caput et corpus, ut etiam unam haec personam dicat ... Propter quod apparet in verbis eius, quod plus quodammodo coniungat corpus Salvatoris Ecclesiae, quam sanctae Trinitate." (ibid., p. 103)

joined out of many persons; the unity of this person, that is Christ and the Church, is undoubtedly in the Spirit, not in the body.¹³²

Leo's perspective, on the other hand, seems to supply an exegesis closer to Beatus's. By insisting on the union of the two natures of Christ, rather than on their division (as do the Adoptionists), Leo arrives at the same conclusion as will Beatus, repeatedly and at length: that any formula of faith that minimises the significance of that union endangers the integrity of the Head and Body. In words that Beatus will replicate almost exactly, Leo writes, "But what is 'to disunite Jesus,' except to separate from him human nature, and by the most shameless fictions to make hollow the mystery by which alone we are saved? Truly, it is inevitable that one in darkness about the nature of the body of Christ should also be fooled by the same blindness regarding his Passion ... because denial of his true flesh is also the denial of his corporeal suffering."¹³³ The thought is continued in the letter to Julian: "whosoever does not receive [this teaching of the holy Spirit] is not a member of Christ's body and cannot glory in the Head in which he asserts there is not contained his own nature. ...He who denies the true man Jesus Christ must be filled with many impieties, and either must be claimed by Apollinaris, or taken by Valentinus, or captured by Manicheus, none of whom believed the truth of the human flesh in Christ."¹³⁴

¹³² "Verum est omnino, quod Christus et Ecclesia caput et corpus dicuntur ab apostolo frequenter. Et ideo una persona sunt, quia et corpus capitis corpus dicitur, et caput corporis utique caput. Non enim ad se dicitur caput, sed ad corpus. Sed tamen modus et discretio tenenda est, qualiter dicantur una persona. Neque enim eodem modo, quo in Filio Dei Verbum et carnem unam credimus omnino esse personam, non coniunctam ex duabus personis, sed ex duabus substantiis, eodem etiam modo creduntur Christus et Ecclesia una esse persona, quae coniuncta est ex multis personis, quae unitas personae, id est Christi atque Ecclesiae, in Spiritu utique est, non in corpore." (ibid., p. 104)

¹³³ "Quid autem est solvere Iesum nisi humanam ab eo separare naturam, et sacramentum per quod unum salvati sumus inprudenter vacuare figmentis. Caligans vero circa naturam corporis Christi necesse est ut etiam in passione eius eadem obcecatione desipiat. ... quoniam negatio verae carnis negatio est etiam corporeae passionis." (SILVA TAROUCA, p. 30)

¹³⁴ "quoniam sancti Spiritus in nobis atque in vobis una est eruditio eademque doctrina, quam quicumque non recipit, non est membrum corporis Christi, nec potest eo capite gloriari, in quo naturam suam asserit non haberi. Quid autem prodest imprudentissimo seni, Nestorianae haereseos nomine, eorum lacerare opinionem, ... cum... tantum a recto tramite etiam iste desciscat qui unigenitum Dei filium sic de utero beatæ Virginis prædicat natum, ut humani quidem cor-

The Leonine meditations have led to the same result as the Beatan ones: that misunderstanding of Christ's divine nature produces misunderstanding of His human nature as well, and upon such misunderstanding any construction of His relation to us founders.¹³⁵

Given the Supplement's interest in an ecclesiology that stresses the unity of head and body, its attention to Eutychianism, and its use of Hispanic sources, is it possible that it was compiled by Felix himself in one of his more or less orthodox moments? Certainly there are aspects of the Supplement that correspond to Felix's interests and particular emphases in discussion, and also to his inclination to revise the language of the dispute in hopes of reconciliation.¹³⁶ The Supplement's citation of Chalcedonian materials need not preclude Felix's authorship, for Felix's Christological pronouncements at first glance seem wholly Chalcedonian, to the extent of carefully using the negotiated preposition "in" for the relation of the two natures: "*sicut in Se continet duas naturas, id est divinitas suae et humanitatis nostrae, ita duobus modis unus creditur Dei Filius*, etc."¹³⁷ It is also clear that Felix's Christological statements incorporated extensive reflection upon the rôles of grace and predestination. Interest in elucidating the forces of grace and predestination could well be the rationale for the Supplement's citation of Pope Celestine's letter and its appended *capitula* on grace and predestination. The theology of Christ as *mediator* and *unicus* does not adequately mark the text as non-Felician, for in this, too, Felix seems to agree with the orthodox rather than with Elipandus.¹³⁸ In the same theological trajectory, Felix believed that

poris speciem gesserit, sed humanae carnis veritas Verbo unita non fuerit? ... Qui enim negat verum hominem Iesum Christum, necesse est ut multis impietatibus impleatur, eumque aut Apollinaris sibi vindicet aut Valentinus usurpet aut Manichaeus obtineat, quorum nullus in Christo humanae carnis credidit veritatem." *PL* 54 col. 803-805.

¹³⁵ Ep. ad. Iul.: "quia haec redemptionis nostrae sacramenta vacuantur si Christus veram veri hominis totamque naturam suscepisse non creditur." *PL* 54 col. 805.

¹³⁶ For example, after his debate with Alcuin in 799, Felix seems to have taken to omitting the words *nuncupatio* and *adoptio* and their cognates from his writings. CAVADINI, p. 108.

¹³⁷ cit. Agobard, *Adv. Dog. Fel.* xvi (VAN ACKER, p. 83).

¹³⁸ Cf. CAVADINI, pp. 114, 121.

Christ was without sin, a doctrine stated more than once in the Supplement, especially in Augustine's sermon.¹³⁹ Felix's explanations for the rationale for Christ's baptism are thus a *crux* in the measure of his orthodoxy. Although his opponents were worried by his theology of baptism, it seems to have been founded on the Pauline statement that we are baptised into Jesus's death and resurrection: this, too, matches the text of the Supplement's Gregorian letter, *Respondere epistolis vestris*, a letter which Alcuin rejected as inauthentic.¹⁴⁰

Although the Supplement seems to present perspectives that are in some ways more sympathetic to Felix's than to Agobard's or Alcuin's, it is not wholly satisfactory to read it as an Adoptionist dossier compiled by Felix. Most problematic for an Adoptionist reading is the presence of the apparently anti-Toledan first section. Furthermore, the Christology of the Supplement does not sufficiently correspond to Felix's, for despite the modifications that he offered, he does indeed seem to have adhered to Adoptionist beliefs. His preference for Elipandus's language for Christ as the *parvus, adoptivus, servus* seems well enough attested, and the Supplement appears to reject that position. The Supplement's assault on the Photinian heresy, especially in light of the parallel reference used by Agobard, is unlikely to have been proposed by an Adoptionist. The prominent development in the Supplement of

¹³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 122. Augustine: "Si, confiteor, christus dixit, a quo longe est omne peccatum: non solius est peccatoris, sed etiam aliquando laudatoris. Confitemur ergo, siue laudantes deum, siue accusantes nos ipsos. Pia est utraque confessio, siue cum te reprehendis, qui non es sine peccato; siue cum illum laudas, qui non potest habere peccatum." *PL* 38 col. 433; Paris 1927 fol. 120^v "...Quando deum laudamus, tanquam eum qui sine peccato est praedicamus..." (*ibid.*, col. 434; Paris 1927 fol. 121^v). Beatus made the same point rather viciously by drawing the contrast between Christ and Elipandus: "Aut certe te exaltas, ut quartus omnipotens sis; aut certe illum humilias, ut similis tui sit. Sed licet humilis tibi extimetur, non potest tibi esse similis, quia et ipsa conceptione humana multum dissimilis tibi est. Ille conceptus de Spiritu sancto, non de uirili semine, solus sine peccato. Tu uero de uirile semine, de massa perditionis et concupiscentia utrorumque parentum; et natus de muliere, in peccatis conceptus et in peccatis natus. Ille inter homines solus natus de uirgine et solus sine peccato conceptus et solus sine peccato natus." *Adv. Elip.* I.cix (LÖFSTEDT, p. 94)

¹⁴⁰ AMANN, "L'Adoptionisme" p. 307n.1. CAVADINI, p. 124. On Alcuin's baptismal theology, its relation to Adoptionism, and the manuscript transmission of Gregory's letter, see BULLOUGH, p. 48 and n.

the theme of the exaltation of Christ's humanity is another deviation from Felix's position, and is characteristic of other Carolingian anti-Adoptionist writing.¹⁴¹ As a corollary, the Supplement compiler seems to show a level of discomfort with the *se exinanivit* formulation, used by Elipandus and Felix, that, while it does not match Alcuin's practice of editing his citations of Phillipians 2:7 so that the words would not appear, is nevertheless a mark of Carolingian anti-Adoptionist thinking.

Of the known extant Carolingian anti-Adoptionist texts, the Supplement reveals not only a distinctive theological perspective, but also a variant argumentative dynamic, for it seems to have been compiled in a negotiative strategy, in which subtle rhetorical alterations might produce formulations to which differing parties might each agree. This narrowing of contested distinctions produces texts whose meaning is right on the border of ambiguity, and in some respects, the readings of the Supplement's testimonies seem ambiguous.¹⁴² Again, this quality seems consonant with the nature of the relations between Felix and the Carolingian advocates of orthodoxy. In contrast to Elipandus, who in his adversarial exchanges with Alcuin descended at times into startling displays of discourtesy and insult, Felix is remembered as possessing urbanity, affability, and apparent charm; the friendliness of his relations with Leidrad, Agobard, and even Alcuin, and his willingness to agree with his adversaries and then subsequently emerge again, or still, as an Adoptionist apologist have frequently attracted notice. Whereas the argumentation between Beatus and Elipandus, between Alcuin and Elipandus, and between the Iberian supporters of Elipandus and the Frankish supporters of Alcuin yielded ever more polarised descriptions of Christology, the Supplement seems to engage in *suasio* rather than *refutatio*. Such a rhetorical cast, whether the result of the compiler's own understanding of the problem or of experience of direct contact with Felix, would seem indicative of local circumstances.

¹⁴¹ CAVADINI, p. 110.

¹⁴² Similar ambiguity seems to be evident in the glosses found in ms. Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia, 4, discussed by D. DE BRUYNE ("Un document de la controverse adoptianiste en Espagne vers l'an 800" *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 27 (1931) part I, pp. 307-312); scholars have disagreed as to whether they reveal an Adoptionist or an anti-Adoptionist perspective.

The Supplement seems also to be a witness to the influence of local intellectual traditions. Many of the texts cited were originally addressed to Spain or southern Gaul.¹⁴³ While the Supplement shows some correspondence to the arguments of Beatus and Alcuin, nevertheless, it seems to present novel perspectives, particularly in its analysis of historical analogues; in this it appears to deviate from almost all of the known Iberian and Frankish sources except for Agobard's *Adversus Felicem*. There are signs of originality evident in the compiler's pursuit, if not discovery, of the possible similitude between Photinianism and Adoptionism and also in the exploration of the tension between humility and exaltation and their relevance to both the hypostatic union and the union of Christ and His Church.

The relation between the perspectives of this southern Gallic compilation and Alcuin's prolific anti-Adoptionist writing presents problems in assessing both the date of the Supplement and the degree of distinction in the legal and intellectual cultures of the northern and southern regions of the Carolingian empire. The paucity of surviving evidence makes it difficult to know to what extent works such as the Supplement and Alcuin's treatises are idiosyncratic. The marked differences that emerge in comparison of the Supplement and Alcuin's writings suggest that if they are not each *sui generis*, then they are either chronologically separated or there was considerable segregation between the imperial court and the Lyonnaise canonistic community. Perhaps most intriguing is the use of juridical sources in the service of theological exposition. In this respect the compiler differs from other writers in the controversy whose works have been published.

Although the compiler of the Supplement promotes the idea of papal authority and superiority, it is to be noted that he does not cite any of the contemporary papal condemnations of Adoptionism. Two factors can be suggested that might account for this absence. First of all, the compiler's interests are essentially historical, historiographic, and ecclesiological. Secondly, the connections between the papacy and the Frankish realms during the early Carolingian period are notably imperial-papal ones. Popes Hadrian I and Leo III are usually described by historians as dependent upon

¹⁴³ cf. FIREY, "A Carolingian Lyonnaise Supplement".

Charlemagne and his imperial power.¹⁴⁴ In the Adoptionist controversy, their condemnations, and the councils they held to issue them, were apparently requested by the Carolingian court, and their letters are sent to that court.¹⁴⁵ Alcuin takes his argumentative cues from the papal letters. In short, the theory of papal supremacy is a part of the southern Gallic ecclesiological conception, but the historical reality of the situation is that southern Gallic ecclesiastical organisation is episcopal, and either bypasses or is passed by the channels of papal-Frankish communication.

If the Supplement was composed by a southern Gallic compiler, either wholly or in a cumulative process, with the intent of responding to Felix, its deviation from the bulk of Alcuinian polemic against Adoptionism is explicable. Even the proposal that the Supplement is some form of a response to Felix, however, does little to narrow the range of dates at which it might have been compiled. The demise of Felix seems an uncertain *terminus ante quem*, as discussion of both his theses and the more general problems continued for some time afterward: it was the discovery of a little tract among Felix's effects after his death that produced Agobard's most substantial surviving written contribution, the *Adversus Dogma Felicis*.¹⁴⁶ The Supplement's attention to the Spanish political circumstances of the debate and, possibly, the inclusion of the Celestinian *capitula* on grace and predestination may indicate that it was compiled in the earlier phases of the controversy, for letters sent in the 780s to Spain by pope Hadrian, when he began to hear rumours of heterodoxy, devote considerably more discussion to the problems of grace and predestination than to the problematic Christological issues.¹⁴⁷ Greater familiarity with the situation of the

¹⁴⁴ The classic description of the relationship is that of Walter ULLMAN, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: a study in the ideological relation of clerical to lay power* (London, 1955) pp. 87-118.

¹⁴⁵ This aspect of the Adoptionist Controversy as indicative of relations between the papal and imperial courts is discussed by Thomas F.X. NOBLE, "The papacy in the eighth and ninth centuries" in *The New Cambridge Medieval History II: c. 700-c. 900* ed. Rosamond MCKITTERICK (Cambridge, 1995) pp. 578-579.

¹⁴⁶ Agobard, who had served as Leidrad's *coepiscopus*, succeeded him as metropolitan in 816. Felix died in 818.

¹⁴⁷ *Codex Carolinus* nos. 95, 96, 97 in MGH Epp. III, ed. W. GUNDLACH, pp. 636-643, 643-647 (duplicates no. 95), 647-650. cf. pp. 642, 646.

Church in Spain than is shown by Alcuin seems to account for the inclusion of some texts in the Supplement that do not appear to pertain directly to the Adoptionist controversy, but to matters which other sources confirm were matters of theological concern in late eighth century Spain. The somewhat enigmatic choice of the epistolary exchange between Pope Hormisdas and the Emperor Justin that follows the Celestinian tract may be an elliptical comment on the parallels between Migetius's Christology and that of the Scythian monks whose reformulation of the Chalcedonian definition occasioned the correspondence.¹⁴⁸ Comparison of the published documents and the Supplement seems to reveal more about the various stances of the writers than about their precise historical relations. From the absence of correlation in sources or argument in Agobard's *Adversus Dogma Felicis* and the Supplement, it would seem that Agobard was not the compiler of the Supplement, and that he did not refer to it in the composition of the *Adversus Dogma Felicis*. There are, however, interesting indications that both texts emerge from the same intellectual *milieu*, and that both Agobard and the compiler had been exposed to similar and possibly distinctive discourse on the matter.

In sum, it appears that in the Supplement to the *Dacheriana* we have a unique, informed southern Gallic perspective on the Adoptionist Controversy, set forth by a jurist who perceives the ecclesiological implications of the heresy. The compiler situated his analyses in the immediate political context as the disputants translated their differences into struggles over diocesan supremacy and authority, in the more profound context of the theological rationale for the very existence of the sacral structure of the Church, and finally in the juridical context of conciliar rejection of the premises of the heresy. Although topical, and also rather opaque, and thus less durable in transmission than the other portions of the *Dacheriana*, this theoretical cast of the Supplement would seem to make it a fitting peroration to the collection. The *Dacheriana* outlines bishops' powers and prerogatives; the Supplement, with its exploration of an essential Christian paradox about the nature of power and humility, explains the limits on those powers and the constraints, without abdicating any ecclesiological status, sacral quality, power, or authority.

¹⁴⁸ The parallel is noted by AMANN, *L'époque* pp. 131-132.

Appendix

Contents of the Supplement to the *Collectio Dacheriana*, reconstructed from the *tabulae titulorum* and incomplete transcriptions.¹⁴⁹

1. **Leo universis episcopis per Cesariensem Mauritaniam**
Inc.: Cum de ordinationibus ...
Expl.: definita nostra quoque sententiam roborantur
2. **Felix ad Zenonem spalensem episcopum**
Inc.: Filius noster uir clarissimus...
Expl.: Deus te incolumnem custodiat frater karissime
3. **Hormisdas ad omnes episcopos Hispaniae**
Inc.: Inter ea quae notitiae
Expl.: ... si quis monstrato non insistit itineri
4. **Hormisdas ad episcopos Baeticae provinciae**
Inc.: Quid tam dulce sollicito
Expl.: Deus uos incolomes custodiat fratres karissimi
5. **Gregorius ad Leandrum episcopum Hispalensem**
Inc.: Respondere epistolis uestris
Expl.: Deus te incolomes custodiat dulcissime mihi et reuerentissime frater
6. **Gregorius ad Recaredum regem Hispaniae**
Inc.: Explere uerbis excellentissimo
Expl.: et uestris moribus et eius bonitati atque dignitati debebamus
7. **"Pactum sanctum Gregorii papae Romei rectoribus Sicilie datum"** (Gregorius ad Petrum subdiaconum)
Inc.: Pergenti tibi ad Siciliam ...
Expl.: cuius largitate pastores sunt gratiarum actiones soluant.
8. **"Decreta papae Gregorii urbis Rome" [5 Iul. ann. 595]**
Inc.: Regnante in perpetuum Domino nostro Iesu Christo temporibus
Expl.: qui diuini obsequi qui distractionem subire appetit seruitutem
- [] De eo quod scriptum est, "Confiteor tibi Domine Pater celi et terre." Sanctum euangelium cum legeretur audiuius exultasse Dominum Iesum in Spiritum

¹⁴⁹ Vide FIREY, "A Carolingian Lyonnaise Supplement" for discussion of the condition of the various manuscripts and the rationale for this register.

Expl.: laudantes Deum inuocabant et ab inimicis suis saluuerant.
Amen Explicit.
[exc. Augustine, Sermo 67. (PL 38 col. 433-437)]

9. **Exemplar fidei [Nicaea]**

Inc.: Credimus in unum Deum patrem omnipotentem omnium uisibilium nec

Expl.: aut mutabilem filium Dei hos anathematizat catholica et apostolica ecclesiae

10. **Expositio fidei [Constantinople]**

Inc.: Credimus in unum Deum patrem omnipotentem factorem caeli et terrae

Expl.: et Sabellianorum et Marcellianorum et Fotinianorum et Apollinarianorum

11. **"Sancta et magna universalis synodus..." [Chalcedon]¹⁵⁰**

12. **Leo ad Flavianum episcopum Constantinopolitanum¹⁵¹**

¹⁵⁰ The creeds of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Chalcedon are found most conveniently in August HAHN, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche* 3rd. ed. (Hildesheim, 1962). Cf. Cuthbert Hamilton TURNER, *Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima* (Oxford, 1899-1939) 2 vols. in 9 partes. Fasc. I, pars 2: *Nicaeni concilii praefationes, capitula, symbolum, canones* (1904); Tom. I, Fasc. 2, pars 1: *Concilium Nicaenum, Appendices ad Symbolum pertinentes; Appendix VIII: Tomus Damasi papae; IX: Symboli Nicaeni interpretationes; X: Commentarius in Symbolum* (cod. Vat. Reg. 1997); *Fragmentum Veronense cod. Bibl. cap. LI (Apostolorum per Clementem Constitutiones L. VIII, c. 41-46 et Canones Apostolorum)* (1913); Tom. II, pars III: *Concilia Laodicensium et Constantinopolitanum: versio Isidoriana, Dionysiana I et II; Prisca, Isidoriana, Dionysiana I et II* (1933) and Edward SCHWARZ, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum* 4 tom. in 14 vols. et partes (Berlin and Leipsig, 1914-1940) Vol. II, pars 2: *Rerum Chalcedonsium Collectio Vaticana [Vat. lat. 1322], Canones et symbolum, ex canonum collectione quae dicitur Prisca, secundum versiones Dionysii Exigui, ex collectione canonum Dionysiana aucta, ex collectione canonum Hispana, ex collectione codicis Meermano-Westreeniani [Hag. 9, Albi 2], ex collectione quae dicitur Theodosii diaconi [Verona LX]*.

¹⁵¹ Leo's letter to Flavianus is probably the *Tome*, inc. *Lectis dilectionis tuae* (Philippe JAFFÉ, G. WATTENBACH, F. KALTENBRUNNER, P. EWALD, S. LOEWENFELD, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum a condita Ecclesia ad annum MCXCVIII* (Berlin, 1851; 2nd ed. [2 vols.] 1885) no. 201); editions of the text may be found in J.D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 31 vols. (Florence, 1759-1798; repr. Paris, 1901-1927) vol. 5, cols. 1363-1390; SCHWARZ, ACO Tom. II: *Concilium universale Chalcedonense*: Vol. II (*Versiones particulares*), pars 1: *Collectio Novariensis de re Eutyichis*, pp. 24-33; Carl SILVATAROUCA, *S. Leonis Magni Tomus ad Flavianum episc. Constantinopolitanum (Epistula xxviii) additis testimoniis patrum et eiusdem S. Leonis M. epistula ad*

13. Leo ad Iulianum episcopum Coensem¹⁵²
- 14-26. Celestinus ad episcopos Galliae [Adversus Pelagii sectatores]¹⁵³
27. Iustinus Augustus ad Hormisdam papam
[Inc. *Quo fuimus semper*]
28. Exemplar precum
[Inc. *Deo amabili*]
29. Hormisdas ad Iustinum Augustum¹⁵⁴
[Inc. *Inter ea quae ad unitatem*]
30. "Nunc agitur [leg. igitur] perscriptas ab orientalibus fidei defini-
tiones [re]censeamus"
[Hilary of Poitiers, *De Synodis*]¹⁵⁵
31. Expositio fidei [Sardica]
Inc.: Credimus in unum Deum patrem et omnipotentem cre-
atorem uniuersorum
Expl.: ex corporali passione natura essentiae Dei de essentiae Dei
genite absolute perfectio est. Explicit.
[Hilarius, *De Synodis*]
32. Exemplum fidei [Syrmium, contra Photinum]
Inc.: Credimus in unum Deum patrem omnipotentem creato-
rem et conditorem
Expl.: omnia per quem et sanctificetur credentium in eum since-
re animae
[Hilarius, *De Synodis*]

Leonem I imp. (Epistula clxv) (Textus et Documenta (Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana), Series Theologica, 9; Rome, 1932).

¹⁵² Leo's letter to Julian of Cos is probably Jaffé no. 208 (Inc. *Licet per nostros*), edited in Mansi V.1415-1424 and Schwartz Tom. II, Vol. IV: *Leonis papae I Epistularum collectiones* pp. 6-8.

¹⁵³ Celestine's letter to the Gallic bishops (Jaffé no. 163) is edited in Mansi IV.454-464.

¹⁵⁴ The correspondence between the emperor Justinus and pope Hormisdas (items 27, 28, 29) is found in the *Collectio Avellana*, ed. O. GÜNTHER, *Epistolae Imperatorum, Pontificum et aliorum (Collectio Avellana)* (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiae Latini XXXV, 2 vols; Vienna, 1895-1896) pp. 701-707. It is in this case probably transcribed from the *Collectio Dionysiana* or *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*: the latter is found edited by Joannes WENDELSTINUS (Cochlaeus), *Canones apostolorum. Veterum conciliorum constitutiones. Decreta pontificum antiquiora*. (Mainz, 1525), J. HARTZHEIM, "Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana" in *Concilia Germania I* (Cologne, 1759) pp. 131-235, and MIGNE, *PL* 67, cols. 135-346.

¹⁵⁵ Hilary's *De Synodis* is edited in Migne, *PL* 10, cols. 471-546.

33. **Definitiones professionum catholicarum XXVI contra Photinum**
[Hilarius, *De Synodis*]
34. **Expositio fidei [Antioch]**
[Hilarius, *De Synodis*]
35. **Expositio fidei catholicae sancti Hieronimi presbiteri**¹⁵⁶
36. **Definitio dogmatum ecclesiasticorum Grecorum** [mss gregorum], cap. LIIII
[Probably Gennadius, *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum*¹⁵⁷]

¹⁵⁶ The *Expositio fidei catholicae sancti Hieronimi presbiteri* may be a rendition of the text published by Vincent BULHART in *Gregorii Iliberritani episcopi* (Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 69; Turnholt, 1967) pp. 269-272.

¹⁵⁷ C.H. TURNER, "The *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* attributed to Gennadius" *Journal of Theological Studies* 7 (1905-06) 78-99 remarks (84) in his register of titles under which the work appears, "Special mention must be made also of the following peculiar title: MS St. Mihiel 29, saec. x: *Incipit definitio dogmatum ecclesiasticorum grecorum*." As the work often circulates in a fifty-four chapter form, and its content is fully relevant to the rest of the supplement, the identification seems likely.

Liturgy and History at the Abbey of Farfa in the Late Eleventh Century¹

Hymns of Peter Damian and Other Additions to
BAV Chigi C.VI.177

by

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In the second half of the eleventh century at the abbey of Farfa, several texts were copied into a *libellus* and added to BAV Chigi C.VI.177, a manuscript for the Divine Office produced around 1050-1060.² The additions are listed in Appendix 1. Despite diversity among the hands that copied the texts, the manner in which the gathering was integrated into the manuscript suggests a coherent intention on the part of the compilers.³ The collection is par-

¹ This study is part of a larger project on liturgical manuscripts from the abbey of Farfa; the research was carried out with the support of a postdoctoral Rome Prize fellowship from the National Endowment for Humanities at the American Academy in Rome. I am grateful to Charles McClendon and Louis Hamilton for their comments and suggestions.

² For descriptions of the manuscript, see J. BOE, "Music Notation in Archivio San Pietro C 105 and in the Farfa Breviary, Chigi C.VI.177," *Early Music History* 18 (1999), 1-45; S. BOYNTON, "Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries Containing Latin Glosses," *Scriptorium* 53 (1999), 202-9; P. SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma e l'area grafica romanesca* (Alessandria, 1987), 254-5. Since the Chigi ms. was transferred to Subiaco in the early twelfth century, it is conceivable that some of the texts discussed here were added at Subiaco rather than Farfa. However, the specific associations of some of the texts with Farfa, the dating of the hands in the last two quarters of the eleventh century, and the early integration of the additions into the manuscript (described below) lead me to the conclusion that the additions were complete before the manuscript left Farfa.

³ The additions were copied into a binion (composed of ff. 153-4 and 162-3) wrapped around a preexisting quaternion copied by the main text scribe of the

ticularly striking because most of the texts in it were composed during the fifty years before they were copied. Thus the additions to Chigi C.VI.177 represent new developments in liturgical and literary culture at the imperial abbey in the later eleventh century, and the context of these additions illuminates aspects of Farfa's institutional history.

According to the abbey chronicler Gregory of Catino, Farfa was founded by Lawrence, an ascetic from Syria. Thomas of Maurienne, a priest from the Savoie, refounded the monastery between 680 and 700; in 705, the tradition of royal patronage was initiated by Faroaldus II, the Lombard duke of Spoleto, by obtaining from Pope John VII a privilege that acknowledged the patronage of the Lombard Dukes but preserved the right of the pope to consecrate the abbots. During the eighth century, successive abbots built up the monastery's properties, and Farfa became subject to Frankish rule in 775. The Saracen invasions of the later ninth century signalled the end of the Farfa's first period of prosperity, and in 897, after a seven-year siege, the monks abandoned the monastery, not returning until more than thirty years later. After a period of decadence in the tenth century, the privileges of Otto I (967) and Otto II (981) marked Farfa's return to imperial patronage. Under the eleventh-century abbots Hugh⁴ and Berard I (1047-1089), the abbey regained lost property as well as acquiring extensive lands in central Italy and the Marches.⁵ The context of the

manuscript. Several elements of continuity between the preexisting gatherings and the added binion suggest that the additional texts were incorporated into the book at an early stage. The hand that copied the first group of additional texts (on ff. 153r-154v) began by completing a text from the previous gathering. "O genitrix," copied in the blank space at the end of the preexisting quaternion, is continued on the third leaf of the added binion. The illumination on f. 162v is executed by the same painter as others original to the manuscript. Finally, one section of text was carefully relocated in order to create continuity between the added binion and the preexisting quaternion. The conclusion of the hymn "Virginis proles," at the beginning of the quaternion, was erased and replaced with the end of the hymn "Salve crux sancta" when the binion was incorporated into the manuscript. The end of "Virginis proles" was then copied anew on f. 153r, at the beginning of the added binion.

⁴ Hugh was abbot during three periods in the first half of the eleventh century: 997-1009, 1014-1027, and 1036-1038.

⁵ On the history of the abbey, see C. McCLENDON, *The Imperial Abbey of Farfa: Architectural Currents of the Early Middle Ages* (New Haven and London, 1987); I. SCHUSTER, *L'imperiale abbazia di Farfa: Contributo alla storia del duca-*

additions to the Chigi manuscript reflects several aspects of the imperial abbey's situation in the second half of the eleventh century: its expansion through property acquisition and conflicts with other regional powers;⁶ its reception of transalpine culture through the patronage of the Ottonians and Salians; its connections with southern Italy; and its status as an artistic center at the crossroads of these diverse influences.

"Splendor decusque martyrum"

The apparently unique hymn for the saints Valentine and Hilarius, "Splendor decusque martyrum," copied near the end of the eleventh century, is the addition most closely associated with history of Farfa. The abbey possessed the relics of Valentinus and Hilarius, saints of Eastern origin who were martyred on the Via Cassia outside Viterbo under the emperor Maximian.⁷ The *Constructio monasterii farfensis*, an account of the abbey's foundation and early history, states that abbot Sichardus (830-842) built an oratory with a crypt, where he placed the bodies of these saints, which he had brought from a church near Viterbo in the Roman province of Tuscia, with the permission of Gregory IV.⁸ The narrative in the *Constructio*, as well as the corresponding section of the *Chronicon farfense*, seems to be based on that in a *passio* of the saints contained in a manuscript copied at Farfa between 842 and 898 (Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, Farfa 29).⁹ Long after the establishment of the cult of Valentine and Hilarius at Farfa in the ninth century, eleventh- and twelfth-century liturgical books from Farfa

to romano nel medio evo (Rome, 1921); M. STROLL, *The Medieval Abbey of Farfa: Target of Papal and Imperial Ambitions* (Leiden and New York, 1997).

⁶ On Farfa's property acquisitions in the eleventh century, see P. TOUBERT, *Les structures du Latium Médiéval: Le Latium Méridional et la Sabine du IX^e siècle à la fin du XII^e siècle*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 221 (Rome, 1973), 2.885-8, 904.

⁷ On the evidence for this cult at Farfa, see I. SCHUSTER, "Martyrologium Pharpense ex apographo Cardinalis Fortunati Tamburini OSB codicis saeculi XI," *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910), 364-72.

⁸ *Il Chronicon farfense di Gregorio di Catino, precedono la Constructio Farfensis e gli scritti di Ugo di Farfa*, ed. U. BALZANI, 2 vols., Fonti per la storia d'Italia 33-34 (Rome, 1903), 1: 21-22.

⁹ E. SUSI, "Strategie agiografiche altomedievali in un leggendario di Farfa," *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 18 (1997), 280-81. The *passio* is edited in *AASS Novembris I*, 626-9.

refer to the abbey's ownership of the relics. The proper collect for the saints in Chigi C.VI.177 invokes the *patrocinia* of Valentine and Hilarius, "whose patronage we have taken care to gather in this present church,"¹⁰ possibly a reference to the oratory of Sichardus,¹¹ but in any case an affirmation of the saints' continued physical presence in the abbey. The hymn "Splendor decusque martyrurum" thus fits into a liturgical commemoration of Valentine and Hilarius that was particular to Farfa.

In the later Middle Ages, however, a dispute arose between Farfa and Viterbo about the location of the saints' bodies. The clergy of Viterbo claimed that Valentine and Hilarius had always remained in their original resting place; according to local tradition, the bodies were translated to the cathedral of Viterbo in 1303.¹² That the dispute over the location of the saints arose earlier is suggested by a controversy over the ownership of the church of San Valentino in Silice, on the Via Cassia near Viterbo, built on the site of the saints' martyrdom and apparently the church from which Sichardus removed their bodies. Farfa's possession of the church had been confirmed in the privilege of Otto I (967),¹³ but in 1084, Henry IV presided over a ceremony officially investing Abbot Berardus I of Farfa with the church.¹⁴ The presence of the emperor at such an occasion suggests an intervention in order to resolve a conflict; an imperial privilege of the same year had already confirmed Farfa's ownership of the church and its possessions.¹⁵

¹⁰ "Auxilium tuum domine nobis placatus impende, et intercedentibus sanctis tuis ualentino et hylario, quorum in hac presenti ecclesia pretiosa patrocinia colligere curauimus, fac nos ab omni aduersitate liberari et aeterna letitia gaudere cum illis" (Chigi C.VI.177, f. 218r). The collect in the early twelfth-century breviary Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, F 29 contains the less explicit phrase "quorum hic patrocinia veneramur." See SUSI, "Strategie," 281.

¹¹ SCHUSTER, "Martyrologium," 366.

¹² See AASS *Novembris* I, 619-22; SCHUSTER, "Spigolature farfensi," II. "Monumenti storiografici e liturgici," *Rivista storica benedettina* 5 (1910), 51, notes that a fifteenth-century breviary from Farfa contains a collect referring to the saints' presence in the abbey church; see also SCHUSTER, "Martyrologium," 365-7.

¹³ "...Et cellam sanctae Mariae infra castrum ueterbense. Et aecclesiam sancti ualentini in burgo cum eorum omnibus pertinentiis" (*Regesto* 3: 111, doc. 404; *Chronicon farfense* 2: 338-9).

¹⁴ *Il Regesto di Farfa compilato da Gregorio di Catino*, ed. I. GIORGI and U. BALZANI, 5 vols. (Rome, 1883-1914), 5: 100, doc.1100.

¹⁵ "Infra castrum biterbense aecclesiam sanctae Mariae. Et aecclesiam sancti ualentini in burgo, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis" (*Regesto* 5: 95, doc. 1099).

Moreover, Gregory of Catino's account of the event in the *Chronicon farfense* refers obliquely to a challenge to Farfa's claims on the church:

When the emperor Henry was staying in the *burgus* of San Valentino and he heard that that same church belonged to our monastery *for certain*, on his order, the bishop Rainerius of Vercelli, with door and key, invested Abbot Berardus with that same church of San Valentino as the property of our monastery, as is contained in the privilege of the emperor Otto the Great [emphasis mine].¹⁶

The idea that the emperor's intervention resolved the dispute is supported by an undated document of Henry V that refers to Henry IV as having "restored" to Farfa its property in the *burgus Sancti Valentini* near Viterbo.¹⁷ Once Farfa had effectively passed from imperial to papal control as a result of the Concordat of Worms (1122) the possession of the church apparently reverted to the diocese of Viterbo. In 1139, Innocent II gave the church to Azo, the archpriest of the cathedral of Viterbo. The bull refers to the church as having been destroyed and neglected, but then rebuilt; the fact that no mention is made of the saints' bodies may imply that the relics were still at Farfa at the time.¹⁸ While the documents from Farfa do not provide more detail on the matter, the conflict over the church of San Valentino in Silice may have been the background for the composition of the hymn "Splendor decusque martyrum," which is a rare example of a proper text for the feast of Valentinus and Hilarius. Besides the hymn, and the collects mentioned above, I do not know of proper liturgical texts for these saints from the central Middle Ages.¹⁹

¹⁶ "Cum autem Heinricus imperator in burgo Sancti Valentini maneret audiretque pro certo ipsam ecclesiam huic monasterio pertinere, eo iubente, Rainerius Vercellensis episcopus per hostium et clavem investivit domnum B[erardum] abbatem de ipsa ecclesia Sancti Valentini ad proprietatem huius monasterii, sicut continetur in precepto imperatoris maioris Ottonis" (*Chronicon farfense* 2:179).

¹⁷ "In burgo s. ualentini quam olim Beatae Mariae genitor noster Heinricus imperator, et omne monasterium restituit" (*Regesto* 5: 304, doc. 1319).

¹⁸ *AASS Novembris* I, 613, 619.

¹⁹ The cult of Valentine and Hilarius was not widespread and few liturgical texts for their feast are known. The liturgical poetry for the saints edited in *Analecta Hymnica* 22, 129-132, is transmitted in seventeenth-century manuscripts.

The hymn is annotated with Latin interlinear glosses both because of its abstruse vocabulary and its particular interest to the abbey.²⁰ For the text, glosses, and a translation, see Appendix 2. The hymn's narrative is essentially based on the *passio* in the ninth-century Farfa legendary mentioned above (Rome, BN Farfa 29). In contrast to the other, much briefer redaction of the saints' passion,²¹ this text contains a great many details probably added at Farfa. The two Eastern saints Valentine (a priest) and Hilarius (a deacon) are arrested by the proconsul Demetrius, who orders them to sacrifice to Hercules; they refuse and are tortured on the rack, and as they pray, the temple of Hercules collapses in an earthquake. Demetrius then has them thrown into the Tiber with their necks bound to heavy millstones, but an angel rescues them. They return to Demetrius, and are decapitated at his order. Much later, Demetrius becomes ill and goes to the saints' tombs to ask for their aid; he becomes a Christian and becomes a martyr when he is executed on the instructions of the emperor.

Since "Splendor decusque" is particularly appropriate for the cult of Valentine and Hilarius at Farfa, and no other copies of the text are currently known, it may well have been written at the abbey in the eleventh century. The relative lack of errors in the text suggests that the redaction of the hymn was fairly close in time to the copying of the manuscript. The frequency of end-rhyme also indicates a later rather than an earlier date of composition. The rarefied lexicon of the hymn seems intended to reinforce its studied air of antiquity and authority; the forms *dolones*, *tabidos*, *rabula*, *gabula*, *spelea*, and *capessunt* are unusual enough in Christian Latin to warrant the glosses added to the text. In particular, the Greek-derived *strophosus* is attested primarily in Insular Latin and may serve to evoke the saints' Eastern origins.²² In the context of the

²⁰ While "Splendor decusque" is the only glossed item in the group of additions, many of the hymns elsewhere in Chigi C.VI.177 have been annotated with interlinear glosses; on these glosses, see S. BOYNTON, "Glossed Hymns in Eleventh-Century Continental Hymnaries," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Brandeis University, 1997). I am currently preparing a critical edition of the glossed hymns in Chigi C.VI.177 and ten other manuscripts.

²¹ The shorter *passio* is edited in *AASS Novembris I*, 625.

²² *Strophosus* appears in four works of Sedulius Scotus, *Carmina* 1.25 and 21.24, in *MGH Poetae latini medii aevi* 3, 167, 188; "Epistula de psalterio in linguam latinam transferendo," *MGH Epistolae* 6, 203; *Liber de rectoribus christianis*, ed. S. HELLMANN, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie*

conflict over the church of San Valentino in Silice, the composition of this proper hymn for Valentine and Hilarius may have functioned as a reaffirmation of the saints' continued physical presence at the abbey despite challenges from the clergy of Viterbo.

"Salve crux sancta"

While "Splendor decusque" illuminates the context of a saints' cult at Farfa, "Salve crux sancta" reflects the reception of liturgical texts through the abbey's imperial connections. The text is prefaced in the manuscript with the rubric "*ymnus heinrici regis*," referring to Henry II, III, or IV. While this attribution also appears in two later manuscripts, the attribution in the only edition of the hymn is to Bishop Heribert of Eichstätt (d. 1042), on the basis of a chronicle from a generation later which cites the first three words of the hymn.²³ Although the attribution of the chronicle seems convincing, it is thrown into doubt by the manuscript tradition of this text, which stands in marked contrast to that of the other five hymns attributed to Heribert of Eichstätt. While the other hymns in the group are transmitted almost exclusively in manuscripts from Germanic regions, "Salve, crux sancta" is found in several Italian manuscripts in addition to Chigi C.VI.177.²⁴ The text seems to have been diffused in Italy long before its appearance in late twelfth-century manuscripts from the Empire. Since the text in

des Mittelalters I.1 (Munich, 1906), p. 42. Arnold of St. Emmeram uses *strophose* in *De miraculis s. Emmerami* (PL 141, 1083D). *Strofusus* is found in the "Aenigmata Bonifatii," in *Collectiones Aenigmatum Merovingicae aetatis*, ed. F. GLORIE, CCSL 133 (Turnhout, 1968), p. 319, 323 (*De uitiis* III, verses 21 and 56), and forms of the word appear frequently in Aldhelm's *Carmen de uirginitate* (lines 243, 579, 778, 931, 1859, 1913, 2553, 2598) and *Prosa de uirginitate* (cap. 11, 32, 43, 49, 50, 53, 58), both ed. R. EHWALD, *MGH Auctores Antiquissimi* 15.

²³ "*Hic Spiritu sancto afflatus sex ymnos pulcherrimos composuit; unum de sancta cruce: Salve crux sancta*"; "Anonymus Haserensis de Episcopis Eichstetensibus," 27, ed. L.C. BETHMANN, in *MGH Scriptores* VII, 253-266, at p. 261. Attributions to "Henricus imperator" (Chartres 162) and "Henricus rex" (Rome, Biblioteca Alessandrina 93) are mentioned in *Analecta Hymnica* 50, 292, but rejected in favor of the testimony of the "Anonymus Haserensis."

²⁴ Vatican City, BAV Vat. lat. 5776; Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare 109; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VI.E.43 (all datable to the late eleventh century). The hymn is also found in a late eleventh-century English manuscript (London, British Library, Cott. Vesp. D.XII).

Chigi C.VI.177 is one of the earliest witnesses to the text, if not the earliest, the rubric "*ymnus Heinrici regis*" should be viewed in light of Farfa's imperial connections. Whatever it implies for the authorship of the hymn, the attribution establishes an honorific association, a tribute to the spirituality of the emperor.

"Radix Iesse"

"Radix Iesse" is an unusual Marian composition that may have originated at Farfa.²⁵ The text and music are transcribed in Appendix 3.²⁶ The genre of the piece is ambiguous; it is designated as a responsory in the manuscript but exhibits characteristics more readily associated with liturgical poetry, particularly office hymns, tropes, and *uersus*. Several features of "Radix Iesse" mark it as a recent composition in a genre cultivated in late eleventh-century northern France and early twelfth-century Aquitaine, the *uersus*.²⁷ The combination of strophic construction, paired phrases, multiple levels of musical repetition, and juxtaposition of syllabic settings with long melismatic passages resembles the style of the free poetic compositions in diverse forms and styles that are commonly designated by the generic term *uersus*. Unlike a *uersus*, however, "Radix Iesse" is not an entirely new composition. Its text, in the form of a strophic office hymn in iambic dimeter, borrows the first and last strophes from the fourth and eighth strophes of the Marian hymn "Agnoscat omne seculum"²⁸ (printed in bold in the

²⁵ Besides the Chigi manuscript, I have found it only in a slightly later manuscript from the abbey of Sant'Eutizio in Norcia: Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, C.5, f. 30r (early twelfth century). In this version, the strophes comprising verses 9-12 and 13-17 are reversed. The melody is comparable to that in Chigi C.VI.177, with some minor variants. For an inventory of Vallicelliana C.5 and commentary, see J.C. LEDWON, "The Winter Office of Sant'Eutizio di Norcia: A Study of the Contents and Construction of Biblioteca Vallicelliana Manuscripts C 13 and C 5," Ph.D. dissertation (State University of New York at Buffalo, 1986). On the script and decoration of the manuscript, see SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma*, 217.

²⁶ I am grateful to Peter Bergquist for creating the musical example from my handwritten transcription.

²⁷ I refer here to the repertoires of *uersus* transmitted primarily in eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts from the Aquitaine, northern France, and Norman Sicily, not the corpus of compositions designated *uersus* in earlier manuscripts.

²⁸ For a critical edition of "Agnoscat omne saeculum," see *Early Latin Hymns*, ed. A.P. WALPOLE (Cambridge, 1922), 193-8.

Appendix). "Radix Iesse" stands somewhere in between the office hymn and the *uersus*, since it lacks the end rhyme, assonance, and alliteration of the twelfth-century *uersus* as opposed to the hymn.²⁹

There is some evidence that the author of the newly composed strophes was aware of the developing *uersus* tradition; the rhymes in verses 10-11 (*matris innupte filius / cuius tumescit uterus*), combined with the rhymes in the first strophe, may manifest a tendency in this direction. Although the text does not feature the distinctive synthesis of rhythm, rhyme, and assonance characteristic of a typical *uersus*, other aspects of the text reveal careful planning of verbal structure on the level of individual lines and strophes. The two newly composed strophes employ a chiasmic pattern of verse endings: verb-noun-noun-verb. This construction contrasts with the first strophe borrowed from the hymn, in which each verse ends with a verb, and the final strophe, in which the first two verses end with nouns and the second two with verbs. The imperative *credite* in the last strophe contrasts with all the other verbs in the same position, which are in the third person singular.³⁰

Typical of Marian liturgical poetry composed in the eleventh century on the basis of earlier material, "Radix Iesse" presents two aspects of Marian doctrine. The opening strophe alludes to the root of Jesse in Isaiah 11:1 (*"Et egredietur uirga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet"*).³¹ The new text follows the theological emphasis of the preexisting hymn, emphasizing Mary's *post partum* virginity while incorporating allusions to prophecy and to the royal genealogy of Christ.³² Verse 5 refers to Ezechiel 44:1-2, in which

²⁹ For a detailed analysis of the differences between hymns and *uersus*, see M.-D. POPIN, "Le verset et son modèle," *Revue de musicologie* 73 (1987), 19-38.

³⁰ I am indebted to Charles Witke for pointing out these aspects of the construction of the text, and suggesting that they indicate Ottonian stylistic influence.

³¹ Since the reading *uirgo* instead of *uirga* in verse 2 differentiates "Radix Iesse" from "Agnoscat omne seculum," I emend it to *uirga*. Another eleventh-century liturgical composition that evokes the verse from Isaiah, Fulbert of Chartres' famous responsory, focuses on the *uirga* rather than the *radix*: "*Stirps Jesse virgam produxit virgaque florem et super hunc florem requiescit Spiritus almus: Virgo dei genitrix virga est, flos filius eius*" (PL 149, 345B); HESBERT, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 4, number 7709. The melody of "Radix Iesse" seems related to that of "Stirps Jesse"; I thank Margot Fassler for bringing this similarity to my attention.

³² For a comparable example of eleventh-century Marian liturgical poetry that draws on a preexisting text, see S. BOYNTON, "Rewriting the Early Sequence: Aureo flore and Aurea uirga," *Comitatus* 25 (1994), 21-42.

the prophet is shown the eternally closed door of the sanctuary through which God has passed.³³ "Radix Iesse" alludes to the common the patristic identification of this closed door with Mary, as in Jerome's commentary on Ezechiel:

... some perceive correctly the closed door — through which only the Lord God of Israel enters, and the leader to whom the door is closed — as the Virgin Mary, who both before and after childbirth remained eternally a virgin.³⁴

Even though "Radix Iesse" refers explicitly to Ezechiel, the phrase "*uidi portam*" is not derived directly from the Biblical text of the prophecy, but rather from an antiphon for the Annunciation, "*Vidi portam*": "I saw a door in the house of the Lord, and the angel said to me: only the Lord will come, entering and leaving, and it will always be closed."³⁵ Paschasius Radbertus' *De partu uirginis* provides a precedent for putting the words "*Vidi portam*" into Ezechiel's mouth even though they are not in his prophetic book: "the door which was shown to Ezechiel, about which he says: I saw a door in the house of the Lord, and it was closed."³⁶ Given the influence of *De partu uirginis* as a source of Marian theology, it is possible that the composer of "Radix Iesse" was referring to Paschasius Radbertus' text as well as to the antiphon itself. The second newly-composed strophe (vv. 9-12) refers to Christ's descent from David through Mary. Verses 11-12 (*cuius tumescit uterus / et mater uirgo permanet*) echo two verses of Ambrose's hymn "Intende, qui regis Israel": "*Aluus tumescit uirginis, / claustrum pudoris perma-*

³³ Ezechiel 44:1-2: "*et convertit me ad viam portae sanctuarii exterioris quae respiciebat ad orientem et erat clausa et dixit Dominus ad me porta haec clausa erit non aperietur et vir non transiet per eam quoniam Dominus Deus Israel ingressus est per eam erit que clausa principi princeps ipse sedebit in ea ut comedat panem coram Domino per viam vestibuli portae ingredietur et per viam eius egredietur.*"

³⁴ "...pulchre quidam portam clausam per quam solus dominus deus israel ingreditur et dux cui porta clausa est, mariam uirginem intellegunt, quae et ante partum et post partum uirgo permansit"; Jerome, *Commentarii in Ezechielem* 13.44, ed. F. GLORIE, CCSL 75 (Turnhout, 1964), 646-7.

³⁵ "*Vidi portam in domo Domini clausam, et dixit ad me angelus: Solus Dominus veniet, ingrediens et egrediens, et erit semper clausa*"; number 5405 in R.J. HESBERT, *Corpus antiphonalium officii* 3 (Rome, 1968), 537.

³⁶ "...porta quae ostensa est Ezechieli, de qua dicit: *Vidi portam in domo Domini, et haec erat clausa*," Paschasius Radbertus, *De partu uirginis* 1, ed. E.A. MATTER, CM 56C (Turnhout, 1985), 68.

net.”³⁷ Although the two texts share only the words *tumescit* and *permanet*, the identical metrical position of the words and the status of the Ambrosian hymns as stylistic models for much medieval hymnography make it likely that these verses of “Radix Iesse” intentionally evoke Ambrose’s text.

The musical structure of “Radix Iesse” is delineated prominently in several ways: similar opening phrases in the first four musical sections, the cadence C-D-D at the end of most lines (often found in sequences), and the focus on the fifth D-A (typical of the chant’s Dorian mode). The clearly articulated musical form, characteristic of later chant, corresponds to the structure of the text. Individual verses of the iambic text are set to musical phrases with clearly defined shapes and tonal goals (except for the initial respond and the melismatic settings of the word “permanet”). The musical settings of the last two strophes are in simple forms commonly encountered in hymn melodies (respectively ABCA and ABAB). The conclusion of major sections with the verbs “pertulit” and “permanet” heightens the divisions between the musical phrases. The initial florid respond, set to the first two lines of text, is followed by a *uersus* (set to the third and fourth lines of the text) that is based loosely on the music of the respond with expansions and variations, and concludes with a lengthy cadence. The second strophe of text is set to a second *uersus* that is an abbreviated and slightly altered repetition of the first, concluding with a cadence that consists of the last nineteen pitches of the much lengthier cadence in the first *uersus*. While the setting of the first two strophes features melismatic settings of some words, the following two sections, set to the third and fourth strophes, are primarily syllabic in style. The setting of the third strophe, a section designated in the manuscript as a *prosa*, resets much of the music of the previous section to a new text. In the final *uersus*, the music at the middle of the *prosa* (from “innupte” to “mater uir-”) is reworked and reset to text verses 13-14, then repeated to verses 15-16.³⁸ The musical setting is thus based on

³⁷ *Ambroise de Milan: Hymnes*, ed. J. FONTAINE et al. (Paris, 1992), 273, vv. 13-14.

³⁸ At the conclusion of the piece, the manuscript provides only the cue “*et uirgo*.” Without the emendation of the text to *uirga* in v. 2, the cue could signal a repetition of either “*et uirgo fructum protulit*” (v. 2) or “*et uirgo mater permanet*” (v. 4). The latter seems preferable in any case, for it prevents an awkward repetition of the word *protulit* at the end of two successive lines.

subtly varied repetition and different types of musical troping. The presence of "Radix Iesse" in the Chigi manuscript signals the existence of innovative musical developments at Farfa, whether the chant was created there for the patron of the abbey, Mary, or received along with other new repertoire.³⁹

"Doxa en ipsistis"

The "Doxa" is a Greek text of the Gloria of the Mass transliterated in the Latin alphabet; the text is transcribed in Appendix 4. What are the origin and function of this text at Farfa? It is possible that the "Doxa" text arrived at Farfa through the monastery's transalpine connections. A group of Greek Mass chants, commonly referred to as the "Missa graeca," circulated in the Carolingian empire and may have originated in the early ninth century along with other liturgical projects of Abbot Hilduin of Saint-Denis,⁴⁰ whom Abbot Ingoaldus of Farfa seems to have known.⁴¹ Moreover, Greek Gloria texts are transmitted in many Carolingian and Ottonian manuscripts,⁴² and during the eleventh century the Ottonians and Salians gave the abbey liturgical books that may have functioned as exemplars for manuscripts produced at Farfa.⁴³ The text of the "Doxa" in Chigi C.VI.177 is quite corrupt, howe-

³⁹ J. GRIER, "A New Voice in the Monastery: Tropes and *Versus* from Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Aquitaine," *Speculum* 69 (1994), 1023-69, emphasizes the innovative style of the Aquitanian *uersus* of the twelfth century in contrast to the tropes cultivated in the eleventh.

⁴⁰ On the Western tradition of Greek chants for the Ordinary of the Mass, see C. ATKINSON, "Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung der 'Missa Graeca'," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 39 (1982), 113-45; *idem*, "The *Doxa*, the *Pisteuo*, and the *ellinici fratres*: Some Anomalies in the Transmission of the Chants of the 'Missa graeca'," *Journal of Musicology* 7 (1989), 81-106; *idem*, "Further Thoughts on the Origin of the *Missa graeca*," in *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper*, ed. P. CAHN and A.-K. HEIMER, Musikwissenschaftliche Publikationen, Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst Frankfurt/Main, 2 (Hildesheim/ Zürich/New York, 1993), 75-93.

⁴¹ See McCLENDON, *The Imperial Abbey*, 7; SCHUSTER, *l'Imperiale abbazia*, 65, 69-71.

⁴² For a list of manuscripts, see ATKINSON, "Zur Entstehung," 120-25.

⁴³ I. SIEDE, *Zur Rezeption ottonischer Buchmalerei in Italien im 11. Und 12. Jahrhundert*, Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Benediktinerordens und seine Zweige, 39 (St. Ottilien, 1997), 54-5.

ver, and is not closely related to any of the "Doxa" texts from the "Missa graeca" tradition.⁴⁴

Another approach to the question is to examine evidence for knowledge of Greek at Farfa in the late eleventh century. Here, a more concrete context can be deduced from the entries in the chronicle and cartulary concerning a donation to the abbey made in 1057 by Argiro, a Greek Calabrian prince who styled himself "*magister vestis, dux Italiae, Calabriae, et Paflagoniae*."⁴⁵ Argiro joined Farfa's congregation by donating significant gifts and money in exchange for prayers on his behalf. The beginning of his letter of donation was copied at Farfa both in Greek and in a Latin transliteration of the Greek. While the chronicle contains only the Latin transliteration,⁴⁶ in the cartulary this text was transcribed in both the Greek and Latin alphabets by Todino, the nephew of the chronicler Gregory of Catino.⁴⁷ The fact that Todino, an oblate at Farfa from an early age, was able to copy a text in the Greek alphabet at the beginning of the twelfth century shows that it was possible to learn at least some Greek at the abbey around 1100. Argiro's donation, like that of an Amalfitan ivory box given to the abbey in the second half of the eleventh century,⁴⁸ reflects a context of influen-

⁴⁴ Three major variants distinguish the Chigi text from the "Missa graeca," as edited by ATKINSON in "The *Doxa*," 95-101 and "Further Thoughts," 90-1: the absence of the phrase *doxologumen se* to correspond to the Latin "glorificamus te" (Appendix 4, line 4); the phrase *kyrie othee basileo* (line 6) instead of *kyrie basileu*; and the absence of the expression *ke agion pneuma*. The second and third variants make the Chigi text conform to the later version of the Latin Gloria rather than the earlier version of the text transmitted in ninth-century manuscripts along with the Greek chants.

⁴⁵ On Argiro, see V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*. (Wiesbaden, 1967), 190; H. SCHWARZMEIER, "Der Liber Vitae von Subiaco. Die Klöster Farfa und Subiaco in ihrer geistigen und politischen Umwelt während der letzten Jahrzehnte des 11. Jahrhunderts," *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 48 (1968), 122, n. 130.

⁴⁶ *Chronicon farfense* 2: 202; Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. Farfa 1, f. 335v.

⁴⁷ *Regesto* 5: 238; Vatican City, BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 8480, f. 481v, reproduced in SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma*, 275 and Tav. LXXVI.

⁴⁸ The ivory casket may have been presented to Farfa in 1060 for the consecration of the abbey church; see most recently A. BRACA, "Lavori in avorio," *Rassegna del Centro di cultura e storia amalfitana* 13 (1993), 111-128. For a complete description, see P. TOESCA, "Un cimelio amalfitano," *Bollettino d'Arte* 27 (1933-34), 537-42. H. BLOCH, "Monte Cassino, Byzantium, and the West in the Earlier Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 3 (1946), 208-212, argued that the

ces and gifts from southern Italy that could also have included the "Doxa" text in the Chigi manuscript.⁴⁹ The fact that it appears as an addition among texts of recent date suggests that it was new to Farfa at the time, and since the text does not belong to the Carolingian "Missa graeca" tradition, it may be a transliteration of Italian origin. The potential implications for liturgical practice at Farfa are intriguing; the "Doxa" could have been intended for a particular feast, but other Greek mass ordinary texts from Farfa are not attested. Without a comprehensive study of Greek Gloria texts in central Italy, it is difficult to determine how this text at Farfa fits into the broader liturgical context.

The Hymns of Peter Damian

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the texts added to Chigi C.VI.177 is a group of nine hymns by Peter Damian copied within twenty years after his death. While Chigi C.VI.177 is one of the earliest witnesses to Peter Damian's poetry, the editor of his poetic corpus was apparently unaware of the manuscript and did not use it for the critical edition.⁵⁰ While the nine hymns in the Chigi manuscript are also transmitted in other late-eleventh century manuscripts from Italian monasteries,⁵¹ not one of these manuscripts contains all nine, and the hymns in them are usually dispersed among other liturgical texts. Even though Peter Damian's hymns in the Farfa collection are combined with other material, they are nevertheless divided in coherent groups and distinguished from the rest of the manuscript by their placement in a supplement. The design of the collection of additions to Chigi C.VI.177

box reached Farfa sometime after being given to the abbey of Montecassino in 1071-2 by the Amalfitan merchant Maurus.

⁴⁹ The Gloria was not one of the texts customarily performed in Greek in the traditional rites of the Duchy of Benevento, but might be a product of a Greek-speaking milieu in southern Italy.

⁵⁰ Another Farfa manuscript unknown to M. LOKRANTZ, *L'opera poetica di s. Pier Damiani*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 12 (Uppsala, 1964) (Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, I.17, ca. 1100) contains "Terrena cuncta iubilent" on f. 1r. For a description of the manuscript, see SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma*, 264-5.

⁵¹ The manuscripts are from San Colombano of Bobbio (BAV Vat. Lat. 5776) and San Zeno of Verona (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare 109) in the north; Sant' Eutizio of Norcia (Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana B 79) and Santa Scolastica of Subiaco (Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia 420) in the center, and Santa Sofia of Benevento (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale VI E 43) in the south.

suggests that it was carefully shaped around the hymns of Peter Damian. The anonymous Marian hymn "Lux mundi" is copied by the same hand as Peter Damian's three hymns for the Assumption that immediately precede it.⁵² Peter Damian's two hymns for the Invention of the Cross are followed by "Salve crux sancta," copied by a different hand but in agreement with the liturgical function of the preceding items. The Marian chant "Radix Iesse" is appropriately paired with the Marian hymn "O genitrix." On a subtler level, the Byzantine style of the *uirgo orans* initial accompanying "O genitrix" seems echoed by the Greek Gloria text immediately following it on the facing page. Since there is very little evidence for the music of Peter Damian's hymns from the eleventh century, the Chigi manuscript is quite unusual in containing melodies for two of them ("O genitrix" and "Crux orbis salus"); the melody for "Crux orbis salus" is copied by the same hand as a hymn for Saint Victoria, whose cult was of special importance at Farfa.⁵³

The nine hymns of Peter Damian in Chigi C.VI.177 are found together in only one other early collection of his poetry: a complete-works manuscript, compiled probably at Fonte Avellana in the late eleventh century (now BAV Vat. lat. 3797).⁵⁴ The hymns are copied twice in this manuscript: first the texts are copied in full, then a separate fascicle prepared for musical notation contains only the first strophes. The organization of the hymns in the Farfa manuscript closely resembles that in the Fonte Avellana one; the nine hymns are divided into two groups, each of which exhibits the same ordering as in Vat. lat. 3797.⁵⁵ Moreover, the melody for "O genitrix" in the Chigi manuscript closely resembles that in Vat. lat. 3797,⁵⁶ and the text of the hymns in Chigi C.VI.177 is generally

⁵² "Lux mundi" is found in several eleventh-century Italian manuscripts; the text is edited in *Analecta Hymnica* 12, 47-8.

⁵³ BOYNTON, "Glossed Hymns," 103.

⁵⁴ For a description of the manuscript, see LOKRANTZ, *Opera Poetica*, 9-12.

⁵⁵ The two groups consist of "Gaudium mundi," "Terrena cuncta," "Aurora uelut," "Crux orbis," and "Crux mundi"; "O genitrix," "Gemma celestis," "Signifer inuictissime," and "Aurora surgit."

⁵⁶ The melody is edited from Vat. lat. 3797 in *Hymnen: Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*, ed. B. STÄBLEIN, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 1 (Kassel and Basel, 1956), p. 462 (number 788). The adiastrumatic central Italian neumes in Chigi C.VI.177 make it impossible to identify the melody with absolute certainty, but the melodic gestures and neumations are similar.

quite close to that of Vat. lat. 3797.⁵⁷ (For a collation of the Chigi manuscript with the Lokrantz edition, in which Vat. lat. 3797 is the base manuscript, see Appendix 5.)

These connections suggest that a monk at Farfa collected Peter Damian's hymns early in their transmission and could have had access to an authoritative version of them, possibly Vat. lat. 3797 itself. What is the context of the transmission to the imperial abbey of Peter Damian's hymns at this early date? While no extant historical evidence suggests that Peter Damian had an epistolary or personal relationship with the community, as he did with Montecassino and Cluny, there are other signs of interest at Farfa in his writings. Of particular relevance here is the striking resemblance between the description of the abbey's founder, Lawrence of Syria, in one of Peter Damian's letters and in Gregory of Catino's *Chronicon farfense*. Both these texts recount Lawrence's renunciation of the episcopate in favor of the monastic life, a piece of information for which no early source is known. In fact, very few historical sources on Lawrence of Syria predate the *Chronicon* (written in 1107-1119). Some historians have attempted to connect the saint to known historical figures,⁵⁸ but Lawrence's identity remains uncertain. Probably because of the lack of an earlier tradition, several aspects of Lawrence's life as reported in the *Chronicon* and in the *Constructio farfensis* seem derived from a hagiographic text concerning a different Lawrence who was bishop of Spoleto.⁵⁹ The earliest document that refers to Lawrence as founder of Farfa is the privilege of Pope John VII (705) granted to Thomas of Maurienne,

⁵⁷ Chigi C.VI.177 shares several variant readings with Montecassino 420, which was produced at Subiaco during the abbacy of a former monk of Farfa, Johannes (1068-1120). Since the Chigi manuscript was at Subiaco by the early twelfth century, it could have been the exemplar for the hymns of Peter Damian in Montecassino 420; the two manuscripts share part of a set of glosses on other hymns of the office. See BOYNTON, "Glossed Hymns," 304-6, 358-9. The variant readings of Peter Damian's hymns shared by Chigi C.VI.177 and Montecassino 420 are: "Gemma celestis" 5,1 *iure*] sanctae; 7,2 *una*] summa; 7,3 *implet omnem*] et creator; 7,4 *orbem*] regnat; "Aurora surgit" 5,1 *pater alme*] summe pater; 5,2 *prona*] pronis.

⁵⁸ T. LEGGIO, *La diocesi di Cures Sabini*, 14, suggests that Lawrence was a bishop of Vescovio active around 554; cited in MCCLENDON, *The Imperial Abbey*, 147 n. 36.

⁵⁹ G.D. GORDINI, "Lorenzo Illuminatore," and "Lorenzo, Vescovo di Spoleto," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* 8 (1966), cols. 135-6 and 147.

the monk from Savoie who refounded the abbey. The text of the privilege calls Lawrence "a former bishop."⁶⁰

The story of the abbey's foundation in the *Chronicon farfense* may well be the product of Gregory's own embroidering of all too sparse information. Gregory's central assertion that Lawrence chose to renounce the bishopric of the Sabina is not based on a known hagiographic tradition:

...although he performed the office of bishop with honor and was regarded as esteemed and agreeable by God and men, he spurned the glories of the world, and disdained the applause of men and the foolish flattery of the world; he renounced the cares of this world, abandoned the episcopate, and chose the contemplative life, which, as the lord Christ teaches, is the best portion, and wishing to devote himself to the Lord alone, he took the humble monastic garment.⁶¹

Other than the vague expression "*quondam episcopus*" in the papal privilege of 705, prior to Gregory of Catino the only extant source for Lawrence's renunciation of the episcopate is Peter Damian's letter to Nicholas II requesting relief from his duties as the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, an office he had held since 1057.⁶² The catalogue of justified episcopal renunciations in this letter includes examples from throughout church history. Early in the list comes Lawrence of Syria, described in terms not unlike Gregory's:

That bishop of the Sabina, who abandoned the episcopal throne, and built the monastery of Farfa in contempt of priestly dignity, what a noble man in Christ he was is attested by ancient tradition, which celebrates the honors of his sanctity; modern devotion is a witness that celebrates his holy memory in praise.⁶³

⁶⁰ "...quondam episcopus venerandae memoriae, de peregrinis veniens in feudo, qui dicitur Acutianus, territorii Sabinensis" (Regesto 2: 23, doc. 2).

⁶¹ "...dum episcopatus honore fungeretur et Deo ac hominibus carus et acceptus haberetur, seculi sublimia spreuit, favores hominum et ineptas mundi adulationes contempsit, huius seculi curis renuntiavit, episcopatum deseruit, et contemplativam vitam, que, Christo domino docente, pars est optima, elegit, et soli Domino vacare desiderans, monasticum humile indumentum accepit" (*Chronicon farfense* 1:121-23).

⁶² PETER DAMIAN, Letter 72, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, 2, ed. K. REINDEL, *MGH Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (Munich, 1988), 326-66. Lucchesi dates the letter between December 1059 and July 1061. Letter 72 repeats a request in the earlier Letter 57, which according to Reindel may never have been sent.

⁶³ "Episcopus etiam ille Sabinensis qui solium pontificale deseruit, et Farfense monasterium contempta sacerdotali dignitate construxit, quam nobilis in Christo vir

While Kurt Reindel assumed that Peter Damian's account of Lawrence's episcopal renunciation was based on Gregory of Catino's source, which is no longer extant,⁶⁴ it seems more likely that Peter Damian's letter was the source of Gregory's account. Among the numerous manuscripts of the letter are three eleventh-century ones, including BAV Vat. lat. 3797, the early compilation of Damian's works that contains all the hymns.⁶⁵ Thus in the late eleventh century, the scribes who copied Peter Damian's hymns at Farfa could have had access to his letters by consulting the same manuscript that may have served as the exemplar for the hymns.

Peter Damian may also have had more direct contact with the imperial abbey. While no documentary evidence demonstrates beyond a doubt that Peter Damian visited Farfa, it is possible that he was in Nicholas II's entourage when the pontiff consecrated the main altars in the abbey church at Farfa on July 6, 1060. A document in the Farfa Register notes that Nicholas was accompanied by Roman bishops and many cardinals, but does not specify their names.⁶⁶ Thus it is reasonable to assume that Peter Damian attended the consecration, even if his presence cannot be proven conclusively. The consecration, which took place on the octave of the feast of Peter and Paul and just two days before the feast of Lawrence of Syria (July 8), might well have inspired discussion of the abbey's founder. Perhaps it was in this context that Peter Damian's account of Lawrence's episcopal renunciation became known to the community.⁶⁷ During the same year, Peter Damian began to sign his name with the designation "monachus" instead of both "monachus" and "episcopus,"⁶⁸ possibly implying that he had

fuert, testis est antiqua traditio, quae sanctitatis eius insignia celebrat, testis moderna devotio, quae piam eius memoriam in benedictione frequentat (*Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* 2: 329). For the corresponding passage in Letter 57, see 169-70.

⁶⁴ *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* 2:169.

⁶⁵ V1 in Reindel's edition: the others are Montecassino 358 and BAV Chigi A.VII.218.

⁶⁶ *Regesto* 5: 291 ("*una cum episcopis romanis et aliquantis cardinalibus ad hoc monasterium libentissime venit*"); I thank Charles McClendon for pointing out to me the implications of the document with regard to Peter Damian's possible presence at Farfa.

⁶⁷ Gregory of Catino was born around 1060 and so could not personally have been present.

⁶⁸ G. LUCCHESI, *Per una vita di San Pier Damiani: componenti cronologiche e topografiche* (Cesena, 1972), 147.

already sent the letter to Nicholas II. But whether Peter Damian actually visited Farfa or not, his praise of Lawrence of Syria seems to have reached the abbey in some form by the time Gregory began to write the *Chronicon* (1107), and may have stimulated a broader interest in Peter Damian that led several different monks to copy his hymns into Chigi C.VI.177 near the end of the eleventh century. Other works of Peter Damian would also have been of interest to the community at Farfa, such as his *vitae* of Odilo of Cluny and of Romuald of Ravenna.⁶⁹ Both these reformers are associated with the early history of the abbey in eleventh-century texts copied at Farfa. Abbot Hugh of Farfa related in the *Destructio monasterii farfensis* his experiences at Sant'Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, and praised the strict monastic discipline established there by Romuald. Hugh's search for spiritual leaders to reform Farfa ended in his encounter with William of Volpiano and Odilo of Cluny, who took over the monastery during Hugh's penitence for his simoniac acquisition of the abbacy. Gregory of Catino took up this passage from Hugh's *Destructio* in the chronicle.⁷⁰ The prologue to the *Liber tramitis*, the Cluniac customary copied at the abbey in the third quarter of the eleventh century,⁷¹ expresses Abbot Hugh's admiration for Romuald and Odilo in even more glowing terms.⁷² Thus the transmission to Farfa of Peter Damian's hymns may have been part of a broader interest in his writings.

* * *

⁶⁹ For the most recent overview of Peter Damian's hagiography, with particular reference to the *Vita Odilonis*, see U. LONGO, "San Pier Damiani e l'agiografia," in *Scrivere di santi: Atti dell'II Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, di culti, e dell'agiografia, Napoli, 22-25 ottobre 1997*, ed. G. LUONGO (Rome, 1999), 129-144. A hymn for Odilo of Cluny has recently been attributed to Peter Damian; see J. STAUB, "Ein unbekannter Hymnus des Petrus Damiani auf Abt Odilo von Cluny (Chevalier 3680 + 13887)," *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 32 (1997), 79-86.

⁷⁰ *Chronicon farfense*, 1: 56; 2:76-7.

⁷¹ BAV Vat. lat. 6808, copied between 1050 et 1070; see SUPINO MARTINI, *Roma*, 248.

⁷² *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis abbatis*, ed. P. DINTER, *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* 10 (Siegburg, 1980), 4.

The additions to BAV Chigi C.VI.177 reflect the diverse interests of monks at Farfa, probably foremost among them the cantor, who was in charge of emending and updating liturgical books.⁷³ Through its combination of texts probably original to Farfa with texts received from elsewhere, the collection illuminates aspects of the abbey's liturgical and literary culture, representing concerns particular to the community as well as external influences. As the examples discussed here show, the function, context, and transmission of liturgical texts can significantly enrich the evidence from other sources. Liturgy is very much a part of Farfa's history.

⁷³ M. FASSLER, "The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation," *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 29-51.

APPENDICES

1. Added Texts in Vatican City, BAV Chigi C.VI.177, f. 153r-164v

fol.	Incipit	Genre	Liturgical occasion	Author
153r	Gaudium mundi noua	hymn	Assumption	Peter Damian
153v	Terrena cuncta iubilent	hymn	Assumption	Peter Damian
153v	Aurora uelut fulgida	hymn	Assumption	Peter Damian
153v	Lux mundi beatissima	hymn	Mary	anonymous
154r	Splendor decusque	hymn	Valentine and Hilarius	anonymous
154r	Vita sanctorum	hymn	Easter	anonymous
154v	Crux orbis salus	hymn	Invention of Cross	Peter Damian
154v	Crux mundi benedictio	hymn	Invention of Cross	Peter Damian
154v-155r	Salue crux sancta	hymn	Cross	Heribert of Eichstätt?
161r-v	Radix Iesse iam floruit	responsory	Mary	anonymous
161v-162r	O genitrix	hymn	Mary	Peter Damian
162r-v	Doxa en ipsistis theo	Gloria	Mass	anonymous
163r	Gemma celestis pretiosa	hymn	Benedict	Peter Damian
163r	Signifer inuictissime	hymn	Benedict	Peter Damian
163r-v	Aurora surgit aurea	hymn	Benedict	Peter Damian

2. The Hymn for Valentine and Hilarius

Splendor decusque martyrum,
 robur Deus fortissimum;
 uotis faueto supplicum
 melos tibi pangentium.

- 5 Strophosus anguis prelia
 ausus subire maxima;
 armat dolones tabidos
 tuos necare seruulos.
- 9 Nam bella mouit rabula
 in Valentinum plurima;
 Hilariumque parili
 aggreditur certamine.
- 13 Quos nulla quippe uerba
 equuleique gabula
 perterruerunt Herculi
 beata colla flectere.
- 17 Templi labuntur culmina,
 prostrata quassant ydola,
 gemunt enormi pondere,
 depressa foeda numina.
- 21 O mira, o prodigia:
 saxo ligati guttura
 illesi, Christi gloriam
 mersi fluentis predicant.
- 25 Post haec beatos perfidus
 ferro truncat Demetrius;
 celi capessunt premia
 omnesque calcant demonas.

14 equuleique] aequuleique *ms.* 19 enormi] inormi *ms.*

Interlinear glosses: 1 robur: id est fortitudo 4 melos: id est dulces cantus
 pangentium: id est canentium 5 strophosus: id est dolosus anguis: id est
 serpens 6 subire: id est inire 7 dolones: id est dolosa gladio tabidos: id est
 saucios 9 rabula: id est inuidus 14 gabula: id est patibula Herculi: id est
 ydolo 17 labuntur: id est cadunt 18 quassant: id est confringunt 20 foeda:
 id est sordida numina: id est dii 21 prodigia: id est signa 25 beatos: id
 est sanctos 27 capessunt: id est capiunt

- 29 Aeger dehinc Demetrius,
spelea sacra martyrum
adit; salutem nactus est,
demumque martyr factus est.
- 33 Præcemur ergo supplices
utrosque polo preclues
piacla soluant noxia,
et alma dent suffragia.
- 37 Deo patri sit gloria.

30 spelea: id est sepulcra 31 adit: id est ibit nactus est: id est consecutus
32 demumque: id est postremo 34 preclues: id est preclaros 35 piacla: id
est crimina 36 suffragia: id est adiutoria

Translation:

Splendor and glory of the martyrs, God, the mightiest strength; favor the prayers of the suppliants sounding songs to you.

The deceitful serpent has dared to enter the greatest battles; he arms his poisonous lances to kill your servants.

For the prosecutor began a great many wars against Valentine, and he attacks Hilarius with an equal combat.

Of course, no flogging nor the yoke of the rack frightened them so completely as to bend the blessed necks to Hercules.

The rooves of the temple give way, and shake down the idols; the foul divinities, having been brought low, groan from the huge weight.

O wonders, o marvels: their throats bound to a stone, although struck down, [the martyrs] submerged in the stream proclaim the glory of Christ.

After these things, the treacherous Demetrius finishes off the saints with a sword; they seize the rewards of heaven and trample upon all demons.

Then Demetrius, ill, goes to the sacred tomb of the martyrs; he is healed, and finally is made a martyr.

Therefore, let us pray, suppliants, that both the glorious [saints] in heaven free us of harmful sins, and grant us kind intercession.

3. "Radix Iesse"

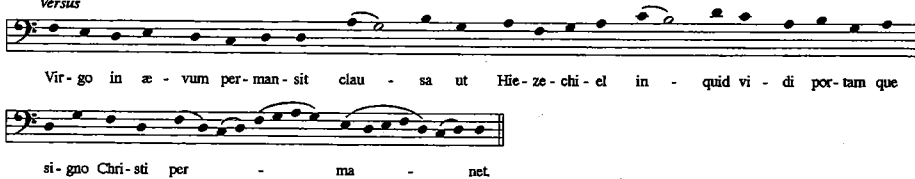
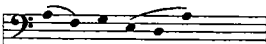
R. Radix Iesse iam floruit
et uirga fructum protulit
v. Fecunda partum edidit
Et uirgo mater permanet.

- 5 v. Virgo in æuū permansit
clausa ut Hiezechiel
inquit: Vidi portam
que signo Christi permanet.

- 9 *Prosa.* Dauid Christus efficitur,
matris innupte filius
cuius tumescit uterus
et mater uirgo permanet.

- 13 v. Iam nata lux et salus,
fugata nox et uicta mors.
Venite, gentes, credite:
Deum Maria protulit
et uirgo [mater permanet].

Vatican City, BAV Chigi C.VI.177, f. 161 r-v

*Versus**Versus**Prosa**Versus*

4. Diplomatic transcription of the "Doxa" text, compared to the Latin Gloria

Doxa en ipsistis theo	Gloria in excelsis Deo
kepigis yrini en · antropis · evdochian ·	et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.
eunumense · eulugumense · Prosilugumense	Laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramus te,
	glorificamus te.
· eudar istomense ·	Gratias agimus tibi
Dyatyn meglasinsu doxan ·	propter magnam gloriam tuam.
kyrie othee · Basileo · Epuranye	Domine Deus rex caelestis
theae patyr · pantocraton ·	Deus pater omnipotens
kyrie yemonogeni ·	Domine fili unigenite
yosxpycte ·	Ihesu Christe
kyrie otheo · oamostotheo · Oyos to patros	Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, filius patris
· Oreontin · amartian to · cosmo ·	qui tollis peccata mundi
eleyson ymas ·	miserere nobis
Oerontin · amartian to · cosmo ·	qui tollis peccata mundi
Prodesche · Dinteisin ymon ·	suscipe deprecationem nostram
Ocathemenos · Endexian to patros ·	qui sedes ad dexteram patris
eleyson ymas ·	miserere nobis
ochisimonos · agyos symonos	quoniam tu solus sanctus ...
{...} theos patros amin.	Dei patris. Amen.

5. Collation of Peter Damian's Hymns in Chigi C.VI.177 with
LOKRANTZ, l' *Opera Poetica*

*Gaudium mundi, Crux orbis salus, Crux mundi benedictio, Signifer inuic-
tissime*: no variations from the text established by LOKRANTZ

Terrena cuncta

1,4 laudes alternent] alternent carmen

4,1 diues] ciues

5,1 quam] qua

Aurora uelut

2,2 conscendit] consedit

5,3 per quam nostra suscepit] sit nobis ipse premium

5,4 ut sua nobis praebeat] qui factus est et pretium

O genitrix

7,4 clausam] clausa

10,1-4 *om.*; 19,1-21,4 *om.*

Gemma celestis

5,1 iure] sanctae; *corr. in marg.* iure | sub blanda] sublande

6,3 flammantem radiante callem] flammante radiante calle

7,2 una] summa

7,3 implet omnem] et creator

7,4 orbem] regnat

Aurora surgit

5,1 pater alme] summa pater

5,2 pronae] pronis

Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*: une nouvelle édition*

par

A. SYLWAN

(Göteborg)

Peu de textes ont été aussi souvent copiés au moyen âge que le grand abrégé de l'histoire biblique de Pierre Comestor, professeur et prédicateur réputé du XII^e siècle à Paris. Sa popularité immense est attestée, entre autres, par plus de 800 manuscrits, par des traductions médiévales en différentes langues et par de nombreuses éditions à partir de l'*editio princeps* de 1473 jusqu'à la fin du XVII^e siècle. Si aucune édition moderne n'existe de l'*Historia scholastica*, c'est probablement à cause du grand nombre des manuscrits, qui a contribué à décourager les éditeurs éventuels. Une telle édition serait néanmoins nécessaire, puisque l'*Historia scholastica* a été largement utilisée au moyen âge dans les écoles, par les théologiens, les historiens et autres auteurs. Je prépare une édition partielle des sections introductives, c'est-à-dire le prologue épistolaire avec la dédicace, la préface et la Genèse. Ces parties sont suffisamment considérables (150 pages) pour qu'on puisse en tirer des conclusions générales quant au caractère du texte et de sa tradition. L'édition sera publiée dans la *Continuatio Mediaevalis* du *Corpus Christianorum*.

* Je tiens à remercier Jean-François Genest, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris, Gilbert Dahan, Sections des sciences religieuses, Sorbonne et Rita Beyers, Universitaire Faculteiten Sint-Ignatius, Anvers pour leur relecture et qui m'ont fait bénéficier de leurs critiques inestimables. Je veux remercier François Dolbeau, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des sciences historiques et philologiques, Sorbonne, qui m'a conseillée sur le texte édité et sur la lisibilité de l'apparat critique. Je suis également très reconnaissante à deux collègues de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris: à Patricia Stirnemann pour m'avoir aidée à dater et localiser les manuscrits de Comestor et à Dominique Poirel pour de précieuses indications concernant la discussion stemmatique.

TRANSMISSION DU TEXTE

L'œuvre de Pierre Comestor est connue sous le nom d'*Historia scholastica*. Ce titre apparaît dans quelques manuscrits du XII^e siècle, telle une copie écrite à Troyes pour Clairvaux¹ et une autre écrite en Champagne pour la bibliothèque des comtes de Champagne entre 1185 et 1200.² La plupart des copies du XII^e siècle portent cependant le titre à l'envers, *Scholastica historia*. Cette forme du titre est attestée par d'autres sources, indépendantes l'une de l'autre, et remontant aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles. Dans une introduction anonyme,³ écrite peu après la mort de Comestor (1179), un collègue et disciple rend hommage à Comestor, son grand maître. Il y traite de la raison de l'œuvre, de l'intention de l'auteur, et du titre (*que sit causa suscepti operis, que intentio scribentis, quis titulus*). Au sujet du titre, on lit la mention suivante: *Titulus hic est: Incipit scolastica historia, id est causa et utilitate scolarium edita*, «Le titre est Bible des étudiants, c'est-à-dire éditée pour les étudiants et à leur usage». Le même titre se trouve dans un commentaire de l'*Historia scholastica*, écrit dans les années 1180 probablement à Paris,⁴ ainsi que dans les

¹ Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 226, f. 1v: *incipit hystoria scolastica*.

² Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 290, f. 2r: *incipit hystoria scolastica*. Voir une nouvelle description de ce manuscrit dans le catalogue de l'exposition *Splendeurs de la Cour de Champagne au temps de Chrétien de Troyes*, dans: *La Vie en Champagne*, hors série (1999) 65, n° 31 **Petrus Comestor, Historia scholastica**. Au sujet de la collection comtale de Champagne entre 1140 et 1230, voir Patricia STIRNEMANN, *Une bibliothèque princière au XII^e siècle*, dans: *Splendeurs de la Cour de Champagne au temps de Chrétien de Troyes*, p. 36-42.

³ *Introitus super hystoriam scolasticam*, ca. 1180 (Troyes, Bibl. mun. 290, vol. II, f. 51r; 226, vol. II, f. 164r): *Amice, accomoda mihi tres panes* (Luc. 11,5) ... *Eam uero cum Marco terminat in ascensione, et sic ponit terminum libri sui*. Cinq autres manuscrits contiennent le prologue anonyme: Cambridge University Library, Kk.2.12 (Angleterre s. XIII); London, British Library, Add. 16162 (France s. XIII^e); München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23438 (Allemagne s. XIV^e); Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. III 73 (Allemagne s. XIV^e); Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M.II.155 (Allemagne 1469). Cfr F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi* 4 (1954) 290, n° 6566.

⁴ *Glosa in historiam scolasticam*, cfr. F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi* 5 (1955) 235-239, n° 7710-7730. Ce texte existe dans trois manuscrits connus: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14417, ff. 129r-158v, 1220-1235, appartenant à l'abbaye de Saint-Victor; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 177, ff. 100-111; London, British Library, Roy. 2 C viii, ff. 122v-131v.: *Item Notule super historias*. Ce dernier manuscrit a été écrit en Angleterre entre 1200 et 1210. Voir G. LACOMBE, *Studies in the Commentaries of Cardinal Stephen*

chroniques. Citons, par exemple, Albert de Trois-Fontaines, qui écrit à propos de l'an 1169: *Qui Manducator cum esset Trecensis decanus, Scolasticam hystoriam edidit ad Senonensem archiepiscopum Guilelmum*.⁵ Le plus ancien témoin daté de l'*Historia scholastica*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 16943, écrit en 1183 dans le monastère bénédictin de Corbie, porte un titre différent: *Hystoria ueteris et noui testamenti*, c'est-à-dire «l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament réunis en une bible».

Historia scholastica ou *Scolastica historia* ne peut pas être le titre original de l'ouvrage. Comestor ne pouvait pas savoir dès le début que son livre serait utilisé dans les écoles. Il explique dans son prologue qu'il a composé son livre en réponse aux demandes renouvelées de ses *socii*, c'est-à-dire les membres de la communauté religieuse de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor, ou peut-être de l'église de Notre-Dame. Ceux-ci désiraient avoir une compilation destinée à servir d'outil de référence, que l'on pourrait consulter pour trouver la vérité de l'histoire biblique (voir l'échantillon d'édition p. 379, 5/8). Ceci n'implique pas que Comestor aurait donné à son livre le titre *hystoria ueteris et noui testamenti*; il est plus probable qu'à l'origine l'œuvre ne portait pas de titre du tout. Mais dès que l'ouvrage devint un manuel scolaire, il fut connu tout simplement sous le nom de *Scolastica hystoria* ou *Historia scolastica*.

Comestor, comme beaucoup d'auteurs contemporains, a dédié son ouvrage à Guillaume aux Blanches-Mains, archevêque de Sens entre 1168 et 1175 (voir l'échantillon d'édition p. 379, 2/3). Le prologue fournit donc une date pour déterminer un *terminus post quem*.

À quel moment le texte de Comestor devint-il un livre scolaire? Les plus anciennes copies que nous possédons datent des années 1180. Il semble que la diffusion de son livre était déjà avancée à cette époque, et c'est aussi celle où l'*Historia scholastica* commence à être citée par d'autres auteurs. On trouve un certain nombre d'emprunts qui montrent que l'*Historia scholastica* était abondam-

Langton, dans: *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 5 (1930) 23 et 40-42; Philippe BUC, *David's Adultery with Bathsheba and the Healing Power of the Capetian Kings*, dans: *Viator* 24 (1993) 110, note 27. Pour d'autres gloses sur l'*Historia scholastica*, voir F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi* 4 (1954) 291, n° 6572, 1-2.

⁵ *Chronica Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium*, dans: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* 23, p. 853, 15/19.

ment étudiée dès les années 1180. Elle est citée par Alain de Lille, qui écrit son traité *De fide catholica* au milieu des années 1180 à Montpellier.⁶ Guillaume de Tyr écrivait son *Chronicon* en 1184.⁷ Cette œuvre contient des passages de *l'Historia scholastica*. Le vocabulaire propre de Guillaume indique que les emprunts proviennent de Comestor plutôt que d'une source commune.⁸

Le fait que nous ne possédons pas de copies des années 1170 peut indiquer une date relativement tardive par rapport à la composition de Comestor pour l'utilisation du livre comme manuel scolaire. Il est bien possible qu'il y ait ici un lien avec le troisième Concile de Latran en 1179. Parmi les 27 décrets de ce Concile, le *can. 18* traite de l'enseignement des clercs et des élèves pauvres.⁹ Il est probable que le livre de Comestor fut considéré comme une réponse appropriée au besoin d'instruction des clercs pauvres, et il est possible que son ouvrage ait reçu à ce moment une reconnaissance quasi-officielle. Car l'année précédente ou en 1177 le cardinal Pierre de Saint-Chrysogone, légat pontifical, avait recommandé au pape Alexandre III maître Pierre Comestor, doyen de Troyes pour ses textes écrits (*litteraturam*) qui le rendaient digne d'être promu dans la *Romana Ecclesia*.¹⁰ Parmi les personnages qui

⁶ Alanus de Insulis, *De fide catholica* comporte un extrait de *l'Historia scholastica*, Daniel, PL 198, 1459-1460 = *De fide catholica*, PL 210, 412-413. Édition en préparation par Joseph H. PEARSON, Doctoral Candidate in Theology, Université de Notre Dame, États-Unis.

⁷ Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronicon*. Éd. R.B.C. HUYGENS, Turnhout, 1986, CC CM 63.

⁸ Cfr un passage de Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronicon* 4,8,44: *Farfar enim et Abbana, a Libano trahentes originem per agrum Damascenum, secus ipsam urbem defluentes in orientem properant ...* = Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, ch. De morte Isaac et regibus Edom. (Gen. 35,27; PL 198, 1124 *Add.*): *Libanus diuidit Ydumeam et Pheniciam. In cuius radice oriuntur Albana et Farfar fluentes secus Antiochiam*. La source de Comestor est Rorgo Fretellus (*Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte*. Histoire et édition du texte par P.C. BOEREN, New York, 1980, ch. 29, p. 21): *Ad radicem Libani oriuntur Farphar et Albana, fluuii Damasci ... Farphar per Syriam tetendit Reblatta, id est Antiochiam labensque secus muros ...*

⁹ *Concilium Lateranense III, can. XVIII*, dans: J. HEFELE, *Histoire des Conciles*, Paris, 1913, tome V-2, p. 1101.

¹⁰ PL 200, Epistola 11, 1370D-1371C: *Iam pridem litteras beatitudinis uestræ recipimus, continentes ut inquirere deberemus, quæ personæ de regno Francorum, aut de partibus illis possent in Romanam Ecclesiam promoueri. Sane, cum proposuissemus ad pedes sanctitatis redire, nomina illorum, quos ad hoc dignos et idoneos credimus, uiua uoce potius circumspectioni uestræ uole-*

avaient assisté au Concile, évêques de l'Église Occidentale et de l'Orient, en dehors de Pierre de Celle ou de Guillaume aux Blanches-Mains, archevêque de Reims, on cite d'habitude le grand historien Guillaume, archevêque de Tyr et les maîtres d'écoles parisiennes Pierre Comestor, Pierre le Chantre, Pierre de Blois.¹¹ Ce pouvait donc être une excellente occasion pour Pierre Comestor de présenter en personne son œuvre.

Le livre de Comestor reçut à ce moment une diffusion vaste et rapide. Très vite, *l'Historia scholastica* devint un ouvrage de base pour l'explication du texte biblique (*sacra pagina*), de même que les *Sentences* de Pierre Lombard et le *Décret* de Gratien. Des leçons sur *l'Historia scholastica* doivent avoir été données très tôt, car dès les années 1180 apparaissent les premiers commentaires. On trouve plusieurs genres de commentaires: gloses interlinéaires ou marginales, *reportationes* et *postillæ*: ainsi celles de Pierre le Chantre¹², d'Étienne Langton¹³ et de Hugues de Saint-Cher.¹⁴ Après sa reconnaissance officielle par le pape en 1215 au quatrième Concile de Latran, *l'Historia scholastica* sera utilisée comme manuel biblique dans l'enseignement universitaire durant quatre siècles. Manuscrits,

bamus exprimere quam litterarum commendare figuris. ... Litteraturam et honestatem magistri Petri Manducatoris decani Trecensis uos non credimus ignorare.

¹¹ J. LONGÈRE, *Le Troisième Concile de Latran 1179 et sa place dans l'histoire*, Paris, 1982, p. 77.

¹² Petrus Cantor, *Glossa super Genesim. Prologus et Capitula 1-3*. Édition critique avec une introduction par Agneta SYLWAN, (*Studia Græca et Latina Gothoburgensia* LV), Göteborg 1992. Cfr F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Ævi* 4 (1954), 252-269, n° 6454-6507 (I Macc., 267, n° 6502: Expl. *supersedemus, quia illa narrat Magister in Historiis*; *Glossa super unum ex quatuor* 267, n° 6504: Expl. ... *Cetera require in fine Historiarum*).

¹³ Cfr par exemple Victoria (Australie), State Library 206 (France s. XIII¹): ff. 1ra-97vb *Historia scholastica*, ff. 98ra-133rb Etienne Langton, *Expositio litteralis in historiam scholasticam*, inc. *Omne superuacuum pleno de pectore manat* (Horace, *Ars Poetica* 337), et ff. 133rb-138vb Etienne Langton, *Expositio moralis in historiam scholasticam*, inc. *Mortuo symone*. Voir F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Ævi* 5 (1955) 235-239, n° 7710-7730 (*Expositio litteralis in historiam scholasticam*); 239-241, n° 7731-7743 (*Expositio moralis in historiam scholasticam*); 241-255, n° 7744-7765 (*Vet. test. libri historiales Gen.-II Macc.*).

¹⁴ *Postilla Hugonis super historiam*, cfr par exemple Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek 11 (Salzburg ou Vorau s. XIII^{re}), ff. 148r-208v: *Excerpta de historia scholastica et de postillis Hugonis super historiam*. Voir F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Ævi* 3 (1951) 115-118, n° 3607-3626. Édition en préparation par Anja Inkeri Lehtinen, Université de Helsinki, Finlande.

traductions vernaculaires¹⁵ et éditions¹⁶ témoignent de la popularité immense et durable dont a joui le livre. Le texte parut pour la première fois en 1473 à Augsbourg chez l'imprimeur Günther Zainer, et la même année une autre édition a été réalisée à Utrecht – *l'Historia scholastica* fut le premier livre imprimé aux Pays-Bas. Deux années plus tard, en 1475, le texte parut à Strasbourg, et cette édition servit de base à toute une série d'éditions jusqu'à l'édition de la Patrologie Latine (PL 198, 1053-1644), qui reproduit celle du bénédictin Emanuel Navarrus (Madrid 1699). Le texte des éditions imprimées est incertain. Les rubriques sont fréquemment incorrectes. Les leçons erronées abondent, en particulier sous forme de gloses et d'additions.¹⁷ Le texte se caractérise, avant tout, par une longue interpolation dans la préface.¹⁸

¹⁵ La traduction néerlandaise par Jacob van Maerlant (*Rijmbijbel*) date de 1270. La traduction française par Guyart des Moulins de 1291; édition partielle (Genesis) en préparation par Bénédicte Michel Perrault, Université de Bourgogne, France. La plus ancienne des 101 *Historienbibeln* en haut et bas allemand appartient à la collection de Martin Schøyen, Oslo (690, s. XIV). Le livre fut traduit en tchèque en 1481. Cfr F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi* 4 (1954) 290-291, n° 6567-6572.

¹⁶ Éditions anciennes: Augsbourg 1473 (*editio princeps*), Utrecht 1473, Strasbourg 1475, 1483, 1485, 1487, 1500, 1503, 1515; Cologne 1475 (1477 ou 1479), Bâle 1486, Chambéry 1482-1486, Paris 1513, 1518; Haguenau 1519, Lyon 1526, 1535, 1542, 1543; Bénévent 1699, Madrid 1699 (reproduite par J.-P. Migne, PL 198, 1053-1644), Venise 1728.

¹⁷ Dans les exemples suivants, pris du *Liber Geneseos*, la leçon des éditions est comparée à celle du texte de base: unde illud: Isaïæ *add.* (PL 198, 1053); Amen: *om.* (1053); Samia figura: id est Pythagorica, quæ de Samo insula fuit, hæc enim figura a Pythagora inuenta est *add.* (1067D); uulgata dicitur: Origenis quoque editio dicitur uulgaris, quia ea quasi uulgo utimur *add.* (1069 Add.); ciliadis: id est primæ ætatis. Unum sæculum scilicet spatium mille annorum chiliadem dicimus *add.* (1076 Add.); decenter: prudenter (1079B); lex: Mosaica *add.* (1083D); amplexibus: mulierum *add.* (1083D); Nili: fluuii *add.* (1084C); aquarum meatus dicuntur initiales: id est cataractæ *add.* (1084C); immobiles: quia uenti delere non poterant, propter altitudinem montium *add.* (1084D); anno: uitæ Noe *add.* (1085C); imminui: in minus (1089B); duxit: eduxit (1104B); expectans: et exoptans *add.* (1112A); prorupisset: insaniam uel *add.* (1121D)

¹⁸ Leçon des manuscrits: Prima planior, secunda acutior, tertia suauior. A fundamento loquendi sumemus principium, immo ab ipsius fundamenti principio eo iuuante qui omnium princeps est et principium. (Cfr l'échantillon d'édition, p. 381, 23/26)

Leçon des éditions: Prima planior, secunda acutior, tertia suauior: [sumitur allegoria quandoque a persona, ut Isaac significat Christum; etiam David quandoque hoc modo significat Christum. Quandoque a re quæ non est persona, ut

LES MANUSCRITS

Les manuscrits sont très nombreux. Stegmüller en inventorie 224 dans le quatrième volume de son *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Ævi*, et en signale 7 de plus dans son Supplément de 1977.¹⁹ Le CD-ROM *In principio* (1998), incipitaire des textes latins, et l'*Iter Italicum* de P.O. Kristeller, qui indique les manuscrits de la période humanistique dans les bibliothèques italiennes, énumèrent 93 manuscrits supplémentaires. Il m'a été possible de faire de nouvelles découvertes en utilisant les catalogues imprimés des manuscrits, en correspondant avec les directeurs des bibliothèques pour vérifier l'existence d'un manuscrit et sa cote actuelle, en examinant des manuscrits sur l'original (83) à Paris et Bruges, et sur microfilm (222) au Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies à Toronto au Canada, à la Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, à la Vatican Film Library aux États-Unis, et à l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes à Paris; et en entreprenant une vaste recherche des manuscrits en Europe, aux États-Unis, en Australie et en Nouvelle-Zélande. Ce travail fructueux, mené en commun avec le personnel en place, m'a permis de trouver plus de 800 manuscrits, et il y a toutes raisons de penser que la liste n'est pas close. Ils se trouvent aujourd'hui dans la plupart des pays européens. On n'en compte pas moins de 180 en France, et la Bibliothèque nationale de France à Paris en possède à elle seule une soixantaine. En outre, plusieurs manuscrits sont conservés dans les collections privées – le dernier a

ueruex occisus humanitatem passam significat, et lapis duritiem cordis: persona enim est indiuidua rationalis naturæ substantia; quandoque a numero, ut *apprehendent septem mulieres uirum, unum*, etc., id est septem dona gratiarum Spiritus sancti. Quandoque a loco, ut per montem in quo docebat Christus eminentia uirtutum: quandoque a tempore, ut *non sit fuga uestra hieme uel Sabbato*, id est in refrigeratione charitatis; quandoque a facto, ut interfectio Goliz a Daud, id est interfectio diaboli a Christo. Tropologia est sermo conuersiuus, pertinens ad mores animi; et magis mouet quam allegoria, quæ pertinet ad Ecclesiam militan-tem, anagoge ad triumphantem et ad Domini trinitatem.]

Additio 2: A fundamento sumemus principium loquendi, immo ab ipsius fundamenti principio eo iuuante qui omnium princeps est et principium. (PL 198, 1053-1055)

Cette interpolation dérive de la *Glosa in historiam scolasticam*, cfr la note 4.

¹⁹ F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Ævi* 4 (1954) 288-290, n° 6543-6565; 9 (1977) 341, n° 6543-6565.

été vendu en 1996 par les Enluminures, Le Louvre des Antiquaires à Paris pour £ 16.500.

C'est en France que *Historia scholastica* s'est d'abord répandue, et plus précisément à Paris, Troyes, Sens, Reims, les villes où se sont déroulées les vies professionnelles de Comestor et de Guillaume aux Blanches-Mains. Comestor était doyen de Troyes, un titre honorifique qu'il a gardé toute sa vie, et dans son prologue il se désigne très humblement *presbyter Trecensis*, prêtre de Troyes. Plus tard, Comestor a été professeur et prédicateur réputé à Paris, et chancelier des écoles parisiennes. Guillaume fut archevêque de Sens entre 1168-1175, et à partir de 1176, archevêque de Reims. Grâce aux monastères bénédictins, le texte est connu à Corbie et Mondsee dès le début des années 1180. Puis, toujours au XII^e siècle, le texte se répand vite dans le nord de la France, en Allemagne, Italie et Angleterre. Mais c'est surtout au XIII^e siècle qu'il se répandra très largement, comme en témoignent les 444 manuscrits aujourd'hui conservés, copiés avant tout en France et en Angleterre. Le ville de Paris, à elle seule, fournit une soixantaine d'exemplaires qui paraissent avoir été copiés à la même époque, la première moitié du XIII^e siècle. Presque un tiers des manuscrits a été copié au XIV^e siècle, enfin le XV^e siècle fournit une centaine de manuscrits, dont plusieurs sont datés. Le plus récent manuscrit date de 1508.

Plusieurs manuscrits proviennent de communautés ecclésiastiques, en particulier d'abbayes ou d'églises françaises: Saint-Victor, Clairvaux, Corbie, Cambrai, Clairmarais, Saint-Evrault, Jumièges; autrichiennes: Mondsee, Zwiefalten, S. Blasius d'Admont, ou allemandes: Tegernsee, S. Emmeran, S. Vitus de Gladbach. D'autres proviennent d'abbayes ou d'églises italiennes: Sacro Convento di Assisi, San Marco de Venise; anglaises: Saint Albans, Durham, Elstow, Windsor, Christ Church Canterbury; espagnoles: San Pedro de Cardena. Parmi les plus anciens possesseurs, certains sont illustres: Pétrarque, Thomas Cranmer, Côme de Médicis.

Un grand nombre de ces manuscrits procurent l'ouvrage complet. D'autres manuscrits ne contiennent que la seconde partie: *l'Historia Euangelica* (Paris, BnF, lat. 5121, s. XII; BnF, lat. 5503, s. XII). Les éditeurs médiévaux ont parfois divisé l'ouvrage de Comestor en deux volumes: le premier contenant l'Ancien Testament et le second *l'Historia Euangelica*; ou encore, l'Ancien Testament jusqu'aux Rois pour le premier volume, Tobie à *l'Historia Euangelica* pour le second.

Les œuvres qui circulaient avec l'*Historia scholastica* au XII^e siècle sont la continuation de l'*Historia scholastica*, c'est-à-dire l'*Historia Actuum Apostolorum*²⁰ attribuée à un disciple dans un manuscrit du XII^e siècle;²¹ une paraphrase de l'*Historia Actuum Apostolorum* se terminant avec la destruction de Jérusalem,²² et le *Liber Exceptionum* de Richard de Saint-Victor.²³ Les manuscrits de l'*Historia scholastica* datant du XIII^e siècle contiennent toutes sortes de manuels, destinés à aider les étudiants à comprendre le texte biblique. Un texte fréquent dans ces manuscrits est le *Compendium Historie in Genealogia Christi*, manuel biblique avec l'arbre généalogique de Christ composé par Pierre de Poitiers, chancelier des écoles parisiennes après Pierre Comestor.²⁴

²⁰ PL 198, 1645-1722. Cfr F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi* 4 (1954) 287, n° 6565; Philip MOORE, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers. Master in Theology and Chancellor of Paris (1193-1205)*, Notre Dame Indiana, 1936, ch. 5, *Historia Actuum Apostolorum*, p. 118-122.

²¹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16943 (Corbie 1183), f. 172r: *Incipiunt Actus Apostolorum. Hucusque historiatus est magister petrus. Abhinc discipuli eius*. Quatre autres manuscrits contiennent l'attribution de l'*Historia Actuum Apostolorum*. London, British Library, Add. 16,162 (France s. XIIIⁱⁿ), f. 234b: *Historia Actuum Apostolorum a discipulo eius edita*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 319 (France s. XIIIⁱⁿ), f. 52v: *Historia Actuum secundum Magistrum petrum manducatorem a Willelmo pictaviense conscripta*. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library 214 (Mont Saint-Quentin 1229), f. 181r: *Incipiunt actus apostolorum. huc usque ystoriatus est magister petrus. Ab hinc dissipuli eius*. London, British Library, Stowe 5 (Angleterre s. XIIIⁱⁿ), f. 166va: *Incipit commentum magistri Petri Pictaviensis super Actus Apostolorum*.

²² Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 363 (Mondsee 1180-1183) ff. 202va-222r: *Determinatio apparitionum Domini post resurrectionem* (rubrique) *Dominus noster Iesus christus quinquies in die resurrectionis apparuit ... Titus ergo cum tali triumpho Iudeorum Italiam copiose ditavit*. L'abrégé de l'*Historia Actuum Apostolorum* existe en sept autres manuscrits: Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Barth. 56 (Paris? 1210-1220), ff. 128rb-140vb. Sankt-Florian, Stiftsbibliothek XI 216 (Allemagne s. XIIIⁱ), ff. 157rb-173ra. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 435 (Allemagne 1310) ff. 139a-155. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 461 (Allemagne s. XIII-XIV) ff. 245ra-301. Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek 227 (Autriche s. XIVⁱⁿ), ff. 150vb-153ra. Mattsee, Stiftsbibliothek 71 (Allemagne s. XV) ff. 263ra-289vb. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 3401 (S. Emmeran s. XV).

²³ London, British Library, Roy 7 F.iii (Elstow 1191-1192), ff. 1-165a *Historia scholastica*; ff. 165b-196a Richardus de Sancto Victore, *Liber Exceptionum*.

²⁴ L'*editio princeps* a été publiée 1592 par Zwingli à Bâle. Voir F. STEGMÜLLER, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi* 4 (1954) 362-365, n° 6778-6778,3; Philip MOORE, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers*, ch. 4, *Compendium historie*, p. 97-117 (une liste de 50 manuscrits). William H. MONROE, *A Roll-Manuscript of Peter of Poitiers' Compendium*, dans: *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum*, vol. LXV, number 3, March 1978, 92-107.

LE CLASSEMENT

L'*Historia scolastica* a une tradition manuscrite considérable et variée, et le classement des témoins n'a jamais été entrepris. L'ouvrage connut une popularité énorme; en tant que livre de classe il fut très glosé. De telles conditions ne favorisent pas la pureté du texte. Le grand nombre de copies médiévales a rendu la contamination très facile: à une date très précoce, des gloses et des additions erronées sont entrées dans le texte, et les leçons bibliques ont été rectifiées. Établir par le menu les rapports de parenté de ces divers manuscrits serait une tâche immense, voire impossible. Mon objectif a été de procurer une édition du livre de la Genèse basée sur la collation d'un certain nombre des manuscrits du XII^e siècle, et de regrouper ces témoins en familles.

Un examen de la moitié de tous les manuscrits connus m'a permis de trouver 23 manuscrits datant du XII^e siècle et qui contiennent le livre de la Genèse. Parmi eux, seulement 9 manuscrits contiennent le texte entier: le prologue, la préface et le corps du texte de la Genèse aux Évangiles.²⁵ Le prologue, dans lequel Comestor

²⁵ L'ouvrage de Comestor est divisé par les histoires suivantes. Le *Pentateuque* (PL 198, 1053-1260): Genèse 1-50, Exode 1.8 - 40.16 (le dernier chapitre *De compositione tabernaculi et erectione* contient le commentaire des cinq versets des chapitres 35-40 (35.20, 38.29, 40.15, 40.32 et 40.36). Lévitique 1.1 - 26.3, Nombres 1.1 - 36.10 (le dernier chapitre est un abrégé des chapitres 33-36), et Deuteronomie 1.1 - 34.11 (le dernier chapitre *De morte Moyses* est un abrégé des chapitres 32-34). Josué 1.1 - 14.13 et 24.29 - 32.49 (PL 198, 1259-1272). Juges 1.1-21.4 (le dernier chapitre est un abrégé des chapitres 19-21). Comestor a introduit trois passages à la fin des Juges: cfr l'introduction anonyme (Troyes ms. 290, II, f. 51^v): *Prosequitur magister incipiens tractatum suum a libro Geneseos... Sexto ponit Iosue, septimo Indicum in cuius fine tres addit peryocopas: unam de idolo Micha, alteram de uxore Leuita, terciam de Ruth Moabitide* (PL 198, 1271-1296). Les *Rois* sont suivis des *Paralipomènes* (PL 198, 1295-1432). *Tobie* comprend 4 chapitres, le premier contient le commentaire de Tobie 1-14. Les chapitres 2 et 3 contiennent la dernière partie de *Jérémie* 40.5-42 (*De morte Godolie*), et le dernier chapitre commente *Ézéchiel* 24 (PL 198, 1431-1442). Vient ensuite un commentaire abrégé de *Ézéchiel* 1-40 (PL 198, 1441-1448). Les visions de *Daniel* (PL 198, 1447-1476) sont suivies de l'histoire de *Susanna*. *Judith* comprend 10 chapitres. Le premier chapitre contient un commentaire abrégé de *Judith* 1-16. Le second chapitre comporte des extraits de l'histoire de *Josèphe*. Et les chapitres 3-10 contiennent le commentaire de I Esdras 5 - II Esdras 13 (PL 198, 1475-1490). *Esther* est divisé en 11 chapitres: le premier chapitre correspond à Esther 1-11; les chapitres 2-11 comportent des extraits de l'histoire de *Josèphe* (PL 198, 1489-1506). Les *Macchabées* (PL 198, 1505-1525). L'histoire

s'adressait à Guillaume aux Blanches-Mains, est omis dans 13 manuscrits. Il apparaît que le prologue n'a pas été estimé comme important, car je le trouve dans deux manuscrits à la fin du texte, et bien souvent, les copistes ont donné le titre de l'ouvrage de Comestor à la préface. En outre, 6 copies sont incomplètes: le premier feuillet manque dans trois d'entre elles, deux copies présentent de grandes omissions dans la Genèse, et deux autres contiennent seulement le Pentateuque. Deux manuscrits sont datés (1183 et 1191/1192) et écrits par des copistes identifiés. Tous les autres peuvent être datés et localisés par l'examen de leur écriture et de leurs initiales enluminées.

Il était impossible d'entreprendre une étude exhaustive des manuscrits en raison de l'étendue du texte. La méthode que j'ai suivie est la suivante: collation de passages-test dans ces témoins; identification des variantes significatives, réunies dans une liste évolutive.

Je peux discerner trois familles ou traditions que je désigne par les lettres P β γ. En plus, il y a aussi une tradition mixte, S. Les deux manuscrits datés, appartenant à la première et à une sous-famille de la dernière famille γ, m'ont permis de conclure que les modèles des trois familles apparaissent dans les dix années suivant la parution du texte. C'est une tradition manuscrite tout à fait remarquable, qui reflète le grand besoin qu'on a éprouvé d'avoir des copies de ce texte.

La lecture de ces 23 manuscrits permet de discerner l'évolution du texte, qui se caractérise par des additions renouvelées et par la correction du texte biblique et des sources de Comestor. Quand on pense à la nature du livre – manuel biblique et en même temps ouvrage scolaire – il n'est pas étonnant non plus qu'il ait été l'objet de remaniements et/ou d'interpolations. En fait, l'évolution du texte apparaît très tôt. La plupart des manuscrits et les éditions anciennes portent la rubrique du prologue, *prologus epistolaris*. Comestor n'a pas pu donner lui-même cette rubrique à son ouvrage, car il commence le prologue immédiatement par la dédicace. Cette rubrique, une interpolation insérée dans le but d'éclaircir la forme du prologue, doit donc dériver d'une des premières copies ou du premier archétype, que je désigne par ω¹.

Évangélique (PL 198, 1525-1644) commence par le chapitre intitulé *De commendatione Iohannis Hircani*; elle se poursuit par le règne de Hérode et la naissance de Jésus et se termine avec l'Ascension.

Le témoin P

La première tradition du texte est conservée dans le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16943 (P), écrit en 1183 dans le monastère bénédictin de Corbie en Picardie par le copiste Johannes Monoculus.²⁶ Il apparaît que l'*Historia scholastica* sous sa forme primitive n'a connu qu'un succès limité. Quelques copies de ce texte existent du XIII^e siècle: New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library 214, copié avant 1229 dans le nord-est de la France et donné à l'abbaye bénédictine du Mont Saint-Quentin. D'autres copies sont à Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale 100, s. XIIIⁱⁿ, provenant de Corbie et Tournai, Séminaire, Cod. 4, anno 1274, provenant de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Tournai.

P est un grand in-folio de luxe. Écrit en grandes lettres, ce volume est très lisible et très beau: une magnifique initiale en tête de la Genèse renferme une série de médaillons, qui retracent l'histoire de la Création du monde et de l'homme. Il contient d'abord le prologue, la préface, le corps du texte de la Genèse aux Évangiles (ff. 2r-172r), et l'*Historia Actuum Apostolorum* (ff. 172r-190r). La dernière partie est ici attribuée à un disciple: *Incipiunt Actus Apostolorum. Hucusque historiatus est magister petrus. Abhinc discipuli eius.*

Les variantes sont nombreuses entre P et le reste des manuscrits: Le titre *Hystoria ueteris et noui testamenti*, le texte biblique, les rubriques et la division en chapitres ne sont pas les mêmes, et le nombre d'ajouts est plus restreint que dans le reste des manuscrits. Le texte proprement dit contient, lui aussi, de nombreuses variantes par rapport au reste des manuscrits. Sur la base de ces critères on ne peut pas classer P avec le reste des manuscrits. En général, P

²⁶ Comme l'atteste le colophon: *Anno incarnati uerbi m^o. c^o. lxxx^o. iii^o. scriptus est liber iste a iohanne monoculo* (f. 190r). Voir Ch. SAMARAN et R. MARICHAL, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine* 3 (1974) 569 + Pl. 37 (f. 172 l'Ascension). É. VAN BALBERGHE, *Chronique* dans: *Scriptorium* 25 (1971) 314. A. BOUTEMY, *De quelques enlumineurs de manuscrits de l'abbaye de Corbie dans la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle*, dans: *Scriptorium* 4 (1950) 246-252. L. DELISLE, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits* II (1874) 117-118. Chr. DE MERINDOL, *La production des livres peints à l'abbaye de Corbie au XII^e siècle*. Étude historique et archéologique, Lille, 1976, 987-989. P.S. MOORE, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers*, 120. S.H. THOMSON, *Latin Bookhands of the later Middle Ages 1100-1500*, Cambridge, 1969, pl. 5 France 1183. L. WEBBER JONES, *The Scriptorium at Corbie*, dans: *Speculum* 22 (1947) 191-204.

offre un texte excellent; parfois il donne à lui seul la bonne leçon par rapport à tous les autres manuscrits:

	P	βγ	
Gen. 1	assueuerunt	consueuerunt	(PL 198, 1062 Add.)
Gen. 4	excogitauerit	excogitauit	(1079B)
Gen. 11	inminui	in minus	(1089B)

On peut discerner des leçons qui sont confirmées par les autres manuscrits, en particulier par la famille suivante (β), et en certains endroits par quelques manuscrits de la famille γ. Malgré sa haute valeur P n'est pas exempt de fautes propres; le copiste commet des erreurs d'inattention, et parfois il répète le même mot, la même terminaison ou les mêmes lettres:

	βγ	P	
prol.	correctio	correptio	(PL 198, 1053)
Gen. 1	tenebras	om.	(1057C)
Gen. 2	imposito	composito	(1071B)
Gen. 4	uouisse	uoluisse	(1080A)
Gen. 19	mane	sane	(1100B)
Gen. 34	raptu Dine	rapacitudine	(1122B)
Gen. 37	Petefrem	Petefratrem	(1126D)
Gen. 39	tenebam	timebam	(1128D)
Gen. 47	pars soluitur	persoluitur	(1135A)

Il arrive que P ait préservé des mots là où d'autres manuscrits présentent une omission. Toutes ces leçons sont valables et donnent le texte original de Comestor. Il arrive aussi que P omette des mots que les autres manuscrits ont conservés.

Texte biblique rectifié

Au sujet des textes bibliques, P fournit certaines leçons rares alors que le reste des manuscrits ont le texte de la Vulgate:

	P	βγ	
Gen. 1,3	dixit	dixitque	(PL 198, 1057)
Gen. 2,9	dominus	dominus deus	(1066A)
Gen. 5,4	filios et filias	Seth	(1076C)
Gen. 9,25	puer Cham	Chanaan puer	(1087B)
Gen. 11,31	et uenerunt	ueneruntque	(1091C)
Gen. 18,16	egrediebatur	gradiebatur	(1099C)
Gen. 20,16	ubicumque	quocumque	(1103B)
Gen. 22,14	uidet	uidebit	(1105C)
Gen. 25,1	uxorem	uxorem nomine	(1108A)
Gen. 30,24	addat	addat	(1117B)
Gen. 39,7	iniecerat	iniecit	(1128B)
Gen. 41,50	postquam uenit fames	priusquam ueniret fames	(1129D)
Gen. 42,7	ad eos	eis	(1130D)
Gen. 43,23	pax uobis	pax uobiscum	(1132A)

Gen. 46,6	cum semine	cum omni semine	(1133B)
Gen. 47,24	in semine et in cibo	in sementem et in cibos	(1135A)
Gen. 49,22	Ioseph filius accrescens	filius accrescens Ioseph filius accrescens	(1139B)

Bien souvent, il est impossible de décider si la leçon que donne P est authentique et remonte à Comestor lui-même, ou s'il agit d'une faute commise par le copiste. En ce qui concerne le texte biblique, les gloses sur la Genèse (après 1183) de Pierre le Chantre ont pu en certains endroits conserver les bonnes leçons: *ad eos* (Gen. 42,7); *filius accrescens Ioseph* (Gen. 49,22). Les gloses de Pierre le Chantre comportent de longs extraits de *l'Historia scholastica*, et même les lemmes bibliques qui en dérivent. Le lemme de P, *Ioseph filius accrescens*, est peut-être un *homœoteleton*, mais Hugues de Saint-Victor utilise aussi ce lemme dans ses *Annotationes in Pentateuchum, In Genesim* (PL 175, 60B). J'ai examiné deux manuscrits de Hugues du XII^e siècle (BnF lat. 2092, f. 32r et BnF lat. 13422, f. 99v) et tous les deux donnent *filius Ioseph accrescens*. Ce lemme véhicule donc une tradition victorine, ce qui nous donne un indice sur la source où Comestor a pris son texte biblique. Le lemme *filius accrescens Ioseph filius accrescens* est donc une rectification de la famille β, et cette famille a aussi probablement corrigé quelques autres leçons rares du texte biblique de P. Il faut en conclure que P présente le texte original et que d'autres manuscrits remontent à un modèle qui a corrigé le texte de Comestor.

Il est évident que la famille γ a rectifié le texte biblique de Pβ, le texte de Comestor, comme en témoignent les exemples donnés ici:

	Pβ	γ	
Gen. 1,1	fecit	creauit	(PL 198, 1055B)
Gen. 1,21	secundum genera sua	iuxta genus suum	(1059C)
Gen. 3,9	Adam, ubi es	ubi es	(1073C)
Gen. 9,24	quid fecerat filius suus	quid fecerat ei filius suus	(1087B)
Gen. 24,20	effudit	effundens	(1107D)
Gen. 27,29	sit ille benedictus	tibi benedictionibus repleatur	(1113C)
Gen. 27,35	frater tuus uenit	uenit frater tuus	(1113D)
Gen. 27,40	excuties	excutias	(1114A)
Gen. 30,20	liberos	filios	(1117D)
Gen. 33,1	eleuans	leuans	(1121C)
Gen. 37,22	sanguinem innoxium	sanguinem	(1125D)
Gen. 41,56	uendedit	uendebat	(1130C)
Gen. 49,1	futura	uentura	(1136B)

Les rubriques

Les livres sont divisés en chapitres et chaque chapitre a une rubrique. Bien que Comestor n'ait pas dit dans son prologue qu'il a

divisé ses livres en chapitres et rubriques, il faut supposer que ces rubriques sont probablement authentiques et n'ont pas été insérées plus tard par les copistes, car la plupart des manuscrits ont en général les mêmes rubriques, insérées dans le texte aux mêmes endroits. De plus, ces rubriques sont souvent nommées dans la source indirecte, la *Glosa in Historiam scolasticam*.²⁷

Il y a des variations dans le nombre et le contenu des rubriques. Ces variations nous donnent une meilleure compréhension de la tradition manuscrite et de la filiation des manuscrits. P offre une série de 112 rubriques, dont 31 différentes de celles des autres manuscrits:

P

De precepto et prohibitione
De dispersione filiorum Noe
De uictoria Abre et de Melchisedech
De mutatione nominis Abre

De immolatione Isaac
De Eliezer
De aduentu Rebecce
De ortu regnorum
De morte Sichimitarum pro raptu Dine
De uenditione Ioseph
De benedictionibus tribuum
De Simeon

De prima creatione celi et terre
De prima mundi confusione + 3 mss de γ
Post operationem septem dierum epilogus
De suggestionem diaboli

De archa Noe et diluuiio + 1 ms de γ
Quando ingressus est in archam
+ 1 ms de γ
om.

De morte Thare
De uocatione Abre
De promissione facta ad Abram
De partu Agar
De subuersione Sodomorum
De liberatione Loth a Sodomis
De conceptione filiarum Loth
De ludo Isaac et Ismæl
De pacto inter Abraham et Abimelech

De precepto et prohibitione edulii
De dispersione filiorum Noe et de Nemroth
De uictoria Abre et occursu Melchisedech
De pacto circumcissionis et mutatione
nominum Abre et Sarai
De immolatione arietis pro Isaac
De legatione Eliezer in Mesopotamiam
De aduentu Rebecce ad Isaac
Incidentia. De ortu regnorum
De ... pro raptu Dine et fuga Iacob
De uenditione Ioseph quam pretermiserat
De benedictionibus duodecim tribuum
De Simeon et Leui

De creatione empyrei celi et quatuor elementorum
De primaria mundi confusione
Epilogus
De suggestionem demonis (de ... mulieris 2
mss de β)
De archa
om.

De ortu idolorum (*om.* 2 mss de γ)
De egressu Thare et suorum de Chaldea
De annis Abre post mortem patris
De sacrificio Abre post promissionem heredis
De fuga Agar et ortu Hysmælis
De duobus descenditibus in Sodomam.
De subuersione Sodomorum
De incestu Loth
De ortu Isaac et eiectione Agar cum filio
De puteo iuramenti

²⁷ Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14417, ff. 129r-158v (ff. 129ra-131rb Genèse). Cfr aussi LACOMBE, *Studies in the Commentaries of Cardinal Stephen Langton*, p. 40-42. Voir la note 4.

Pp
De ingressu fratrum in Egypto

γ
de - Egyptum Tr
de ingressu Egipti cum Benjamin Pa To C P3 W
Tro An P2 P5 Lo

Les rubriques de P sont plus brèves et la division des chapitres n'est pas la même. On pourrait ici dire que P a tronqué ou supprimé les rubriques ou oublié des mots. Mais il y a trop de variantes pour qu'on puisse parler d'erreurs. Il semble plutôt que P est fidèle à son modèle. On peut classer ces différentes rubriques en deux groupes: les rubriques contenant des ajouts de mots dans les autres manuscrits et les rubriques tout à fait différentes. La série des autres manuscrits, qui est la plus répandue, remonte à un modèle commun. Les ajouts dans cette série peuvent être des remaniements et/ou des interpolations insérées dans le but d'éclaircir le texte primitif et de faire en sorte que les rubriques correspondent mieux au contenu: ainsi *de precepto et prohibitione edulii* (du fruit défendu, PL 198, 1068D); et *de immolatione arietis pro Isaac* (du bélier au lieu de, PL 198, 1104C). D'autres ajouts contiennent les mêmes mots que ceux utilisés dans le chapitre: *De uenditione Ioseph quam pretermiserat* (PL 198, 1125AB). Il semble aussi que les autres manuscrits aient modifié des mots qu'ils considéraient comme répulsifs: *De suggestionem demonis* est une conception plus vague que *De suggestionem diaboli* de P (PL 198, 1072A).

Au sujet de la composition littéraire de ces rubriques, il faut remarquer qu'elles sont presque partout introduites par la préposition *De*. Ces rubriques figurent plus ou moins littéralement dans les Bibles jusqu'au XII^e siècle.²⁸ D'autres sources sont des textes d'Isidore, Raban Maur, Pierre Lombard et Richard de Saint-Victor.

Les rubriques de P *De uictoria Abre et de Melchisedech*, *De lucta Iacob cum angelo* et *De benedictionibus tribuum* dérivent d'Isidore, *In Genesim* (cf. BnF, lat. 14301, Saint-Victor s. XII^e, f. 10r-v: table des matières; PL 83, 239, 266 et 276). On remarque l'influence de Raban Maur, *In Genesim* (PL 107, 443-635) dans les rubriques *De ingressu in archam* (PL 107, 518), *De benedictionibus Iacob* (cf. *De senectute Isaac et benedictione Iacob*, PL 107, 587); dans la version de βγ, *De immolatione arietis pro Isaac* (*De oblatione arietis pro eodem filio* PL 107, 566), *De aduentu Rebecca ad Isaac* (PL 107, 573), *De benedictionibus duodecim tribuum* (*De benedictionibus*

²⁸ Cfr *Capitula ex textu Vulgata desumpta*, l'édition romaine de la Genèse, 1926, p. 74 et 102-110: séries A forma a et b, B et C.

duodecim patriarcharum PL 107, 655); dans la version de P, *De prima creatione celi et terre* (*De creatione celi et terre*, PL 107, 443). Les rubriques de P: *De subuersione Sodomorum*, *De liberatione Loth a Sodomis*, *De conceptione filiarum Loth*, *De immolatione Isaac*, *De uenditione Ioseph* dérivent des bibles au XII^e siècle.

Un manuscrit de la famille β (Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 451 = T) a lui seul préservé deux séries de rubriques: une table des matières placée avant la préface, avec 113 chapitres sur la Genèse, et une autre série dans le texte avec 112 chapitres. Cette table des matières de T se caractérise par trois rubriques conformes à P: *Post operationes .vii. dierum epilogus*, *Quando ingressus est in archam*, *De benedictionibus tribuum*. C'est probablement un indice que les rubriques de la liste proviennent d'une série plus ancienne où plusieurs séries se mêlaient, c'est-à-dire qu'il y avait des vestiges de séries disparues. Le fait que ces trois rubriques se retrouvent dans deux familles est un argument que les rubriques de P ne sont pas des fantaisies du copiste, mais doivent être authentiques. P est plus ancien que T; les rubriques de P doivent donc remonter à un état antérieur à celui de T.

Les séries de P et d'autres manuscrits montrent qu'elles sont construites sur le même modèle: P a *De ludo Isaac et Ismael* et les autres manuscrits *De ortu Isaac et eiectione Agar cum filio* (PL 198, 1096C). Ces rubriques dérivent toutes les deux de la même série des bibles du XII^e siècle: «XXVI. *De natiuitate Isaac et de ludo eius cum Ismahel et de expulsiōe Agar cum filio ...*».²⁹ La même série comporte 46 rubriques qui contiennent souvent plusieurs faits: par ex. «XXIII: *De subuersione Sodomorum et de conceptu filiarum Loth de patre*». Le compilateur (Comestor?), prenant pour point de départ une telle liste, a divisé d'une manière pédagogique le texte en plusieurs chapitres: dans P *De subuersione Sodomorum* et *De conceptione filiarum Loth*.

Le style et les sources des séries de P et des autres manuscrits sont les mêmes. Ce fait peut signifier que P est le seul manuscrit à témoigner de la première série de l'auteur et que la série modifiée

²⁹ Voir l'édition romaine de la Genèse, 1926, série A forma b, p. 106. Cette série (A forma b) est basée sur onze bibles datant du IX^e au XII^e siècle. Sept appartiennent à la Vaticane, dont quatre ont reçu le sigle Ψ (= *consensus* Ψ^{BDFM}) dans l'édition romaine de la Genèse. Apparemment, elles ont été écrites en Italie au début du XII^e siècle. Trois appartiennent à la Bibliothèque nationale de France à Paris: BnF, lat. 7, 45 et 50 datant du IX^e et du XI^e siècle.

des autres manuscrits remonte à une deuxième série de l'auteur, ou peut-être à un copiste ou rédacteur intelligent.

Les ajouts

À la fin de chaque chapitre, l'édition de la Patrologie imprime des matériaux supplémentaires, qualifiés d'*additiones*. Ce titre, *Additio*, provient des éditions imprimées à Lyon (1526, 1534, 1542); il n'existe ni dans les éditions antérieures, ni dans les manuscrits. Le contenu des ajouts comprend des explications et renseignements supplémentaires concernant les diverses traductions de la Bible, la topographie sacrée, la liturgie, les calculs, démontrant par exemple que les premiers parents Adam et Eve ont passé sept heures dans le paradis. Les sources des ajouts sont Augustin, Jérôme, Isidore, Flavius Josèphe, Donat, Angélome de Luxeuil, et les auteurs du XII^e siècle Honorius Augustodunensis, Fretellus, Hugues et Richard de Saint-Victor. Ces auteurs sont les sources fréquentes de Comestor. Les ajouts contiennent aussi des réflexions de l'auteur comme *Sicut quam cito oculos aperio, statim acies mea solem icit in orientem* = «aussitôt que j'ouvre les yeux, mon regard s'arrête sur le soleil levant» (PL 198, 1057).

Ils contiennent bon nombre d'éléments inauthentiques, par exemple les 8 références à un *magister* (PL 198: 1091, 1093, 1182, 1185, 1208, 1226, 1452, 1626), de sorte que l'on pourrait se demander de bon droit, sans pouvoir résoudre le problème, si Comestor est l'auteur de ces ajouts. L'hypothèse courante (depuis Manitius³⁰) est que ceux-ci, au moins en partie, ne proviennent pas de Pierre Comestor mais d'un élève, soit que celui-ci les ait rédigés lui-même, soit qu'il ait repris des précisions orales données par Comestor.

Tous les manuscrits contiennent des ajouts. Ils sont présentés dans les manuscrits de manières différentes. Ils sont insérés dans les «fenêtres» en marge. Ou ils sont incorporées dans le texte, parfois précédés d'un mot comme *glosa*, *glosa uolatilis*, *uox* ou *nota magistri*. Il n'y a pas d'homogénéité complète dans les ajouts des manuscrits examinés, mais l'apparition de certaines ajouts communs montre une tradition manuscrite suivie par les copistes. Les manus-

³⁰ M. MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Bd. III, München, 1931, p. 156-159.

crits sont souvent d'accord contre les éditions postérieures: les ajouts sont souvent plus brefs que ceux des éditions, les références à un *magister* n'existent pas, les ajouts sont moins nombreux. Pour le *liber Geneseos* il y en a 32 dans P, contre 65 dans l'édition de la Patrologie. Une étude comparative des ajouts m'a permis de constater que 25 explications additionnelles se trouvent dans presque tous les manuscrits:

1. Annalis hystoria est quæ per annum facta est ... (PL 198, 1053)
2. Sicut quam cito oculos aperio, statim acies mea solem icit in orientem ... (1057-1058)
3. Maxime in desertis Etyopie arenosis ubi modicus impulsus uenti ... (1061)
4. Grece pan totum, silene id est luna ... (cf. 1502)
5. Augustinus uidetur uelle quod pisces animas habent (1062)
6. Partes illas suas numeri dicimus quarum quelibet assignari potest ... (1065)
7. De diuersis translationibus semel dicimus ante incarnationem Domini annis CCC.LXI ... (1069)
8. Peri id est de archon principatus. Periarchon est liber in quo Origenes ... (1069)
9. Eiectionem primorum parentum representat ecclesia in capite ieiunii ... (1075)
10. Locus in quo luxerunt eum dicitur uallis lacrimarum ... (1076)
11. Maior est iniquitas mea quam sit id quod ueniam merear ... (1078)
12. Eiectionem Caym representat ecclesia excommunicando sanguinarios ... (1078)
13. Legitur Adam triginta habuisse filios et totidem filias preter Caim et Abel. (1080)
14. Enoch quasdam litteras inuenit et quosdam liberos scripsit ... (1081)
15. Quasi agricole locutus est Dominus ... (1083)
16. Quod dicitur archa habuisse triginta cubitos in altum ... (1083)
17. Nunc dicitur mare diaboli cuius suasu ibi peccatum est ... (1089)
18. Arbor illa secundum Hieronymum usque ad tempus Theodosii imperatoris durauit ... (1093-1094)
19. Iosephus in fine libri sui: Potentissimus Cananeorum qui lingua patria iustus rex ... (1095)
20. Lacus hic Iudeam diuidit et Arabiam ... (1101)
21. Per recapitulationem hoc dictum uidetur ... (1112)
22. Quasi, ego sum cuius sunt primogenita et benedictio, sicut prius erant Esau ... (1114)
23. Secundo miliario a Iordane in finibus Idumee Iacob est, quem transuaduit Iacob. (1120)
24. Sub monte Seir Damascus. Idumea est in terra Damascena ... (1124)
25. Si computes triginta quando stetit coram Pharaone ... (1129).

Deux ajouts «supplémentaires» existent seulement dans Pβ:

Dynastia proprie dicitur primatus qui durat apud antiquam prouinciam ... (PL 198, 1109)
 Quo multa milia Hebreorum occiderant ... (ce passage ne figure pas dans Migne).

On peut les considérer comme appartenant au texte primitif, et il est probable que Comestor lui-même a ajouté ces notes à son commentaire. Ce sont ceux-ci que je vais inclure dans mon édition (voir l'échantillon d'édition p. 381, p. 17/21).

Quelques ajouts «supplémentaires» figurent dans Pγ:

Lux ipsa diuisas partes ostendebat sed non diuidebat. (PL 198, 1057)
 Terra proprie adhuc uirgo erat ... (1071) < Richardus de Sancto Victore, *Liber Exceptionum* 2.1.8
 Quod dictum est *uiuat in eternum* ... (1075)
 Uxor Noe Puarohara, uxor Sem Parsia, ... (1084)
 Legitur in uite Clementis Abram alium filium de Agar ... (1097)
 In empireo cum angelis. Vnde in psalmo: *Domine, probasti* ... (ce texte ne figure pas dans Migne)
 Non est liber a mendacio ... (ce texte ne figure pas dans Migne).

Ces ajouts proviennent probablement de l'auteur lui-même ou de quelqu'un d'autre.

Texte élargi

Le texte proprement dit contient, lui aussi, de nombreuses variantes par rapport au reste des manuscrits. On peut avancer trois hypothèses. 1) P est le texte le plus authentique de Comestor et les autres manuscrits donnent un texte corrompu avec des interpolations et des omissions. 2) P a tronqué le texte ici et là, et inséré des interpolations. 3) P est le premier état du texte de Comestor et le texte de $\beta\gamma$ est un remaniement dû à l'auteur lui-même ou à quelqu'un d'autre. Je n'ai pas donné ici une liste exhaustive des variantes, mais un aperçu illustrera le problème du choix entre les leçons. Quant au style, la comparaison fait apparaître le caractère plus soigné et aisé de $\beta\gamma$ par l'addition d'un ou plusieurs mots, de membres de phrases ou même de phrases entières. Par exemple:

pref. (PL 198, 1055)

P: *Annalis hystoria est quæ per annum facta est. Kalendaria est que ...*

$\beta\gamma$: *Hystoria annalis est **factum quod** per annum **factum** est. Kalendaria **hystoria** est que ...*

Gen. 1 (1061D)

P: *Cete neutri generis est indeclinabile. Declinatur: hic cetus, huius ceti.*

$\beta\gamma$: *Cete neutri generis est indeclinabile. Declinatur **tamen** hic cetus, huius ceti.*

Gen. 1 (1062A)

P: *Motabiles autem dicuntur anime piscium et auium respectu hominis.*

$\beta\gamma$: *Motabiles autem dicuntur anime piscium et auium respectu **anime** hominis.*

Gen. 2 (1070A)

P: *Vel potius pisces post ab hominibus sunt cogniti et nominati.*

$\beta\gamma$: *Vel potius pisces post ab hominibus sunt cogniti et **inde** nominati.*

Gen. 4 (1080B)

P: *Vel forte ad excitandam pigritiam memorie dei effigauit deum, ut modo fit in ecclesia.*

$\beta\gamma$: *Vel forte ad excitandam pigritiam memorie dei effigauit deum, ut modo fit.*

Gen. 5 (1080C)

P: *Sicut ergo in generatione Caim septimus fuit pessimus.*

$\beta\gamma$: *Sicut ergo in generatione Caim septimus **Lamech** fuit pessimus.*

Gen. 6 (1083A)

P: Dicit alia translatio: *Bicamerata et tricamerata*.

βγ: *que alia translatio dicit: Bicamerata et tricamerata.*

Gen. 12 (1092A)

P: Si enim in illa etate genuit Abram, tunc post mortem patris (qui erat CCV annorum quando mortuus est) erat Abram C et XXXV annorum tot deductis ex CCV post LXX annorum.

βγ: Si enim in illa etate genuit Abram, tunc post mortem patris erat Abram C et XXXV annorum.

Gen. 12 (1092D)

P: Post diluuium decima generatione fuit apud Chaldeos uir in celestibus expertus.

βγ: Post diluuium decima generatione fuit apud Chaldeos uir in celestibus rebus expertus. (< Flavius Josèphe)

Gen. 12 (1093A)

P: Vnde et nomen eius usque nunc in ciuitate Damascena habetur.

βγ: Vnde et nomen eius usque nunc in ciuitate Damascena habetur in gloria. (< Flavius Josèphe)

Gen. 14 (1095B)

P: Nouerat enim quod intemperies æris que fit ex eleuatis uel depressis planetis, semper ad quinquaginta annos ad temperiem redeunt.

βγ: Nouerat enim quod intemperies que fit ex eleuatis uel depressis planetis, semper usque ad quinquaginta annos ad temperiem redeunt.

Gen. 19 (1101D)

P: Vnde, ut ait Iosephus, fabule terre sodomitice fidem habent.

βγ: Vnde, ut ait Iosephus, fabula terre sodomitice fidem habet. Dicitur et uallis salinarum; forte fit ibi sal, uel lapides salis circa inueniuntur.

Gen. 19 (1101D Add.)

P: Dicit Iosephus quod nimia eius leuitate etiam grauissima moles iniecta superfertur.

βγ: Dicit Iosephus quod nimia eius leuitate etiam grauissima in eum iacta referuntur.

Gen. 24 (1107D)

P: Egressus enim erat *ad meditandum in agro*, forte de mora serui cogitans.

βγ: Egressus enim erat *ad meditandum in agro*, forte de mora serui.

Gen. 35 (1123D)

P: *Iobab filius Zare de Bosra*, et hunc dicunt quidam fuisse Iob, pronepotem Esau.

βγ: *Iobab filius Zare de Bosra*, et hunc dicunt quidam fuisse Iob, pronepotem Esau. Sed hebrei contradicunt ut supradictum est.

Gen. 46 (1133C)

P: LXX in Deuteronomio transtulerunt, quod ingressus est cum animabus septuaginta.

βγ: LXX in Deuteronomio transtulerunt, quod *Isræl* ingressus est cum animabus septuaginta.

Gen. 49 (1140B)

P: Benjamin, quod primo fideles persecutus, post fideliter eloquia et gradus ecclesie dispensauit. (< glose interlinéaire)

βγ: Benjamin, quod primo fideles persecutus, post fidelis eloquia *dei* et gradus ecclesie dispensauit.

L'examen de ces variantes montre, de plus, qu'il ne s'agit pas de fautes, mais d'interventions qui rendent le texte souvent plus clair. Lorsque P s'oppose aux autres témoins, il faut craindre que l'auteur, en rassemblant les matériaux, ait retouché le texte de base. La rédaction de P telle qu'elle se présente m'a semblée plus primitive: on a l'impression que les familles suivantes ont fait quelques efforts pour lui apporter de petites corrections stylistiques. L'explication la plus naturelle est de voir en β γ ont une révision faite par l'auteur ou par les copistes de Comestor. Cette hypothèse (la troisième) est plus probable que celle d'une détérioration subie par P.

STEMMA

Nous sommes en présence de trois traditions différentes, issues de modifications successives. L'examen du titre, des rubriques et de la division en chapitres, des leçons significatives, du texte biblique et des ajouts nous permet de conclure que P présente le texte le plus pur. Il est probable qu'on ne peut pas se rapprocher davantage du texte primitif de Comestor. Il est aussi le seul manuscrit qui semble présenter l'état du texte avant qu'il soit devenu un livre scolaire. Il est aussi probable que les familles β et γ peuvent être considérées comme de nouvelles éditions du même texte.

La famille β

Cette famille est représentée par deux manuscrits copiés à la fin du XII^e siècle à Paris:

- T Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 451, Paris, s. XII^e
- L Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale 187, Paris, s. XII^e.

Les deux copies se caractérisent par :

- le titre *Scolastica hystoria*, ce qui témoigne que le texte à cette époque a été utilisé comme manuel scolaire
- des *capitula* nouveaux et différents par rapport à P, une nouvelle division en chapitres
- de «nouvelles» additions par rapport à P
- une glose intégrée dans la première addition: *Effimera febris est que durat tantum per diem. a uerme dicta qui eadem die moritur quo nascitur*. Cette glose dérive probablement de la *Glosa in historiam scolasticam* écrite vers 1180: *Effimera, id est diurna, a pisce uel uerme qui hoc nomine censetur et eodem die quo nascitur moritur* (BnF, lat. 14417, f. 129ra)
- des fautes propres à cette famille, qu'on ne trouve pas dans le reste des manuscrits:

	Py	β	
Gen. 1	hominem per peccatum	per peccatum hominem	(PL 198, 1062C)
Gen. 2	Athlante	Athalante	(1068D)
Gen. 4	peperit	ei <i>add.</i>	(1078C)
Gen. 4	amor angebat	amor urgebat	(1080A)
Gen. 32	ascenderet	accenderet	(1121A)
Gen. 35	numerabatur	numerabant	(1124D)
Gen. 35	condiderunt	condiderant	(1124D)

Il nous faut supposer que la famille β est une copie d'un ancêtre, que je désigne par le sigle ω². Cet ancêtre, ou le second archétype, doit avoir vu le jour à l'abbaye de Saint-Victor à la fin des années 1170.

Les variantes de cette famille permettent de conclure que le copiste s'appuyait sur l'archétype de P (ω¹), parce que les erreurs trouvées dans P figurent aussi dans β :

	Pβ	γ	
Gen. 1	perfecta	per facta	(PL 198, 1057B)
Gen. 25	Fenicem (et <i>add. P</i>) Arabiam	felicem Arabiam	(1108B)
Gen. 25	Succula (Sicilia P)	Sueuia	(1109 Add.)
Gen. 25	Thebeoce	Theutonice	(1109 Add.)
Gen. 25	Telenium	Stelenium	(1111A)
Gen. 29	satiētatis	societatis	(1116B)

On peut également détecter des traces de contamination dans la famille β dans les cas suivants :

- le même titre (*Incidentia*) se trouve deux fois dans le même chapitre (Gen. 36; PL 198, 1124C)
- deux rubriques consécutives contiennent les mots *de formationne mulieris*: *De impositione nominum animantium et formatione*

mulieris (Gen. 2,18; PL 198,1069D) et *De sompno Ade et formatione mulieris et costa uiri* (Gen. 2,21; PL 198, 1070B), cf.

P: De creatione animantium et nominum eorum impositione

$\beta\gamma$: De impositione nominum animantium et formatione mulieris

P: De formatione mulieris

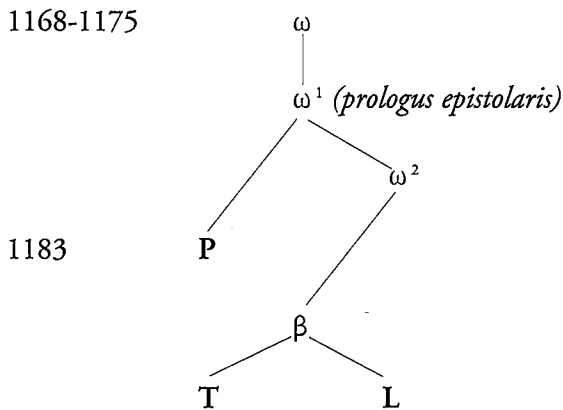
$\beta + 2$ mss de γ : De sompno Ade et formatione mulieris et costa uiri

γ : om.

En d'autres cas, les manuscrits T L donnent chacun des leçons individuelles différentes, ce qui prouve qu'ils n'ont pas été copiés l'un de l'autre. Comparez les leçons suivantes:

	L	T	
Gen. 3	de suggestione demonis	de suggestione mulieris	(PL 198, 1072A)
Gen. 24	multo quidem	quidem multo	(1106C)
Gen. 24	tacitus	tacite	(1106D)
Gen. 49	collium	eternorum add.	(1235D)
	T	L	
Gen. 41	iam ter	ter iam	(1129D)
Gen. 43	et	tanquam	(1132A)
Gen. 46	annos	dies	(1134C)
Gen. 49	filios meos	meos filios	(1136C)
Gen. 49	corpora seruare	seruare corpora	(1140C)

On peut donc dresser le stemma suivant:



En général, la famille β présente un bon texte. L'étude critique du texte démontre que l'accord entre les manuscrits P et β semble être l'argument le plus fort pour le choix de la bonne leçon, et c'est le principe qui m'a guidée dans l'établissement du texte:

	Pβ	γ	
Gen. 1	solem icit in orientem	solem icit in oriente	(PL 198, 1057 Add.)
Gen. 2	determinant	terminant	(1065C)
Gen. 11	dedicauerunt	dedicarunt	(1090B)
Gen. 11	ah aspirationem	a aspirationem	(1091C)

Le texte de β s'est diffusé partout en Europe: Espagne, Alcobaça, Angleterre et Allemagne; à côté des 2 manuscrits français du XII^e siècle, 17 manuscrits sont connus datant du XIII^e au XV^e siècle.³¹

La famille γ

La description de cette famille est assez complexe par le fait que la plupart des manuscrits datant du XII^e au XV^e siècle s'y rattachent. Elle se caractérise par des fautes propres et des variantes significatives communes à tous ces manuscrits ou à la plupart d'entre eux. Il nous faut supposer que ces caractéristiques remontent toutes à un ancêtre commun (γ).

La famille γ, qui dépend de l'ancêtre antérieur (ω²), a probablement son origine à l'abbaye de Saint-Victor et doit avoir paru après la mort de Comestor au début des années 1180. On a le droit de penser que γ est une édition nouvelle du texte, le résultat d'un travail érudit: il y a des passages où ces manuscrits amendent le texte corrompu de Pβ, le rendent hypercorrect, et rectifient les leçons bibliques (voir p. 358). Cette famille présente aussi beaucoup d'inversions, souvent de peu d'importance, et introduit des *capitula* différents.

³¹ Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional 339-340, Alcobaça, s. XII-XIII; Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia 11, Espagne, s. XII-XIII; Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular 10-2, Sens, s. XII-XIII; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17128, Schäftlarn, s. XII-XIII; Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 28 (24), Reims, 1200-1210; Vich, Archivo Capitular 165, Paris, s. XIIIⁱⁿ; Lincoln, Cathedral Library 80, Paris, 1200-1210; London, Lincoln's Inn, Hale 91, Angleterre, s. XIIIⁱⁿ; Gotha, Forsschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Memb. I 62, Allemagne, s. XIIIⁱⁿ; Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo 10-5, Espagne, s. XIII^{2/4}; Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 27(25), Angers, 1220-1230; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 788, Allemagne, s. XIII; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4502, Allemagne, s. XIII¹; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 461, Allemagne, s. XIII-XIV; Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 213, Allemagne, s. XIV; Klagenfurt, Studienbibliothek, Cart. 127, Ossiach, s. XV; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 740, S. Lambrecht, s. XV ou ca. 1500.

Texte amendé et hypercorrect de la famille γ

Pβ	γ
Gen. 1 nisi lucis absentia	id est lucis absentia < Pierre Lombard (PL 198, 1056C)
Gen. 1 perfecta est essentia	per facta est essentia < Gen. 1,3 (1057B)
Gen. 1 angelis repletum	angelis est repletum < André de Saint-Victor (1058A)
Gen. 1 ad instar cristalli consolidatam	instar cristalli solidatam < Honorius Augustodunensis (1058A)
Gen. 1 uranon id est palatum uel palatus	uranon id est palatum < Isidore (1058B)
Gen. 25 Fenicem (et add. P) Arabiam	Felicem Arabiam (1108B)
Gen. 25 Telenum	Stelenum (1111A)
Gen. 41 uiro idiote tales filios habere	uiro idiote tales filios esse < Flavius Josèphe (1130D)
Gen. 42 resina ... a resin (res P) greco	resina ... a rei greco < Isidore (1131C)

Inversions de la famille γ

	Pβ	γ	
pref.	tres in palatio	in palatio tres	(PL 198, 1053)
pref.	cenaculi huius	huius cenaculi	(1053)
pref.	tres sunt	sunt tres	(1053)
Gen. 5	incipiunt ab Adam	ab Adam incipiunt	(1080C)
Gen. 5	perit in diluuiio	in diluuiio perit	(1080C)
Gen. 7	post eum columbam	columbam post eum	(1085B)
Gen. 7	est illectus	illectus est	(1085B)
Gen. 7	terre superficies	superficies terre	(1085C)

Ma connaissance de la filiation de ces manuscrits est incomplète, en raison de la contamination qui caractérise plusieurs manuscrits, mais on peut faire ici quelques observations. D'abord, la recension γ resta longtemps la plus copiée et connut une diffusion vaste et durable partout en Europe. 19 manuscrits datant du XII^e siècle sont connus:

- W Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 363, Mondsee, 1180-1183
 To Tours, Bibliothèque municipale 42, Paris, 1180-1190
 Pa Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 14638, Paris/Saint-Victor, s. XII^{ex}
 O Olomouc, Zemský archiv opava, C.O. 274, Paris, s. XII^{ex}
 M München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10181, Paris, s. XII^{ex}
 C Châlons-sur-Saône, Bibliothèque municipale 50 (53), Reims, s. XII^{ex}
 Lo3 London, British Library, Stowe 4, Allemagne?, s. XII^{ex}
 P3 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5113, Italie, s. XII^{ex}
 Tr Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 290, Troyes, 1185-1200
 Tro Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 226, Troyes/Clairvaux, 1185-1200
 An Angers, Bibliothèque municipale 303 (294), copie monastique écrite en France, s. XII^{ex}
 Lo2 London, British Library, Add. 22,941, Champagne, s. XII^{ex}
 Be Bernkastel, Cusanus-Bibliothek 161, Paris, s. XI^{ex}
 P2 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5108, Sens, s. XII^{ex}
 P5 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16037, Sens, s. XII^{ex}
 V Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 1972, Sens, s. XII^{ex}
 P6 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16042, Champagne ou Bourgogne, s. XII^{ex}
 Br Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale II.965, Flandre, s. XII^{ex}
 Lo London, British Library, Roy. 7 F.iii, Elstow, 1191-1192.

On peut discerner deux grandes directions pour la diffusion au XII^e siècle. D'une part, le texte se répand à partir de Paris vers le

nord de la France, l'Allemagne et l'Italie. Les manuscrits **Pa To C P3** forment un groupe relativement homogène et se caractérisent par des erreurs communes que voici :

Gen. 1	angelus factus est	factus est angelus <i>Pa To C</i>	(PL 198, 1058D)
Gen. 1	generis	<i>om. To C</i>	(1061D)
Gen. 1	ad remedium laboris	<i>om. Pa To P3</i>	(1062C)
Gen. 1	pisces animas habent	animas habent pisces <i>Pa To C P3 + An</i>	(1062 Add.)
Gen. 1	infructuosa sunt	sunt infructuosa <i>Pa To P3</i>	(1063B)
Gen. 2	homo perfectus	perfectus homo <i>Pa To C P3 + P2 V</i>	(1064D)
Gen. 2	totum intelligitur	intelligitur totum <i>Pa To C P3</i>	(1066C)
Gen. 2	et fons uel fluius	et fluius uel fons <i>Pa To C P3</i>	(1068B)
Gen. 2	id est ligna paradisi	<i>om. Pa To C P3</i>	(1068B)
Gen. 2	flumina	<i>om. Pa P3</i>	(1068B)
Gen. 4	procreatione filiorum	filiorum procreatione <i>Pa To C P3</i>	(1080A)

D'autre part, la lecture des manuscrits **Tr Tro An Lo P2 P5 V (+ W)** a révélé l'existence d'un autre texte qui circulait en Champagne, et qui s'est répandu ensuite vers le nord, la Flandre et l'Angleterre. Le texte que transmettent ces manuscrits-ci se distingue de celui de tous les autres témoins par des corrections, des interpolations et des fautes propres :

pref.	fundamentum est	est fundamentum <i>Tr Tro An Lo P2 P5 V</i>	(PL 198, 1053)
pref.	loquendi sumemus principium	sumemus principium loquendi <i>Tr Tro An Lo P2 P5 V</i>	(1053)
Gen. 1	unus deus creator est	unus deus unus creator <i>Tr Tro Lo</i>	(1055B)
Gen. 1	sempiterni	sunt <i>add. Tro Lo P5 V</i>	(1056A)
Gen. 1	secundum genera sua	iuxta genus suum, secundum ...uel iuxta ... <i>P5 V</i>	(1059C)
Gen. 1	rebus illis... magis spectant	<i>in marg. Tr Tro P5 V + W om. An Lo</i>	(1060A)
Gen. 1	stella	illa <i>add. Tr Tro Lo V</i>	(1060B)
Gen. 1	designationem temporum	ad temporum designationem <i>Tr Tro Lo V</i>	(1060C)
Gen. 1	quinto	quinta <i>Tr Tro Lo P2 P5 V</i>	(1061C)
Gen. 1	habent esse	esse habent <i>Tr Tro An Lo P2 P5 V</i>	(1062C)
Gen. 1	sciat utilitatem suam	utilitatem suam cognoscat <i>Tr Tro Lo V</i>	(1064A)
Gen. 2	phison	secundum isidorum <i>add. Tr Tro Lo P2 P5 + W</i>	(1068B)
Gen. 4	et fine mundi	cognouit <i>add. Tr Tro P2 P5 V</i>	(1076B)
Gen. 4	effugato	fugato <i>Tro An Lo2 P2P5 V + W</i>	(1080A)
Gen. 6	gubernatione	seculi <i>add. Tr Tro An Lo P2 P5 V</i>	(1083)
Gen. 11	diuisio	latine <i>add. Tro Lo P2 P5 V</i>	(1090)
Gen. 12	dominum ei locutum	fuisse <i>add. Tro P5 V</i>	(1092A)
Gen. 12	mesopotamiam	dicat <i>add. Tro Lo2 P5 V</i>	(1092A)
Gen. 12	urbibus	ciuitatibus <i>Tro Lo P5 V</i>	(1092C)
Gen. 12	edificauit	edificauitque abraam <i>Tro Lo P5 V</i>	(1092D)
pref.	suauior	igitur <i>add. Tr Tro</i>	(1053)
Gen. 1	plura his	his plura <i>Tr Tro</i>	(1060C)
Gen. 1	quiete	reque <i>Tr Tro</i>	(1064D)
Gen. 2	operum generibus nouis	operibus nouis id est generibus operum nouis <i>Tr Tro</i>	(1065A)
Gen. 49	proponebant	ponebant <i>Tr Tro</i>	(1140B)
Gen. 1	animalibus	<i>et add. An Lo2</i>	(1064A)
Gen. 1	uel quia nondum homo	... <i>esse solum.</i> <i>om. An Lo2 + W</i>	(1064D)
Gen. 2	operum generibus nouis	operibus nouis <i>An Lo</i>	(1065A)
Gen. 2	faciem tanquam	<i>om. An Lo2</i>	(1066C)
Gen. 1	unus deus creator est	unus deus unus creator est <i>P5 V</i>	(1055B)
Gen. 4	fregit	mutauit <i>P5 V</i>	(1080A)
Gen. 12	dabo terram hanc	terram hanc dabo <i>P5 V</i>	(1092C)

Le plus ancien manuscrit de la famille γ est W , copié entre 1180 et 1183 à l'abbaye bénédictine de Mondsee. Ce manuscrit est difficile à classer: par ses leçons propres, il se rapproche des deux groupes, mais il s'en écarte aussi en présentant d'une part, de nombreuses leçons individuelles qui ne se retrouvent dans aucun des autres manuscrits et, d'autre part, des leçons influencées par β et P . W est donc un manuscrit isolé de la famille γ qui montre des traces de contamination.

pref.	impleo	implebo T adimplebo W	(PL 198, 1053)
Gen. 1	mundus dicitur	dicitur mundus W An $Lo2$ $P2$ $P5$ V	(1055A)
Gen. 1	deus uel dii	domini uel dii T L W	(1055)
Gen. 1	per facta	perfecta P T L W	(1057B)
Gen. 1	factum	fuisse <i>add. (et exp. $P2$)</i> $P2$ $P5$ V $Lo2$ fuisse factum W	(1057B)
Gen. 2	phison	secundum isidorum <i>add. W Tr Tro Lo $P2$ $P5$</i>	(1068B)
Gen. 12	tot deductis ex	CCV post LXX	
	annorum P W	<i>in marg. $P5$, om. β Pa To C $P3$ Tr Tro An Lo $P2$ V</i>	(1092A)

Le manuscrit Tr présente un état textuel supérieur à celui des autres manuscrits de la famille γ : il s'accorde plusieurs fois avec P , soit seul, soit avec les manuscrits $Lo2$ $P2$ $P5$ V , ce qui signifie que les leçons de P sont authentiques.

$P + Tr$ (<i>in marg. Lo</i>)		
Gen. 49	fuit. <i>Et benedixit ... benedixit eis</i>	et benedixit ... benedixit eis L C W An $P2$ $P5$ (PL 198, 1140B)
		<i>om. T Pa To $P3$ Tro</i>
$P + Tr$ $Lo2$ $P2$ $P5$ V		β Pa To C $P3$ W Tro
Gen. 2	a parte totum accipe	a parte totum (PL 198, 1066C)
Gen. 2	creasse	edidisse (1066C)
Gen. 2	gignendum	generandum (1072A)
Gen. 14	intemperies æris (- Tr $Lo2$ $P2$ $P5$ V)	intemperies (1095B)
Gen. 14	ex quo egressus erat de Aran	<i>om.</i> (1095B)
Gen. 21	circumciderunt	circumcidunt (1103C)
Gen. 37	Madianite + L	Madianei (1126D)

Tr est aussi intéressant quant à l'histoire du texte. Le manuscrit a été copié à la demande des comtes de Champagne entre 1185 et 1200, et comprend aussi l'épithaphe de Comestor,³² mentionnée ici

³² Pierre Comestor finit ses jours en 1179 et est inhumé au monastère de Saint-Victor. Jacques de Garlande dans son traité des *Equivoces* (BnF, lat. 1093, f. 37v) rapporte l'épithaphe composée par Pierre le Mangeur:

"Petrus eram quem petra tegit, dictusque Comestor.

Nunc comedor. Vivus docui, nec cesso docere

Mortuus, ut dicat qui me uidet incineratum:

Quod sumus, iste fuit, erimus quandoque quod hic est."

Son tombeau fut à gauche du grand autel de l'église abbatiale auprès de ceux de Hugues de Saint-Victor et du martyr victorin Thomas. Dans les manuscrits de

pour la première fois, ainsi qu'un dossier de prophéties: les versions abrégées de Ps. Méthode de Patara, *Reuelationes de nouissimis temporibus*, et d'Adson, *De Antichristo*.³³ Pierre Comestor a utilisé ces abréviations dans son *Historia scholastica*, *Liber Geneseos*, et il est probable que ces œuvres viennent de la bibliothèque privée de Comestor. On sait par les chroniqueurs que les propriétés de Comestor ont été dispersées après sa mort parmi différentes églises.³⁴

A l'intérieur de la famille γ , les manuscrits Be P2 P5 V Lo2 P6 Br Lo qui sont originaires de Paris, Sens, Champagne, Flandre et Angleterre, représentent une tradition plus ou moins contaminée. Plusieurs ajouts propres caractérisent leur ancêtre commun, en particulier trois ajouts ou corrections des citations, intégrées dans la préface:

Deliciæ sunt ei
Secundum hanc dicitur sponsus
Tropologia ... quæ per

ibi quiescere et *add.*
et anima cuiusque sponsa *add.*
id quod *add.*

L'*Historia scholastica*, l'épithaphe de Comestor est parfois précédée par les rubriques: *Epitaphium auctoris ab ipso compositum* (Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek 26, Autriche s. XIIIⁱⁿ; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 378, Allemagne s. XIIIⁱⁿ et 475 Allemagne s. XIIIⁱⁿ; Melk, Stiftsbibliothek 213, Allemagne s. XIV; Schlägl, Prämonstratenser-Stiftsbibliothek 156, Schlägl 1473; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 2660, France s. XIII^{3/4}). *Epitaphium magistri petri quod ipse sibi dictauit* (Cambridge, Trinity College B.15.5, Canterbury s. XIIIⁱⁿ). *Epitaphium magistri petri manducatoris ab ipso editum et post ipsius mortem inter opuscula illius inuentum* (Brugge, Stedelijke Bibliotheek 401, Ter Doest, ca 1200).

³³ Les *Reuelationes de nouissimis temporibus* sont une prophétie relative à la fin du monde très répandue au moyen âge. Cette prophétie est attribuée à un Syrien écrivant en grec au VII^e siècle, et fut traduite en latin vers le milieu du VIII^e siècle. L'œuvre est conservée dans de nombreux manuscrits dont le Paris, BnF lat. 13348 (s. VIII) et le BnF, lat. 1655 (s. XI-XII). Éd. E. SACKUR, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen Pseudo Methodius Adso und die Tiburtinische Sibylle*, Halle 1898, p. 59-96. Le manuscrit Tr (vol. II, ff. 54-55) contient une version abrégée de ces *Reuelationes de nouissimis temporibus* de Ps.-Methodius Patarensis, intitulée *Cronica Methodii*. Le *De Antichristo* d'Adson est édité par D. VERHELST, CC CM 45, Turnhout, 1976.

³⁴ Cfr *Roberti Canonici S. Mariani Autissiodorensis Chronicon* dans: *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, Scriptores* 26, p. 242, 10/17: (1179) Petrus Comestor famosissimus doctor obit, qui testamento sapienter disposito cuncta quæ habuit pauperibus et ecclesiis prorsus distribuit.

Le dernier ajout *id quod* après *Tropologia ... qua per* est une correction d'un emprunt de Hugues de Saint-Victor, *De Sacramentis*, ch. 4 (PL 176, 185A). Ces additions se trouvent dans un grand nombre de manuscrits du XIII^e au XV^e siècle, dans les éditions anciennes et dans l'édition de la Patrologie.

Le manuscrit Lo, copié en Angleterre à Elstow, date de la troisième année du règne de Richard Cœur de Lion (1191-1192) – *Scriptus est liber iste anno tertio coronationis Regis Ricardi* – ce qui signifie que l'ancêtre de ces manuscrits a été copié avant 1190.

Ces manuscrits ont souvent peu d'importance pour l'établissement du texte, mais ils peuvent offrir de bonnes et précieuses leçons. Il arrive que ce groupe présente les mêmes leçons que P, ce qui démontre l'authenticité des leçons de P.

Cette nouvelle adaptation est une preuve de l'intérêt vif que l'on portait à l'ouvrage de Comestor, et on peut dire que cette forme est très importante, car elle a servi de modèle au texte de l'Université et à des traductions vernaculaires en néerlandais, français et allemand.

La tradition mixte

Une étape intermédiaire entre les traditions parisienne et champenoise est présentée par le manuscrit de Santa Cruz, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, ms. 42 (S), copié à la fin du XII^e siècle à Paris ou à Sens/Troyes. De bonne heure, il appartient à l'abbaye de Santa Cruz de Coimbra.³⁵ Ayant peu de leçons propres, le texte de ce volume est très proche de celui des autres traditions P β γ. Par la suite, la recension mixte de Santa Cruz engendre les textes de Troyes (Tr Tro), Mondsee (W), et d'autres manuscrits de la tradition champenoise.

CONCLUSIONS ET PRINCIPES D'ÉDITION

Les observations précédentes mènent à la conclusion que Pierre Comestor a présenté à Guillaume aux Blanches-Mains un exem-

³⁵ José Francisco MEIRINHOS, *Catálogo dos Códices da Livraria de Mão do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto*, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, 1997, p. 219-220 + Estampa XXIV (Santa Cruz 42, f. 116r: *Hystoria Euangelistarum. De commendatione iohannis hircani. Mortuo simone etc.*)

plaire in-folio, et qu'il a gardé lui-même un ou plusieurs exemplaires afin de les donner à ses collègues et amis. Il est probable qu'il a offert une copie à l'abbaye de Saint-Victor et que cette copie fut l'exemplaire du premier archétype. Le manuscrit P est probablement un représentant de cette première diffusion par l'auteur lui-même. Il est difficile d'identifier l'auteur de toutes les modifications qui caractérisent l'ancêtre ω^2 ($= \beta\gamma$), mais la plupart d'entre elles doivent être attribuées à Comestor lui-même ou à ses copistes, et il semble que ces modifications ont été faites pour présenter une nouvelle édition du livre à l'usage des écoles.

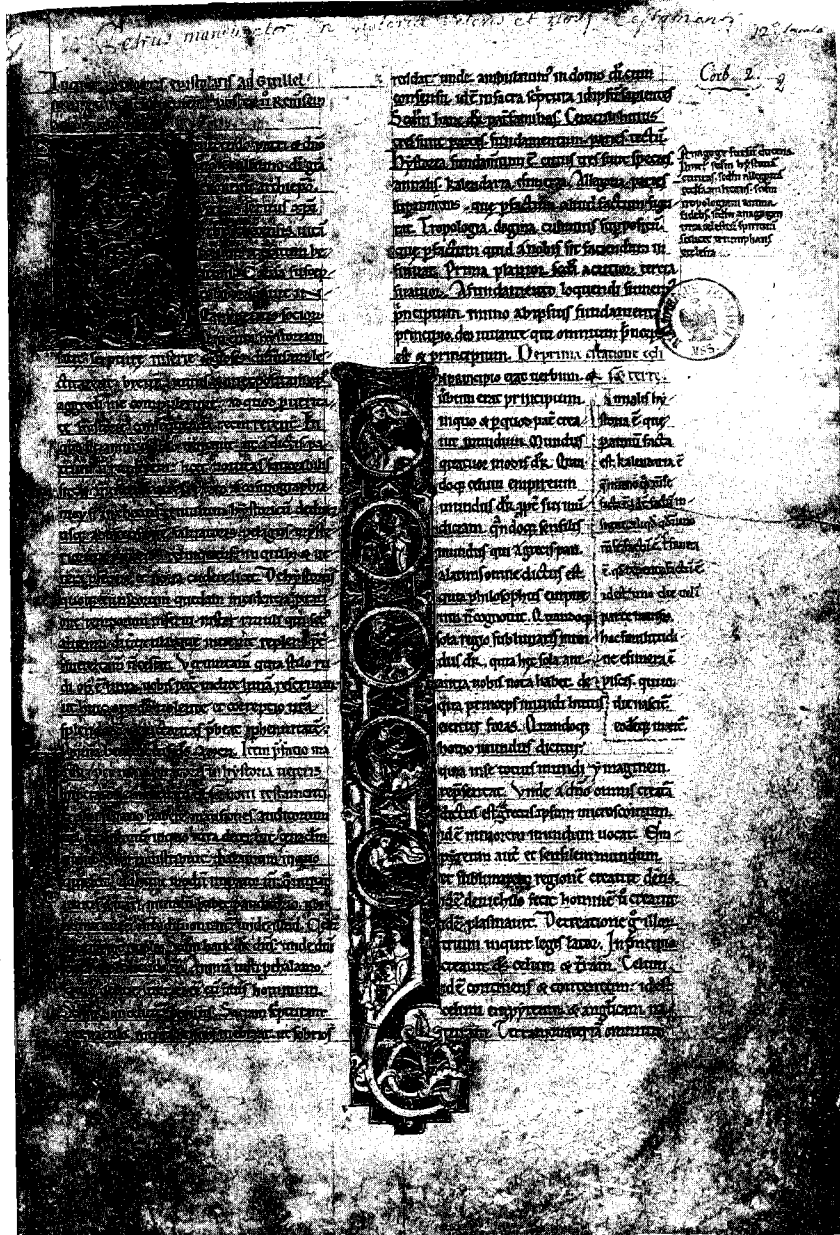
J'ai choisi d'éditer le texte primitif de l'auteur, et, par conséquent, le texte est établi sur la base du manuscrit P, chaque fois que son texte est compréhensible. L'étude critique du texte démontre que l'accord entre les manuscrits P et β est l'argument le plus fort pour le choix de la bonne leçon, et c'est le principe qui m'a guidée dans l'établissement du texte. Là où P et β font défaut, j'ai fait appel au témoignage de la famille γ . Je suis P fidèlement pour la graphie et la ponctuation. L'e cédillé est rendu ici par æ. Toutes les variantes des 8 manuscrits collationnés (P; S; β = T L; γ = Pa To W Tr) et les variantes de l'édition de Migne (*Mig*) figurent dans l'apparat critique, sauf les variantes graphiques; pourtant, celles-ci sont notées pour les noms propres et les noms bibliques. L'apparat critique permettra au lecteur d'avoir une idée nette des états du texte, tels que le transmettent les manuscrits.

J'ai préféré ne pas présenter le texte biblique de Comestor en caractères italiques. Le chapitre *Quod Ioseph indicauit se fratribus* (Gen. 45,1-28; PL 198, 1132D), où Comestor raconte l'épisode de Joseph qui se fait reconnaître par ses frères, nous donne un bon exemple de la version scripturaire typique de Comestor (voir l'échantillon d'édition, p. 382). Il présente une version très personnelle du texte biblique: en premier lieu, c'est la Vulgate, mais mêlée à ou modifiée par la *Vetus Latina*: *Osculatusque est Ioseph omnes fratres suos, fleuitque* (*Vetus Latina* pour *plorabit* de la Vulgate, Gen. 45,15; l'édition p. 382, 11) *super singulos*. Ce mélange des versions permet souvent à Comestor de présenter un texte biblique en discours direct sans les phrases subordonnées: *Auditumque est uerbum* (cfr la Vulgate: *celebri sermone uulgatum*) *in aula regis, gauisusque Pharaon dixit ad Ioseph: Dic fratribus tuis* de la *Vetus Latina* en discours direct remplace le discours indirect de la Vulgate (Gen. 45,17; édition p. 382, 13: *ut imperaret fratribus suis dicens*). Il évite

les mots longs et écrit *bonis* pour *diuitiis* de la Vulgate (Gen. 45,23; l'édition p. 382, 19). En résumant le texte biblique, il saute les phrases et les mots superflus, et utilise son propre vocabulaire, plus facile à retenir pour les lecteurs: (Gen. 45,1-5; édition p. 382, 2/4) *Non poterat ultra se cohibere Ioseph, et eiectis aliis* (résumé de la Vulgate: *unde praecepit ut egrederentur cuncti*) *foras cum fletu clamauit* (pour *eleuauitque uocem* de la Vulgate), *ita quod qui exierant audierunt* (pour *quam audierunt Egyptii omnisque domus Pharaonis* de la Vulgate): *Ego sum Ioseph* (Gen. 45,3), *nolite timere* (pour *nolite pauere* de la Vulgate, Gen. 45,5).

Il est curieux que le texte original (P) se trouve dans un centre, qui n'a rien à faire avec la vie professionnelle de Comestor. Mais c'est un fait bien connu que «les textes primitifs se conservent plutôt sous forme fossile dans les zones périphériques»³⁶.

³⁶ F. DOLBEAU, M. HEINZELMANN, J.C. POULAIN, *Les sources hagiographiques narratives composées en Gaule avant l'an mil (SHG). Inventaire, examen critique, datation*, dans: *Francia. Forschungen zur Westeuropäischen Geschichte* 15 (1987) 710.



Petrus Comestor, *Historia scolastica*. Manuscript originaire de Saint-Pierre de Corbie, copié par Johannes Monoculus en 1183.
Paris, BnF, latin 16943, fol. 2 (Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris).

Abréviations:

Pour la présentation de l'échantillon d'édition, j'ai utilisé les sigles et les abréviations suivantes.

– pour le texte: { } = ajouts écrits par Comestor (voir p. 362-364, 380-381),
= interpolations insérées par l'édition de J.-P. Migne, PL 198 (voir p. 351, 381 et note 18); * = ajouts supplémentaires de Migne (voir p. 350, 381 et note 18).

– pour l'apparat des sources: - = source remaniée, *ibid.* = ibidem, PL = *Patrologia Latina*. Pour repérer les sources, j'ai utilisé CLCLT (Cetedoc Library of Christian Texts sur CD-ROM) et *Patrologia Latina Database*. Je donne les références aux ouvrages des Pères Ambroise (Am), Augustin (Au), Jérôme (Hi) d'après les abréviations utilisées par H. J. FREDE, *Kirchensteller Verzeichnis und Sigel*, Fribourg, 1995; les renvois à d'autres auteurs d'après A. BLAISE, *Dictionnaire Latin-Français*, Strasbourg 1954 et *Index Scriptorum Mediae Latinitatis*, Hafniae 1957.

– pour l'apparat critique: P, S, β = TL, γ = Pa To W Tr, Mig; add. = addidit addiderunt, om. = omisit, omiserunt, praem. = praemisit praemiserunt, s.l. = supra litteram.

[Prologus epistolaris]

Reuerendo patri et domino suo Guillelmo, Dei gratia Senonensi archiepiscopo, Petrus seruus Christi, presbyter Trecensis, uitam bonam et exitum beatum.

- 5 Causa suscepti laboris fuit instans petitio sociorum, qui cum hystoriam sacræ scripturæ in serie et glosis diffusam lectitarent, breuem nimis et inexpositam, opus aggredi me compulerunt, ad quod pro ueritate hystoriæ consequenda recurrerent. In quo sic animus stilo imperauit, ut a dictis patrum non recederem, licet nouitas fauorabilis sit et mulcens aures.
- 10 Porro a cosmographia Moysi inchoans riuulum hystoricum deduxi usque ad ascensionem saluatoris, pelagus mysteriorum peritioribus relinquens in quibus et uetera prosequi et noua cudere licet. De hystoriis quoque ethnicorum quedam incidentia pro ratione temporum inserui, instar riuuli qui secus alueum diuerticula quæ inuenerit replens preterfluere tamen
- 15 non cessat.

Verumtamen quia stilo rudi opus est lima, uobis, pater inclite, limam reseruauī, ut huic operi Deo uolente et correctio uestra splendorem et auctoritas prebeat perhennitatem. Per omnia benedictus Deus. Amen.

9 nouitas – aures] ~ Hi, *Mt* 4,1671/1672. 10 cosmographia Moysi: Isid, *Orig* 6,2,1. 11 ascensionem saluatoris] Hi, *Mt* 4,840/841. 12 uetera – cudere] ~ Hi, *Pent* p. 64, 2/3. 12/13 hystoriis quoque ethnicorum] ~ Hi, *Jon* 3,174. 13 quedam – inserui: ~ Honor Aug, *imag mundi* 3, prol. (PL 172, 165).

1/18 prologus – amen] *om. S Pa* 1 incipit prologus epistolaris ad guillelmum tunc senonensem. postea uero remensem archiepiscopum *P* incipit prologus epistolaris *T* hic incipit prologus epistolaris *L* prologus epistolaris *Tr* incipit liber scolastice hystorie *W* 2 et] ac *Mig* guillelmo] gillelmo *W* guillelmo *Tr Mig* wilhelmo β 6 et¹] in *add. Tr* 7 pro] *om. T* 12 uetera] utilia *T* 17 correctio] correptio *P* 18 amen] explicit prologus magistri petri manducatoris *add. Tr om. Mig*

Magistri Petri Manducatoris
Hystoria Veteris et Noui Testamenti (*alias* Scolastica hystoria)
Prefatio

- Imperatorie maiestatis est tres in palatio habere mansiones: auditorium
5 uel consistorium in quo iura decernit, cænaculum in quo cibaria distri-
buit, thalamum in quo quiescit. Ad hunc modum imperator noster, qui
imperat uentis et mari, mundum habet pro auditorio ubi ad nutum eius
omnia disponuntur, unde illud: *Cælum et terram ego impleo*. Secundum
hanc dicitur Dominus, unde: *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius*. Animam
10 iusti pro thalamo habet, quia: *Delicie sunt ei esse cum filiis hominum*.
Secundum hanc dicitur sponsus. Sacram scripturam pro cenaculo in qua
sic suos inebriat ut sobrios reddat, unde: *Ambulaui in domo Dei cum
consensu*, id est in sacra scriptura id ipsum sapientes. Secundum hanc dici-
tur paterfamilias.
15 Cenaculi huius tres sunt partes: fundamentum, paries, tectum.
Hystoria fundamentum est cuius tres sunt species: annalis, kalendaria,
effimera. {Annalis hystoria est quæ per annum facta est. Kalendaria est

8 Ier 23,24. 9 Ps 23,1. 10 Prov 8,31. 12/13 cf. Ps 54,15.

4 Imperatoriæ maiestatis] Am, Lc 7,11 (1723C). 6/7 imperator – mari] Au, Ps 54,10. 12 inebriat – reddat] – Am, Ca 1,5,19 (326C). 13/14 dicitur paterfamilias] Au, Gn, Ma 1,194. 15 fundamentum – tectum] Abelard, *Theol sum* 3,125 (paries, tectum, fundamentum). 16/17 Hystoria – effimera] Hugo S. Vict, *Didasc* 6,116; Isid, *Orig* 1,44,1. 17/18 Kalendaria – facta est] Isid, *Orig* 1,44,2.

Tit. item prefatio magistri petri manducatoris in hystoria ueteris et noui testa-
menti *P* incipit scolastica historia scilicet prefatio *B* incipit scolastica hystoria.
prefatio *Pa* incipit prefatio *S Tr* prelibati operis sequentis prefatio *W* incipit his-
toria scholastica theologiae disciplinae *Mig*

4 tres in palatio] in p. t. *Pa Tr Mig* 5 decernit] disc- *T* 6 imperator] id est
christus *s.l. Tr* 8 illud] *om. Pa W* isaiae *add. Mig* impleo] -bo *T* adimplebo
W 10 pro thalamo habet] h. p. t. *Mig* ei] ibi quiescere et *add. Mig* 11 hanc]
uel hoc *s.l. Tr* sponsus] et anima cuiusque sponsa *add. Mig* scripturam]
habet *add. Mig* 13 id est] *om. Mig* 14 hanc] uel hoc *s.l. Tr* 15 cenaculi
huius] h. c. *Pa Tr c. W* tres sunt] s. t. *Pa Tr* 16 fundamentum est] e. f. *Tr*.
17/21 annalis – nascitur] *om. S Pa* 17 annalis hystoria] effimera febris est (e.
f. *Mig*) que durat tantum per diem. a uerme dicta qui eadem (eodem *Mig*) die
moritur quo nascitur *praem. β Mig* annalis hystoria] h. a. *β W Tr Mig* est ¹]
factum *add. β W Tr Mig* quæ] quod *β W Tr Mig* facta] factum *β W Tr*
Mig kalendaria] historia *add. β Tr Mig*

- quæ in uno mense facta est, id est factum aliquod insigne quod in uno mense factum est. Effimera est quod repente factum est, id est uno die uel
- 20 in parte mensis; hac similitudine effimera est piscis qui moritur eodem die quo nascitur.} Allegoria, paries superinnitens, quæ per factum aliud factum figurat. Tropologia, dogma culminis superpositum, quæ per factum quid a nobis sit faciendum insinuat. Prima planior, secunda acutior, tertia suauior.
- 25 A fundamento loquendi sumemus principium, immo ab ipsius fundamenti principio eo iuuante qui omnium princeps est et principium.*

19 Effimera – die] Isid, *Orig* 1,44,1. 21/22 Allegoria – figurat] Hugo S. Vict, *Sacram* 4 (PL 176, 185A). 22/23 Tropologia – faciendum] *ibid.* 23/24 Prima – suauior] ~ idem, *Didasc* 6,3. 25/26 A – principium] ~ *ibid.*

18 aliquod insigne] i. a. *P* uno] quoque *add. P* 20/21 moritur eodem die quo nascitur] in d. n. eodemque m. *P* uno die n. et eodem die m. *Tr* eo d. quo n. m. *W* 21 superinnitens] -iminens (uel innitens *s.l.*) *W* 22 dogma] doma *W Tr Mig* culminis] -ni *Mig* per] id quod *add. Mig* factum] est *add. Mig* 23 sit faciendum] f. s. *S Tr* 24 suauior] voir p. 350, note 18 25 a] igitur *praem. Tr* loquendi sumemus principium] s. p. l. *Tr Mig* l. sumamus p. *W* 26 eo] deo *P* 27 principium*] voir p. 350, note 18.

Quod Ioseph indicauit se fratribus. (Gen. 45,1)

- Non poterat ultra se cohibere Ioseph, et eiectis aliis foras cum fletu clamauit, ita quod qui exierant audierunt: Ego sum Ioseph, nolite timere! Pro salute uestra misit me Dominus ante uos. Biennium
 5 famis iam transiit, adhuc quinque anni restant quibus nec arari poterit nec meti, quod ex nimia fluuii inundatione creditur accidisse. Et adiecit: Festinate et nunciate patri meo gloriam meam, adducite eum ad me, et pascam uos et peccora uestra ne moriamini, et habitabitis in terra Iessem. Oculi uestri uident quod os
 10 meum loquatur ad uos, id est uerum esse quod loquor. Osculatusque est Ioseph omnes fratres suos, fleuitque super singulos. Auditumque est uerbum in aula regis, gaudisusque Pharaon dixit ad Ioseph: Dic fratribus tuis, tollite plaustra de Egypto ad subuectionem coniugum et paruulorum, omnia uestra adducite uobiscum, dabo uobis omnia bona Egypti et medullam terre comedetis.
 15 Factumque est ita. Deditque Ioseph singulis binas stolas – stola dicitur a thelon quod est longum, quasi talaris – Benjamin uero trecentos argenteos et quinque stolas optimas. Totidemque misit patri asinosque decem qui subueherent ex omnibus bonis
 20 Egypti et proficentibus ait: Ne irascamini in uia! Qui cum uenissent ad patrem dixerunt: Ioseph uiuit et dominatur in Egypto. Iacob quasi de graui somno euigilans non credebatur eis. Cumque uidisset uniuersa quæ miserat, ait: Sufficit michi, si filius meus Ioseph uiuit, quasi de pena uel gloria non multum curo; si
 25 uiuit, uadam et uidebo eum priusquam moriar.

11 fleuitque] *Vetus Latina* 13 Dic fratribus tuis] *Vetus Latina* de
 Egypto] *Vetus Latina* 17 et quinque stolas] *Vetus Latina*.

16/17 Stola - talaris] Hugo S. Vict, *Gen* (PL 175, 57D).

2 ultra se] s. u. *Pa To* 3 audierunt]: -erent *S* -irent *Mig* 4 timere]
 pauere β *Pa To* dominus] deus γ 5 famis iam] i. f. *Tr Mig* 6
 poterit nec meti] n. m. p. *To Mig* m. n. p. *Pa* fluuii inundatione] i.
 f. *Tr* 7 nunciate] an- *Tr* meam] et *add. P Tr* 9 iessen] gessen *Tr*
Mig 10 esse] est *S W Tr* 11 osculatusque] eos *add. Pa* est] *om.*
To 12 auditumque] audierunt- *Tr* regis] uenerunt fratres ioseph
add. Mig gaudisusque] est *add. Mig* pharaon] et *add. Mig* 13 dic]
 de *Mig* 14 et] *om. Pa* 17 talaris] tunica *prae. Mig* uero] dedit
add. Mig 18 totidemque] et totidem *Mig* 23 uniuersa] omnia *Mig*
 miserat] ei *add. Mig* 23/24 filius meus ioseph] i. f. m. *P* 24 quasi]
 dixerat *add. Mig* 25 priusquam] ante- *P*

Hero und Leander an der Themse

Ein unbekanntes Epigramm Peters von Blois*

von

C. WOLLIN

(Rohrberg)

*Un iur porte que tut l'an ne pot.
Quod donare mora nequit annua, dat brevis hora.
Anno cura datur, tamen una dies operatur.*

Serlo von Wilton, *carm.* 53

Trotz umfangreicher Forschungen, zahlreicher Editionen und monumentaler Nachschlagewerke ist die mittellateinische Philologie noch weit davon entfernt, das Schaffen selbst der großen Dichter des Mittelalters vollständig überblicken oder auch nur annähernd sicher abgrenzen zu können. Angesichts der noch immer großen Zahl von gänzlich unbekannten oder nur unzulänglich katalogisierten Handschriften wird jede neuentdeckte oder beschriebene Handschrift unser Wissen ergänzen und vervollständigen; im günstigsten Fall werden wir sogar bisher unbekannte Autoren und Werke entdecken. Editionen markieren hier nicht so sehr den Abschluß, sondern bilden vielmehr Auftakt und Anregung zu einer neuen Runde der Forschung. So stieß ich gut ein Jahr nach der Publikation meiner Ausgabe der Gedichte Peters von Blois¹ auf ein noch unbekanntes, in den Repertorien nicht ver-

* Für ihre freundliche Hilfe bei der Vorbereitung dieses Aufsatzes danke ich Frau Prof. Dr. Rita Beyers (Antwerpen) sowie den Herren Priv.-Doz. Dr. Thomas A.-P. Klein (Bonn), Prof. Dr. Rolf Köhn (Essen), Dr. Norbert K. Larsen (Köln), Prof. Dr. Fidel Rädle (Göttingen), Prof. Dr. Paul Gerhard Schmidt (Freiburg Br.).

¹ *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, hrsg. Carsten WOLLIN (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 128; Turnhout 1998).

zeichnetes² und auch von mir selbst übersehenes Epigramm Peters, das hier zum erstenmal veröffentlicht wird.

Bei der Vorbereitung einer Edition der Primas-Epigramme, die in der keineswegs unbekannten Handschrift London, British Library, Cotton Vespasianus B.XIII³ von einer späteren Hand (um 1300) auf fol. 132ra-b eingetragen wurden⁴, beschäftigte ich mich auch mit einer umfangreichen Gedichtsammlung, die der erste Schreiber noch in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts aufgezeichnet hatte (fol. 110vb-130rb). In dieser Sammlung, die in den bisherigen Beschreibungen der Handschrift nur am Rande erwähnt worden ist, lassen sich folgende größere Abschnitte erkennen:

- fol. 110vb-112ra *Disticha Catonis*
- fol. 112ra-115rc Florilegium aus Ovid, Horaz und Iuvenal
- fol. 115va-127va Gedichtsammlung
- fol. 127va-128vc "*Excerptiones de Seneca*", ein alphabetisch geordnetes Florilegium
- fol. 128vc-129rc Sprüche verschiedener Philosophen
- fol. 129rc-130rb weitere Gedichte

In der Gedichtsammlung auf fol. 115va-127va konnte ich beim ersten Durchsehen der, meistens ohne Verfasseramen aber mit kurzen Überschriften aufgezeichneten, Gedichte Werke des Eugenius von Toledo, Marbod von Rennes, Hildebert von Lavardin, Serlo von Wilton, Bernardus Silvestris, (Hugo) Primas und Iohannes de Hauvilla nachweisen. Die größte Überraschung aber war der Fund eines vierzeiligen Epigramms auf fol. 127rc:

² Ein Eintrag fehlt bei Hans WALTHER, *Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina I/1. Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen 1969; = WIC) und ID., *Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina II/1-5. Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi*, Bde. 1-5 (Göttingen 1963-1967; = WPS). Wie mir Herr Prof. Dr. Paul Gerhard Schmidt (Freiburg Br.) brieflich mitteilte, hat Walther das Incipit in seinem Handexemplar der *Initia carminum* nachgetragen; zudem existiert eine Abschrift des Epigramms aus unserer Handschrift in seinem Nachlaß, doch ohne eine Verbesserung der 4. Zeile.

³ Beschrieben in: *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library* (London 1802) 440-441; Arthur George RIGG, *Goliath and other Pseudonyms*, in: *Studi Medievali* III 18 (1977) 65-109, hier 90-91; ID., *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422* (Cambridge 1992) 151 und 237.

⁴ Vgl. Carsten WOLLIN, *Die Epigramme des Primas in der Handschrift London BL Cotton Vespasianus B.XIII und das 'Supplementum Primatis' Alfons Hilkas*, in Vorbereitung für das *Mittelalterteinische Jahrbuch*.

*¶ petrus blesensis archicp̄c botoṁ de transitu thamisie .
 Sic solet in sero transire leander .⁵ ad hero
 Si sic transiero sepe . leander ero
 Si rapit ignarum nandi discrimen aquarum
 Tamisie pharum dispariabo parum*

Davor steht unter der Überschrift "*De misera conditione hominis*" das anonyme Gedicht *Sordidus est hominis conceptus flebilis ortus* (WIC fehlt, WPS 30051 c); danach folgen ebenfalls anonym der weitverbreitete Vierzeiler *Olim diues eras nunc es de diuite pauper* (WIC 13160, WPS 19772) und auf fol. 127va *Sicut cera fluit subito percussa calore* (WIC 18151, WPS 29583) sowie als letztes Stück der Sammlung die reich überlieferte Vergänglichkeitsklage Marbods *Vite presentis si comparo gaudia uentis* (WIC 20702, *carm. ed. princ.* 63).

Schon die Überschrift, die den Autor *petrus blesensis* als *archicp̄c botoṁ* bezeichnet, stellt uns vor einige Probleme. Peter von Blois war in der kirchlichen Hierarchie des angevinischen Reichs nur bis zum Archidiakon aufgestiegen; das in seinen Augen unbedeutende Bistum Rochester hat er 1183 und 1184 ausgeschlagen⁶. Erzbischof ist er niemals gewesen. Auch der abgekürzte Ortsname *botoṁ* ist in dieser Form unsinnig. Ich vermute, daß dem Sammler oder dem Schreiber unserer Handschrift die historische Person Peters von Blois nicht mehr bekannt gewesen ist, so daß er die korrekte Verfasserangabe seiner Vorlage *petrus blesensis archidiaconus bathoniensis*, so nennt sich nämlich Peter in seinen Briefen selbst, nicht mehr verstanden hat und aus dem *archidiaconus* einen *archicp̄c* und aus dem abgekürzten *bathoniensis* das sinnlose *botoṁ* machte. So rekonstruiert verweist die Überschrift unzweifelhaft auf den wohlbekannten Schriftsteller und Dichter Peter von Blois (ca. 1130/35-1211/12), der von 1182-1200 Archidiakon von Bath, später von 1200 bis zu seinem Tod ca. 1211/12 Archidiakon von

⁵ Auf meinem Mikrofilm ist nicht eindeutig zu erkennen, ob hier ein Interpunktionszeichen steht oder ob es sich nur um einen Fleck im Pergament handelt. Syntaktisch gehört die adverbiale Bestimmung *ad Hero* mit Sicherheit zu dem vorangehenden *transire*, d.h. zur Vergleichsebene. Deshalb wäre in jedem Fall die Interpunktion gegen die Handschrift zu ändern.

⁶ Vgl. Peter von Blois, *epist.* 131 (PL 207, 390 B) *Episcopatus quoque Roffensis bis michi oblati, oblatumque renui, et honorem ex onere metiens motus ambitiosus ad sobrios mediocritatis terminos limitaui.*

London war⁷. Allerdings hatte er das Archidiakonat von Bath nur als Pfründe inne, während die damit verbundenen Verwaltungstätigkeiten von einem *uicarius* ausgeübt wurden. Peter selbst stand während dieser Zeit als *cancellarius* im Dienst der Erzbischöfe Richard (1174-1184) und Balduin (1185-1190) von Canterbury.

Für die Richtigkeit der Zuweisung an Peter von Blois sprechen neben der erschlossenen Amtsbezeichnung die frühe englische Herkunft der Handschrift und ihrer Vorlage, die einer zuverlässigen Überlieferung von Peters Werken an seinem Wirkungsort zeitlich und räumlich sehr nahestehen dürfte, sowie der Inhalt des Epigramms, die Gefahren bei der häufigen Überfahrt über die Themse. Peter von Blois muß während seiner zahlreichen Reisen im Dienste der Erzbischöfe von Canterbury und später als Archidiakon von London häufig genötigt gewesen sein, die Themse zu überqueren. Dabei hat er sich sicherlich öfter, als ihm vielleicht lieb war, in einer Situation befunden, in der sich ihm Zweifel an der Sicherheit der Bootsfahren über die Themse geradezu aufzwangen. In London existierte zu dieser Zeit noch die von den Römern angelegte und oft erneuerte Holzbrücke über die Themse. Mit dem Bau einer Steinbrücke begann um 1176 Peter of Colechurch. Vollendet wurde die Brücke nach über dreißigjähriger Bauzeit erst im Jahr 1209; unter vielen Umbauten überdauerte sie bis ins 19. Jahrhundert⁸. Außerhalb Londons jedoch wird die Überquerung der Themse angesichts der damals noch unbegradigten und unbefestigten Flußufer eine nicht immer ungefährliche Unternehmung gewesen sein. Benutzt wurden vermutlich Bootsfahren, die man bei schlechtem Wetter und ungünstigen Sichtverhältnissen mithilfe von Leuchtfeuern navigierte.

Als Entstehungszeit können wir aufgrund der Überschrift zunächst die Zeit von 1182 bis 1200 ansehen, als Peter Archidiakon von Bath war. Doch wird durch die Amtsbezeichnung eine spätere Entstehung nicht ausgeschlossen, da Peter auch nach

⁷ Zu Biographie und Werk Peters vgl. Rolf KÖHN, *Magister Peter von Blois. Eine Studie zur Bildungsgeschichte der Geistlichkeit in der höfischen Gesellschaft* (Diss. Konstanz 1973); Peter DRONKE, *Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II*, in: ID., *The Medieval Poet* (Storia e letteratura 164; Rom 1984) 281-339; WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis Carmina* (Anm. 1) mit Forschungsüberblick und weiterer Literatur.

⁸ Vgl. hierzu Christopher N.L. BROOKE, *London 800-1216: The Shaping of a City* (London 1975) 109-110 mit weiterer Literatur.

seiner Ernennung zum Archidiakon von London 1200 noch weiterhin, gerade wegen der Überschriften in seiner Briefsammlung als *archidiaconus Bathoniensis* bekannt war. Sogar eine frühere Entstehungszeit zwischen 1171 und 1182, als Peter zunächst am Hof des Erzbischofs von Rouen, Rotrou von Warwick, und später des Erzbischofs Richard von Canterbury beschäftigt war, könnte erwogen werden. In diesem Fall müßte man annehmen, daß nach 1182 ein Sammler oder Schreiber das Epigramm nachträglich mit der aktuellen Amtsbezeichnung Peters versah.

In dem bisher wiederentdeckten Gedichtschaffen Peters von Blois fehlt das Epigramm als Gattung⁹; doch kennt er, nach den Zitaten in seinen Briefen und anderen Schriften zu urteilen, aus der römischen Literatur die Epigramme Martials, aus der christlichen die Epigramme Prosper's von Aquitanien. Daß Peter in dem Epigramm gereimte Distichen (*unisoni*) verwendet, entspricht durchaus seiner sonstigen Praxis: Von seinen zwei metrischen Gedichten (*carm.* 1, 6 und 1, 7) ist das erste in endgereimten Hexametern (*caudati*) abgefaßt; in seinen rhythmischen Gedichten aber, besonders in den Sequenzen, entfaltet Peter eine virtuose Reimtechnik, die in ihrer Zeit kaum ihresgleichen findet. Mit dem Gebrauch des Reims steht Peter zudem in der Tradition der Epigrammdichtung des Hugo Primas und anderer *moderni* des 12. Jahrhunderts. Somit gibt es weder literarhistorische noch stilistische Gründe, die handschriftliche Zuweisung an Peter von Blois in Frage zu stellen. Das Epigramm ist also in meiner oben genannten Ausgabe als *carmen* 1, 11 zu ergänzen. Besonders erfreulich ist, daß es sich hierbei um einen Zuwachs zu den authentischen Werken handelt, während der Großteil der von mir edierten Gedichte Peter von Blois bislang nur aufgrund – durchaus anfechtbarer – Überlieferungsgeschichtlicher und stilistischer Gründe attribuiert werden konnte.

Schwieriger als die Wiederherstellung der verderbten Überschrift erweist sich das Verständnis der vierten Zeile des Epigramms:

Tamisie pharum dispariabo parum.

⁹ Zur mittellateinischen Epigrammatik vgl. Günter BERNT, *Das lateinische Epigramm im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter* (München 1968); Wolfgang MAAZ, *Lateinische Epigrammatik im hohen Mittelalter* (Spolia Berolinensia 2; Hildesheim 1992).

Während *pharum* - *parum* durch den Reim und *Tamisie* durch Überschrift und Sinn gesichert sind, bleibt *dispariabo* kaum verständlich. Die Syntax erfordert in der 4. Zeile die Apodosis zur vorausgehenden Protasis *Si rapit ignarum nandi discrimen aquarum*, somit kann *dispariabo* nur als Verbform verstanden werden; gefordert wird ein transitives Verb (Akk. Obj. *pharum*) im Indikativ (entsprechend zu *rapit*).

Die Annahme einer heteroklitischen Form eines ähnlich klingenden Verbs (*disparare*, *disparere*, *disperire*) ist angesichts des eleganten und gepflegten Stils Peters von Blois mit Sicherheit auszuschließen. Unwahrscheinlich ist auch die Ableitung von *dispariare* (meist *disparagare* geschrieben) in der Bedeutung "to disparage, degrade by unequal marriage", einem Verb, das seit dem Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts überwiegend in englischen Urkunden belegt ist, nicht aber in literarischen Werken¹⁰. Ein zusätzliches Problem besteht darin, daß die angegebene Bedeutung von *disparagare* im Zusammenhang des Epigramms sinnlos ist.

Überzeugt hat mich der Vorschlag von Thomas A.-P. Klein, in *dispariare* eine Neubildung aus *dis* und *pariare* (= *parem reddere*¹¹) mit der wörtlichen Bedeutung "ungleich machen" zu sehen. Für diese Erklärung fand ich dann nachträglich die Bestätigung bei Peters Zeitgenossen Matthäus von Vendôme, der in seinen metrischen Gedichten fünfmal *dispariare* im Sinne von *disparem reddere* an derselben Stelle im Vers wie Peter von Blois benutzt. Desgleichen kennt auch Peters Bruder Wilhelm von Blois in seiner Komödie *Alda* das Verb *dispariare*¹². Ich vermute daher, daß der Gebrauch von *dispariare* bei den genannten Autoren auf ihre gemeinsame Ausbildung bei Bernardus Silvestris in Tours zurückgeht, auch wenn sich das Verb in den bisher bekannten Werken des Bernardus nicht findet. Im 13. Jahrhundert läßt sich der Neo-

¹⁰ Vgl. *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, hrsg. R.E. LATHAM / D.R. HOWLETT (Oxford 1975-97) Bd. 1, 687 s.v. *disparagare*.

¹¹ Vgl. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* 10, 1, 398-399 s.v. 1. *pario*.

¹² Vgl. *Mathei Vindocinensis Opera* I-III, hrsg. Franco MUNARI (Storia e letteratura 144. 152. 171; Rom 1977 / 1982 / 1988): *Piramus et Tisbe* 14; *Tobias* 730. 970. 1230; *Ars uersificatoria* 3, 7; Wilhelm von Blois, *Alda*, hrsg. Ferruccio BERTINI, in: *Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo* VI, hrsg. Ferruccio BERTINI (Genova 1998) 11-109, hier 66 Vers 164. Nachgewiesen hatte den Neologismus *dispariare* schon Walter Bradbury SEDGWICK, *The Style and Vocabulary of the Latin Arts of Poetry of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, in: *Speculum* 3 (1928) 349-381, hier 373.

logismus noch bei Eberhard von Bremen und Hugo von Mâcon nachweisen¹³. An unserer Stelle muß *dispariare* soviel heißen wie "nicht treffen, verfehlen", so daß man die 4. Zeile als Litotes folgendermaßen übersetzen könnte: "... werde ich das Leuchtfeuer an der Themse um ein wenig verfehlen (d.h. ertrinken)".

Der kritische Text von Peters neuaufgefundenem Gedicht 1, 11 lautet somit, nach allen Vorüberlegungen und Korrekturen, wie folgt :

Petrus Blesensis archidiaconus Bathoniensis de transitu Thamisie.

Sic solet in sero transire Leander ad Hero:

Si sic transiero sepe, Leander ero.

Si rapit ignarum nandi discrimen aquarum,

Tamisie pharum dispariabo parum.

Der antike Sagenstoff von dem tragischen Tod des Liebespaars Hero und Leander¹⁴, wie ihn in der Spätantike der griechische Dichter Musaios in seinem kleinen Epos erzählt, ist dem lateinischen Mittelalter vor allem durch die dichterische Umformung und Bearbeitung bekannt, die er in den *Epistulae heroidum* Ovids (18 und 19) gefunden hatte. Daneben steht ein zweiter, selbständiger Überlieferungsstrang in der mythographischen Literatur, der in den spätantiken *Mitologiarum libri* des Fulgentius seinen Anfang nimmt und über die hochmittelalterlichen Schriften, besonders über den *Mythographus Vaticanus* III bis in die Renaissance hinein fortwirkt. Anscheinend als erster verbindet Baudri de Bourgueil in seinem *carm.* 154 beide Traditionen¹⁵. Das nur fragmentarisch

¹³ Eberhard von Bremen, *Laborintus*, hrsg. Edmond FARAL, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle* (Paris 1924; Reprint Genf 1982) 336-377, hier 368 Vers 908; Hugo von Mâcon, *Gesta Militum*, hrsg. Ewald KÖNIGEN (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 18, 1-2; Leiden 1990) verwendet *dispariare* allein in den ersten drei Büchern fünfmal (1, 58; 2, 54; 3, 58; 3, 74; 3, 264).

¹⁴ AaTh 666* "Hero and Leander" bei Antti AARNE/Stith THOMPSON, *The Types of the Folktale* (FFC 184; Helsinki 1961). - Zur Sage allgemein vgl. M.H. JELLINEK, *Die Sage von Hero und Leander in der Dichtung* (Berlin 1890); Jaromír JECH, s.v. *Hero und Leander*, in: *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 6 (1990) 845-851 mit weiterer Literatur. - Das Epos des Musaios sowie die antiken und mittelalterlichen Zeugnisse in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache finden sich gesammelt in der zweisprachigen Ausgabe von Hans FÄRBER, *Hero und Leander. Musaios und die weiteren antiken Zeugnisse* (München 1961).

¹⁵ *Baldricus Burgulianus, Carmina*, hrsg. Karlheinz HILBERT (Editiones Heidelbergenses 19; Heidelberg 1979).

erhaltene Gedicht stellt eine dichterische Bearbeitung des Fulgentius dar, doch folgt Baudri in der Darstellung der Liebesgeschichte von Hero und Leander (Z. 1143-1242) nicht etwa der dünnen Zusammenfassung des Fulgentius, sondern erzählt ganz eigenständig unter Verwendung der von Ovid gebotenen Fassung. Erst als es um die allegorische Interpretation der Geschichte geht, kehrt Baudri zu seiner Vorlage Fulgentius zurück – leider bricht das Gedicht an dieser Stelle ab.

Peter von Blois kannte die Sage sicherlich durch die Lektüre der *Epistulae heroidum* Ovids, vielleicht war seiner Handschrift sogar ein Kommentar mit *accessus* beigegeben. Zwar läßt sich eine weitere Erwähnung Heros und Leanders in Peters Werken nicht finden¹⁶, seine Kenntnis der *Epistulae heroidum* jedoch wird durch eine Reihe von Zitaten bestätigt. Ein rasches Durchsehen der Ausgaben von Migne und Elizabeth Revell führte zu folgendem vorläufigen Ergebnis¹⁷: Ovids *epist.* 4, 162 wird einmal, *epist.* 6, 82 insgesamt viermal und *epist.* 17, 166 einmal zitiert¹⁸. Die prächtige Sequenz *Olim sudor Herculis* (*carm.* 2, 4), eine Liebesabdicatio, die man Peter von Blois mit guten Gründen zuweisen darf, übernimmt die Aufzählung der Arbeiten des Hercules und verschiedene sprachliche Wendungen aus dem 9. Heroidenbrief Ovids¹⁹. Daher können wir annehmen, daß Peter Ovids *Epistulae heroidum* aus eigener Lektüre, nicht nur aus einem Florilegium gekannt hat.

Einen unvermuteten Bezug unseres Epigramms zur Dichtung des "Loire-Kreises" bietet der Schluß der 3. Zeile *discrimen aquarum*. Auf den ersten Blick könnte es sich um eine der üblichen Hexameterformeln handeln, doch findet der Versschluß sich nicht in Otto Schumanns Hexameter-Lexikon, wohingegen Formeln wie *discrimine belli*, *discrimine leti*, *discrimine morbi*, *discrimine nullo*,

¹⁶ Für eine ergebnislose Suche in dem computerlesbaren Text der Werke Peters von Blois danke ich Herrn Prof. Dr. Rolf Köhn (Universität GH Essen).

¹⁷ Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 207 (Paris 1855, Reprint Turnhout 1992); *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, hrsg. Elizabeth Revell (Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 13; Oxford 1993).

¹⁸ Peter von Blois, *epist.* Revell 12, 5. – Id., *epist.* 49 (PL 207, 147 C); *epist.* 72 (PL 207, 222 B); *Inuectivae* (PL 207, 1114 B); *epist.* Revell 25, 6. – Id., *epist.* Revell 80, 4 (= PL 207, *epist.* 160).

¹⁹ Vgl. hierzu Rudolf Wilhelm LENZEN, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche und Verfasseruntersuchungen zur lateinischen Liebesdichtung Frankreichs im Hochmittelalter* (Diss. phil. Bonn 1973) 63-65; Edition und Kommentar von *Olim sudor Herculis* in WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis Carmina* (Anm. 1) 344-356.

discrimine parvo, discrimina rerum etc. dort recht zahlreich verzeichnet sind, noch ist er mithilfe der elektronischen Textcorpora in der römischen oder mittelalterlichen Dichtung nachzuweisen²⁰. Die früheste mir bekannte Parallele²¹ findet sich in der *Vita beate Marie Egiptiace* Hildeberts von Lavardin (Vers 735-736)²²:

*Sic ea portento similis pede puluerulento
Interiectarum transit discrimen aquarum.*

Die Übereinstimmung mag zunächst rein zufällig erscheinen, doch gibt es, wie ich meine, einige überzeugende Gründe, hierin eine, wahrscheinlich nur unbewußte, Übernahme von Seiten Peters zu sehen. In Hildeberts Gedicht trifft sich der Einsiedler Zosimas in der Wüste am Ufer des Jordans mit der ägyptischen Maria. Diese hat nach jahrelanger Askese die Fähigkeit erlangt, den Jordan trockenen Fußes zu überqueren, so wie schon Jesus und Petrus auf dem Wasser des Sees Genesareth gingen (Matth. 14, 22-36). An beiden Stellen wird also mit *discrimen aquarum* die Gefahr bezeichnet, die bei einer Flußüberquerung dem Reisenden droht. Daß Peter von Blois diese Hexameterformel ganz natürlich in die Feder geflossen ist, erklärt sich durch seine Ausbildung in Tours, wo er nach eigenem Zeugnis die Briefe und - so dürfen wir vermuten - auch die Gedichte Hildeberts auswendig gelernt hat: *Profuit michi, quod epistolas Hildeberti Cenomanensis episcopi stili elegantia et suavi urbanitate precipuas firmare et corde tenus reddere adolescentulus compellabar*²³. Der Einfluß Hildeberts zeigt sich auch sonst in Peters Briefen; seinem Lobgedicht auf den Wein (*carm.* 1, 6) sowie zahlreichen gemeinsamen Topoi und sprachlichen Wendungen²⁴.

²⁰ Otto SCHUMANN, *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon* II (München 1980) 91-93. – Die Junktur *discrimina ponti*, von Schumann ib. nur ein einziges Mal bei dem im Mittelalter fast unbekannten Epiker Valerius Flaccus (1, 37) nachgewiesen, kommt hier nicht in Betracht.

²¹ Sonst begegnet der Hexameterschluß *discrimen aquarum* noch in dem Gedicht *Hactenus, o Muse, somno satis et satis use* (WIC 7462; PL 171, 1448 A-C), wo in Zeile 6 über das Schiff (*pinus*), d.h. das Werk des Dichters, gesagt wird: *Que sibi fisa parum subiit discrimen aquarum*. Das Gedicht steht in Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Rawlinson G.109 (s. 12) p. 40 am Schluß einer längeren Reihe von Gedichten Hildeberts und gehört vermutlich auch in seinen Umkreis.

²² Norbert Klaus LARSEN, *Die Vita beate Marie Egiptiace des Hildebert von Lavardin* (Diss. phil. Köln 1999); ältere Ausgabe in PL 171, 1321-1340.

²³ Petr. Bles., *epist.* 101 (PL 207, 314 A).

²⁴ Vgl. hierzu WOLLIN, *Petri Blesensis Carmina* (Anm. 1) 167 und Index 685. – Nachzutragen ist, daß Hildeberts *Vita beate Marie Egiptiace* 476-477 *Illa michi*

NACHTRAG: Die Sammlung von antiken und mittellateinischen Rezeptionszeugnissen der Geschichte von Hero und Leander, die Hans Färber seiner Musaiosausgabe angefügt hat (Anm. 14), kann, abgesehen von dem Epigramm Peters von Blois, noch um weitere Texte ergänzt werden:

(1) In der Sequenz *Parce continuis* (WIC 13675) berichtet der anonyme Verfasser in dem Versikel 4b von der Liebe Heros und Leanders (die letzten Zeilen spielen auf Statius, *Theb.* 6, 546-547 an):

*Seuus Amor ultima
urget in discrimina.
Non ignis incendia,
Bosfori non aspera
perorrescit equora.
Quas dum sepe salebras
iuuenis temeritas
superasset, uincitur
tandem maris estibus.
Operitur Sestias;
Sestias in speculis,
ponto perit iuuenis.*

Vgl. Wilhelm MEYER, *Zwei mittellateinische Lieder in Florenz*, in: *Studi letterari e linguistici dedicati a Pio Rajna* (Mailand 1911) 149-166; David A. TRAILL, *Parce continuis - A New Text and Interpretative Notes*, in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 21 (1986) 114-124.

(2) Den *accessus* und Kommentar zum 18. und 19. Heroidenbrief hat Ralph J. HEXTER, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling* (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 38; München 1986) 289-296 aus einer kommentierten Handschrift der *Epistulae heroidum* (clm 19475, fol. 16rb-31vb) abgedruckt.

(3) Jaromír JECH (Anm. 14) weist auf die klerikale Umgestaltung der Sage in einem Marienmirakel hin, das die Ereignisse nach Lindau am Bodensee verlegt, vgl. Gall MOREL, *Hero und Leander am Bodensee*, in: *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* NF 12 (1865) 17-18; Emil WINKLER, *Eine mittelalterlich-kirchliche Fassung der Sage von Hero und Leander*, in: *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 132 (1914) 405-408.

(4) Wilhelm von Tyrus, *Chronicon* 20, 24, hrsg. R.B.C. HUYGENS / H.E. MAYER / G. RÖSCH (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 63 A; Turnhout 1986): *Composita ergo classe, negotio feliciter consummato descendens*

misere mulieri templa patere, / templa beatorum titulis reuerenda laborum das sprachliche Vorbild für Peters *carm.* 2, 4, 3b, 1-2 *Tantis floruerat / laborum titulis* darstellt.

in Bosforum, qui Europe Asiaeque terminus esse dinoscitur, ducentis ab urbe miliaribus per illud fretum nauigans inter Sexton et Abidon urbes famosissimas, Leandri Heroque domicilia, Mare ingreditur Mediterraneum.

(5) Frederic C. TUBACH, *Index exemplorum* (FFC 204; Helsinki 1969) Nr. 2580 "Hero and Leander", verweist auf ein ungedrucktes *exemplum*, das bei J.A. HERBERT, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Bd. 3 (London 1910) 160 # 45 genannt wird.

(6) Bernhard von Meung bietet in seinen *Flores dictaminum* einen Liebesbrief der Cidipe an Acontius (vgl. Ovid *epist.* 21); Ernstpeter Ruhe konnte nachweisen, daß der Inhalt entgegen der Überschrift Gedanken aus dem ovidischen Brief der Hero an Leander (*epist.* 19, 83-104) aufnimmt (ed. Ernstpeter RUHE, *De amasio ad amasiam. Zur Gattungsgeschichte des mittelalterlichen Liebesbriefes* [Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie des Mittelalters 10; München 1975] 304 Nr. 6 und 381 Anm. 18; – fälschlich Peter von Blois zugeschrieben als *epist.* 194 in PL 207, 478):

Cidipe Aconcio conqueritur, quod ad amorem suum tepidior sit solito. Diligendo quam plurimum et dilecto A. B. salutem et amoris suauium et dulcoris. Qui re sibi dilecta carere sustinet et ab ea breui seiungitur interuallo, se indignum constituit amoris nomine, quod mentitur. In amoris uestri principio procellosas aquas maris sine formidine solebas ingredi, cum et fluctus maris et uentorum seuicia nimis tibi minaciter intonarent. Deseuisse considera elementa. Sed eorum seuiciam induisse te censeo. Quod admiror? Meretricum, ut uideo, te decipit astucia; nouus amor blandicias interiecit et te nimis inuenit uolubilem, quem euentu nullo consideraueram immutandum. Satis michi contraria promittebam, sed incassum sibi promittit quispiam, quod est sortis in alea constitutum.

(7) Alexander Neckam, *De commendatione uini* 1, 19-22 (ed. Mario ESPOSITO, *On Some Unpublished Poems Attributed to Alexander Neckam*, in: *English Historical Review* 30 [1915] 450-471, hier 453):

*Quis, loquor, absque mero pinguem sompnum dabit Hero,
Vel quis Alexandro, merenti siue Leandro?
Sompno repente, ui Bachii magna repente
Pax aderit, letus sopor hic est atque quietus.*

Documenten
over de orde van de reguliere
kanunnikessen van Sint-Augustinus
in het Aartsbisschoppelijk Archief
te Mechelen
12de - 18de eeuw
(2^e deel)*

door
C. VAN DE WIEL
(Leuven)

We behandelen achtereenvolgens voor *België* de priorijen Sion in Oudenaarde, Sint-Agnes of Kabbeek, Sint-Barbaradal en Sint-Catharinaberg (Witte Vrouwen) in Tienen, Sion of Bethanië in Vilvoorde, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Roosenberg in Waasmunster, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw ter Else in Zichem, Bethanië in Zoutleeuw. Voor *Frankrijk* het convent van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van zeven fonteynen in Steenvoorde, voor *Nederland* de conventen Mariaweide of der witte nonnen in Venlo en Maria Wijngaard of der Witte Vrouwen in Weert.

We nemen in deze inventaris niet op de priorijen van de reguliere kanunnikessen in Mechelen, te weten Bethanië, Blijdenberg en Tabor. De archiefstukken bieden stof voor een afzonderlijke uitgave, bijzonder die van de priorij Blijdenberg of Sion om hun grote omvang, waarbij dan die van de twee andere Mechelse priorijen kunnen aansluiten.

* Het eerste deel over de kanunnikessen verscheen in *Sacris Erudiri*, 36 (1996), 381-454.

BELGIË

De priorij Sion in Oudenaarde.

De stichting van de priorij gaat terug op een begijnhof, Sion genaamd, dat in de 13^{de} eeuw buiten de muren van de stad Oudenaarde werd gebouwd. Zij werd volledig verwoest in 1453.

Op de andere oever van de Schelde werd dan *intra muros* een nieuw klooster gebouwd. In 1455 aanvaardde de communautiteit de regel van Sint-Augustinus. De 17^{de} eeuw was een schitterende tijd, vooral op materieel gebied. In 1789 telde de priorij nog 14 kanunnikessen, vijf lekezusters en drie novicen, of maar een derde van het aantal zusters in de 17^{de} eeuw. Op 17 december 1796 moesten zij het klooster verlaten dat op 18 oktober 1798 openbaar verkocht werd. De gebouwen dienden later als gevangenis, gerechtshof en kazerne. Nu staan op het oude domein van Sion het gerechtshof en de gevangenis. De priorij Sion telde van 1444 tot 1796 zeventien prioressen¹.

1. Aanstelling van Jacobus De Dynter, prior van Groenendaal, en Nicolaus Robrechts, prior van Zevenborren, door Jacobus de Croy, bisschop van Kamerijk, tot visitatoren om alle misbruiken in de priorij Sion te Oudenaarde na te gaan, 11 maart 1508 (charter).

De priorij Sint-Agnes of Kabbeek in Tienen.

Op 3 november 1414 stonden Jan van Raetshoven en Joannes van Meerhout, zijn echtgenote, het hof van Kabbeek te Tienen af aan de prior van Bethleem te Herent voor de stichting van een klooster voor vrouwen van de derde Orde van Sint-Franciscus. Op 14 december 1415 stelde Jan van Beieren, prins-bisschop van Luik, het klooster van Kabbeek onder de regel van Sint-Augustinus; in 1417 keurde paus Martinus V de schenking van Jan van Raetshoven aan de priorij Sint-Agnes goed. Op 4 december 1433 stond de prior van Bethleem zijn recht over de priorij af aan de prior van "Ter Nood Gods" te Tongeren.

¹ R. VAN DER DONCKT, *Statuten in 1493 door de Kamerijkse bisschop verleend aan de kanunnikessen van Sint-Augustinus van het Sionklooster te Oudenaarde*, in *Handelingen van de Geschied- en van Oudheidkundige Kring te Oudenaarde*, 14 (1965), 79-108; R. VAN DER DONCKT, *Prieuré de Sion à Audenarde*, in *Monasticon belge*, t. VII *Province de Flandre Orientale*, vol. 4, Luik, 1984, p. 859-877.

In 1635, toen Franse en Hollandse troepen Tienen verwoestten, vluchtten de zusters naar Antwerpen. Wanneer zij terugkeerden weten we niet.

Op 22 mei 1784 schafte Jozef II de priorij af. Er waren toen 25 religieuzen: 17 kanunnikessen en acht conversen. Zij keerden in 1790 terug maar moesten in 1792 voorgoed hun klooster verlaten. In 1798 werden de gebouwen verkocht; in de 19^{de} eeuw verkregen de grijze zusters ze in eigendom en bouwden er een kliniek².

2. 1. - *Antiqua statuta* van de kloosters van de reguliere kanunniken van Sint-Augustinus, overgeschreven uit het boek van het klooster van Kabbeek, 78 blz.
 - "Statuten voor het klooster van Cabbecke binnen Thienen", ondertekend door aartsbisschop A. de Berghes, 11 januari 1673, 140 blz. (gedrukt).
 - Specificatie van de plaatsen die als slot beschouwd moeten worden.
 - Ordonnantie in 24 punten van aartsbisschop Andreas Cruesen naar aanleiding van de visitatie van 25 april 1659, 4 augustus 1659 (2 ex.).
3. 2. - Verkiezing van oversten, 1588-1793.
 - Moeilijkheden bij de verkiezing van een overste in 1675: onderzoek over het bestuur van Cecilia Dorigon, nieuwe verkiezing in 1675, weigering van de meeste religieuzen om deel te nemen aan de verkiezing, verkiezing van Catharina Janssens alias Lukens, 7 augustus 1675, goedkeuring door de aartsbisschop, 12 augustus 1675, ongehoorzaamheid der weerspannige zusters, klacht bij de aartsbisschop en bij de Raad van Brabant, die hun rekwest niet aanvaardde, 25 oktober 1675, aanstelling van de oudste zuster tot waarnemende overste door

² C. VAN GESTEL, *o.c.*, t. I, p. 276; J. LE ROY, *o.c.*, t. I, p. 174-175; P. BETS, *Histoire de la ville et des institutions de Tirlemont*, t. II, Leuven, 1861, p. 155-157; F. DE RIDDER, *Thienen, Oorkonden en stukken aangaande de stichting der priorij van Ste-Agnes, ook geheeten het klooster van Cabbeek, nu 't klooster der Grauwzusters te Thienen*, in *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis bijzonderlijk van het aloude Hertogdom Brabant*, t. I, 1902, p. 42-45, 134-141, 183-186, 341-344, 365-372; F. DE RIDDER, *Kroniekje van Cabbeek of aantekeningen nopens het klooster van S. Agnes te Thienen*, in *Hagelands Gedenkschriften*, 1910, p. 176-190; A. d'HOOP, *o.c.*, t. IV, p. 363-364; E. PERSOONS, *Prieuré du Val-Sainte-Agnès ou de Kabbeek à Tirlemont*, in *Monasticon belge*, t. IV, vol. 5, p. 1345-1352.

de aartsbisschop, rekwest bij de Private Raad, besluit van de twee Raden dat de weerspannige zusters de uitspraak van 25 oktober 1675 moesten eerbiedigen.

In deze documenten wordt geregeld de gevaarlijke rol der minderbroeders in deze gemeenschap vermeld.

4. 3. Reguliere bezoeken, instructies, ordonnanties en decreten; lijsten van religieuzen en briefwisseling in verband daarmee, 1588-1743.
5. 4. - Aanvaarding van de religieuzen tot het noviciaat en de professie, 1624-1793.
 - Verbod van het vicariaat om juffrouw Eynatten te aanvaarden, vooraleer de specificatie van de bezittingen van haar ouders bekend is, 8 april 1670.
 - Opdracht aan Albertus Van den Pals, aartspriester van Tienen, om de priorij Kabbeek te herinneren aan het verbod om iemand in te kleden zonder de toestemming van de aartsbisschop, 5 november 1670.
6. 5. Benoemingen van biechtvaders, 1777-1788.
7. 6. - Bericht over het overlijden van Michaël Veriannius, pastoor van Molenbeek bij Diest, *ab intestato*, en het verlangen der erfgenamen om een compromis te sluiten met de aartsbisschop; vraag van priores Maximilienne Absoloens of zij daarbij aanwezig mag zijn daar het klooster in twee processen met de pastoor verwickeld is, 9 november 1635.
 - Vraag van priores Catharina Janssens (1675-1678) of ze een half bunder land bij Mechelen mag verkopen om schulden te betalen, z.d.
 - Bericht over de getroffen overeenkomst in de zaak van het *'pain d'abbaye'*, 11 december 1683.
 - Toelating van aartsbisschop A. de Berghes tot opnemen van 500 gulden om schulden af te betalen, 5 januari 1685.
 - Staat van goederen en inkomsten op 14 december 1726 naar het aartsbisdom opgezonden.
 - Vraag om enkele eiken te mogen verkopen voor de afbetaling van proceskosten, 25 augustus 1731.
 - Opsomming van erfgoederen; inkomsten en uitgaven van grondcijnzen, erfrenten, lijfrenten, weiden en graan, z.d.

8. 7. Lijst van 25 religieuzen met hun geboorteplaats, doopdatum, professiedatum en gekozen woonplaats bij de afschaffing, 11 juni 1784.
8. Zes plannen voor klooster en kerk, gemaakt op verzoek van de aartsbisschop, z.d.
9. 9. Vraag of drie dagwanden weide mogen worden gebruikt voor de aanleg van een vijver zodat de windmolen kan blijven werken, 20 oktober 1626; uiteenzetting omtrent een windmolen in Bunsbeek, die sedert jaren niet meer gewerkt heeft, 25 augustus 1731.
10. Enkele raadgevingen aan de prioeres over het uitgaan van de zusters en het ontvangen van de communie op de dag der gelovige zielen, over de clausuur en de armoede, z.d. (1641).
11. Vraag om een nieuwe prioeres te mogen kiezen en om de biechtvader de toelating te geven in bepaalde gevallen de zonden te vergeven, 20 januari 1740.
12. Vraag om geld te mogen opnemen voor het herstel van het klooster, 22 mei en 2 juli 1790.
13. Vraag aan de aartsbisschop wat er moet gebeuren met het verzoek de aangeslagen goederen te verzaken, oktober 1793.

Fonds *Mechliniensia*

10. - Decreet van aartsbisschop M. Hovius naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 3 augustus 1609 (reg. 183, fol. 137-139).
 - Ordonnantie van aartsbisschop J. Boonen naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 9 september 1650 (reg. 16, fol. 231-233).
 - *Idem*, 20 mei 1655 (reg. 17, p. 440-445).
 - Opdracht van Michael Naveau, aartspriester van het district van Tienen, om een visitatie te houden, 20 april 1659 (reg. 17, p. 695).
11. - Voorschriften van aartsbisschop A. Cruesen voor prioeres Anna Papadopoli naar aanleiding van een visitatie en een decreet voor alle kloosterlingen, 4 augustus 1659 (reg. 17, p. 717-725).
 - Opdracht van aartsbisschop A. de Berghes aan Amatus Coriache, aartsdiaken, en Jacobus de Mayere, kanunnik van Sint-Goedele, om te visiteren, 28 september 1675 (reg. 23, p. 94-95).

- Schrijven over de biechtvaders en waarschuwing aan Cecilia Dorigon om binnen de drie dagen naar het klooster van haar professie te vertrekken, 25 januari 1677 (reg. 27, p. 116-117).
- 12. - Instructie van aartsbisschop A. de Berghes, 17 januari 1678 (reg. 17, p. 215-218).
- Decreet voor de religieuzen die naar een strenger klooster willen overgaan, 3 juni 1678 (reg. 27, p. 265).
- Decreet naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 27 september 1679 (reg. 28, p. 83).
- Berisping van de overste die drie huwbare vrouwen in het slot liet logeren, 20 november 1681 (reg. 28, p. 382).
- Herbekracting van de verkiezing van Catharina Janssens tot prioeres, 13 februari 1681 (reg. 28, p. 253-254).
- Voorschrift voor de overste en de zusters, 6 augustus 1683 (reg. 29, p. 506-507).
- Verordeningen voor de priorij, 5 mei 1686 (reg. 31, p. 93 en 188).
- Toelating om een school te openen, 22 oktober 1686 (reg. 31, p. 381-382).
- 13. - Ordonnanties van aartsbisschop H.G. de Precipiano, 20 oktober 1691 en 9 november 1694 (reg. 34, p. 358 en 360-361; reg. 35, p. 281-285); herbekracting van de verkiezing van de overste, 9 november 1694 (*ibid.*, p. 285).
- Verklaring van aartsbisschop H.G. de Precipiano over de onderwerping van de zusters aan de jurisdictie van de ordinaris, 7 november 1699 (reg. 36, p. 275-276).
- Decreet van aartsbisschop Th.Ph. d'Alsace naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 23 oktober 1725 (reg. 184, fol. 128-129).
- Toelating om naaste familieleden twee nachten in het klooster te laten logeren, 31 mei 1728 (reg. 184, fol. 174).
- Decreet van aartsbisschop Th.Ph. d'Alsace naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 30 november 1731; brief aan de prioeres, 26 december 1731 (reg. 184, fol. 221-224).
- 14. - Schrijven van aartsbisschop Th.Ph. d'Alsace aan Antonius Renson, pastoor van Grimde, over de toestand in het klooster, 20 februari 1732 (*ibid.*, fol. 225).
- Overeenkomst m.b.t. de incorporatie voor het leven van Elisabeth Stylaerts, geestelijke dochter en 59 jaar oud, in het

- klooster, 10 november 1732, en bekrachtiging, 10 december 1732 (reg. 46, fol. 136vo-137vo).
- Bevel aan het klooster om 350 gulden van een commensaal te gebruiken voor de betaling van enige schulden, 11 december 1732 (reg. 46, fol. 137vo-138).
 - Decreet van aartsbisshop Th.Ph. d'Alsace m.b.t. het trakteren bij inkleding en professie, 23 augustus 1740 (reg. 184, fol. 248vo-249).
15. - Bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Monica de Wael tot prioeres, 5 februari 1752 (reg. 50, fol. 61vo), idem van die van Maria Theresia Festraets, 3 februari 1758 (reg. 50, fol. 231vo).
- Bekrachtiging van de herverkiezing van Maria Theresia Festraets tot prioeres, 12 februari 1761 (reg. 51, fol. 67vo).
16. - Decreet van aartsbisshop J.H. de Franckenberg over het voorkomen van misbruiken, 3 mei 1762 (reg. 184, fol. 294vo-295).
- Bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Anna Elisabeth Van den Borgh (onbekend, zie *Monasticon*, t. IV, vol. 5, p. 1352) tot prioeres, 14 februari 1767 (reg. 51, fol. 159vo) en 13 februari 1770 (reg. 52, fol. 238).
 - Straf voor Maria Catharina Backx, 19 oktober 1773 (reg. 184, fol. 310vo-311).
 - Bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Carolina Joris tot prioeres, 19 november 1773 (reg. 54, fol. 35vo); herbekrachtiging, 15 november 1776 (*ibid.*, fol. 144vo), 13 november 1779 (*ibid.*, fol. 217vo).
17. - Toelating om thee te drinken, 16 april 1774 (reg. 54, fol. 44).
- Toelating aan Maria-Josepha Peeters om naar de baden van Aken te gaan, 26 juli 1781 (reg. 54, fol. 253vo-254).
 - Bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Maria Anna Maes tot prioeres, 7 november 1770 (reg. 53, fol. 6vo).
 - Bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Maria Helena Schellinckx tot prioeres, 28 oktober 1796 (reg. 57, fol. 80).

Verzameling *Amatus Coriache*.

18. - Voorstel om een nieuwe overste te kiezen uit een ander huis van dezelfde orde om moeilijkheden te doen verdwijnen, 14 oktober 1675 (reg. 12, fol. 93-94).
- Beschrijving van de ellendige toestand van en in de priorij, z.d. (reg. 12, fol. 95-96).

De priorij Sint-Barbaradal (Barberendael) in Tienen.

In 1388 kwamen tien reguliere kanunnikessen en twee conversen van de priorij Lens-Saint-Remy bij Hannut naar Tienen. Zij stichtten er een klooster dat zij Onze-Lieve-Vrouw en de heilige Barbara toewijdden. Op 1 augustus 1403 keerden de Franssprekende zusters naar Lens-Saint-Remy terug omdat zij geen Nederlands konden leren. In 1412 traden de religieuzen toe tot de Congregatie van Windesheim.

In 1526 woonden er drie priesters, 35 kanunnikessen, vijf conversen, 25 zusters en drie kostgangsters.

Bij de verwoesting van Tienen in 1635 vluchtten de religieuzen eerst naar Sint-Maartensdal in Leuven en dan naar Bethanië in Mechelen.

Na een eerste afschaffing op 5 mei 1784 keerden de religieuzen na de Brabantse revolutie weer. Op 1 september 1796 werd de priorij definitief afgeschaft en op 3 december werden de kloosterlingen verjaagd. De gebouwen werden later verkocht³.

19. 1. Aanvaarding van de religieuzen tot de professie, 1631 en 1761.
2. Lijst van 19 religieuzen en negen lekezusters, met hun geboorteplaats en -datum, professiedag en gekozen woonplaats bij de afschaffing, 11 juni 1784.
20. 3. Bekentenis van prioeres Katline Vander Meren dat ze geld had ontvangen van de stad Mechelen, 1 juni 1473 (charter).
4. Volmacht door prioeres Elisabeth van Berghen en zusters aan rector Jan Valckenisse om te Brussel in hun naam iets te kopen, 20 februari 1521 (charter).
5. Schepenbrief van een rente op de stad Antwerpen ten behoeve van de priorij, 17 mei 1547 (eerste toekenning in 1575), 2 ex.
6. Zie Tienen, Witte Vrouwen of Sint-Catharinaberg, nr. 9.

³ A. d'HOOP, *o.c.*, t. IV, p. 366-367; E. PERSOONS, *Prieuré du Val Sainte-Barbe, à Tirlemont*, in *Monasticon belge*, t. IV, vol. 5, Luik, 1971, p. 1353-1359; M. HAVERALS, *Domus Vallis sanctae Barbarae in Thenis (Barberendael, Tienen)*, in *Monasticon Windeshemense*, t. I, België, Brussel, 1976, p. 203-210.

Fonds Mechliniensia

21. - Toelating om ieder jaar op 10 maart de gedurige aanbidding te houden, 10 oktober 1768 (reg. 52, fol. 183vo).
 - Toelating aan Alexander Vander Smissen, pastoor van Hakendover en aartspriester van Tienen, om een klok voor de kerk te wijden, 26 april 1770, reg. 52, fol. 246).
 - Vraag van overste en zusters aan aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg om een klein deel van het kerkhof te mogen innen voor de bouw van een nieuw klooster, de aarde ervan te mogen gebruiken, en de opgegraven beenderen op het kerkhof te mogen begraven. Vraag om een versteend lijk van een zuster op een onbekende plaats te mogen versteken, z.d.; antwoord van de aartsbisschop op 3 maart 1791 (reg. 56, fol. 215vo-216vo).

De priorij Witte Vrouwen of Sint-Catharinaberg in Tienen.

Aanvankelijk waren zusters der boetvaardigheid naar het voorbeeld van Maria Magdalena blijkbaar vanaf 1251 in de stad gevestigd. Zij namen vervolgens de regel van Sint-Victor aan en uiteindelijk in 1601 de strengere interpretatie van de regel van Sint-Augustinus. Zij gaven onderwijs aan jonge meisjes.

Onder de godsdienstoorlogen van het midden der 16^{de} en de eerste jaren der 17^{de} eeuw werd het klooster meerdere malen geplunderd en brandde het af, o.a. in 1580, 1582 en 1604. In 1607 was alles hersteld.

Om het onderwijs dat de priorij verschaftte, mocht ze van Jozef II blijven bestaan. Op 23 september 1797 werden de religieuzen verdreven en in 1798 werd het klooster als nationaal goed verkocht. De "Christus der Witte Vrouwen", die aan een buitenmuur van de kapel van het klooster hing en sinds 1802 in de kruisbeuk van de Sint-Germanuskerk te Tienen hangt is het enige overblijfsel⁴.

22. 1. Statuten van aartsbisschop J. Boonen, 15 september 1650; punten uit de regel; aansporing om de regel en de statuten van 1650 strikter te onderhouden.

⁴ C. VAN GESTEL, *o.c.*, t. I, p. 276; J. LE ROY, *o.c.*, t. I, p. 175; P. BETS, *Histoire de la ville et des institutions de Tirlemont*, t. II, Leuven, 1861, p. 152-153; A. d'HOOP, *o.c.*, t. IV, p. 365; P. COENEGRACHT, *Prieuré du Mont-Sainte-Catherine à Tirlemont*, in *Monasticon belge*, t. IV, vol. 5, p. 1283-1287.

23. 2. - Verkiezing van oversten, 1572-1795.
- Formule van bekrachtiging van de gekozen overste voor drie jaar onder aartsbisschop J. Boonen, z.d.
 - Formule van de belofte van gehoorzaamheid en trouw beheer van de tijdelijke goederen aan de aartsbisschop en de vicarissen door de prioressen bij haar aanstelling, z.d.
24. 3. Reguliere bezoeken en decreten, 1611-1778.
25. 4. Aanvaarding van de religieuzen tot het noviciaat en de professie, 1760-1792.
26. 5. - Vraag van de zusters i.v.m. de verkiezing van een nieuwe overste en mededeling over de dwang die op hen werd uitgeoefend om een minderbroeder als biechtvader te nemen, z.d.
- Klacht van de zusters over de verdeeldheid waaraan de minderbroeders-biechtvaders schuld hebben, z.d.
 - Vraag van Alexander Vandersmissen, pastoor van Hakendover en aartspriester van Tienen, om jurisdictie voor Pater Cornelius, gardiaan der kapucijnen te Tienen, 20 september 1773.
27. 6. - Vraag om Martin Heldermaans voor het gerecht te dwingen tot betaling van een mud tarwe erfelijk, 1609.
- Rekening voor het jaar 1627.
7. Klachten over allerlei onregelmatigheden in het klooster, 1630-1637.
8. Bericht van Adriaan Roeloffs, aartspriester van het district Tienen, over de toestand van het klooster en voorstel tot verbeteringen, 12 oktober 1656.
28. 9. Toekenning door gouverneur Don Carlos de Gurrea van vrijstelling van inkwartiering aan de witte vrouwen en aan Barbaradal, 20 april 1675.
10. Vraag van jonkheer Joannes Baptista Sarton of hij in het klooster naar zijn wapens op een gebrandschilderd glasraam mag gaan kijken, z.d.; toelating op 8 maart 1687.
11. Vraag van procurator Elisabeth Leemans of zij een man van 51 jaar als knecht mag in dienst nemen, 20 en 29 mei 1711.

29. 12. Verklaring van burgemeester en schepenen van Tienen dat het klooster ten gevolge van oorlogsomstandigheden de last van het *pain d'abbaye* niet kan dragen, 27 september 1715.
13. Beschuldigingen ingebracht door Nicolaas van Halle, pastoor van Grimde en biechtvader, i.v.m. overtredingen van het slot, z.d.
14. Vraag om reductie van missen; toestemming op 3 augustus 1693.
15. Staat van de bezittingen en het jaarlijkse inkomen van het klooster met daarbij de verklaring van wat jaarlijks aan knechten en dgl. wordt uitgegeven, getekend door Adrianus Roeloffs, landdeken van het district van Tienen, op 16 juli 1632.
16. Namen van negen witte vrouwen, 17^{de} eeuw.
17. - Handgeschreven melodie uit het antiphonale: *Benedicamus Domino*, eerste klas en de twee sinksendagen; tweede klas en de duplex.
 - Handgeschreven gebed bij het begin van de completen (Latijn).

Fonds *Mechliniensia*

31. - Decreet van aartsbisschop M. Hovius naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 21 mei 1611 (reg. 8, p. 187-192).
 - Decreet van aartsbisschop M. Hovius naar aanleiding van de visitatie op 15 mei 1619 (reg. 8, p. 192-195); ordonnantie voor de overste, 22 september 1619 (reg. 8, p. 195-197).
 - Opdracht aan Adrianus Roeloffs, aartspriester van het district Tienen, om een visitatie te houden, 23 juni 1653 (reg. 17, p. 264).
 - Decreet van aartsbisschop J. Boonen naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 20 mei 1655 (*ibid.*, p. 445-447).
 - Opdracht aan Michaël Naveau, aartspriester van het district Tienen, om een visitatie te houden, 20 april 1659; decreet van aartsbisschop A. Cruesen naar aanleiding van die visitatie, 4 augustus 1659 (reg. 17, p. 695 en 726-728).
32. - Aanneming van het Romeinse officie, 10 april 1660 (reg. 17, p. 801).

33. - Bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Octavia Pieracini tot priores, 11 oktober 1653 (reg. 18, fol. 112vo-113), herbekrachtiging, 23 december 1661 (reg. 17, p. 912).
 - Decreet van vicaris-generaal J. Van Wachtendonck naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 11 oktober 1653 (reg. 18, fol. 113-114vo).
 - Aanmaning van aartsbisschop A. Cruesen om de clausuur strikter te onderhouden, 16 oktober 1664 (reg. 21, p. 318-320).
 - Toelating van aartsbisschop A. de Berghes om te bedelen, 18 januari 1676 (reg. 27, p. 5-6).
34. - Decreet van aartsbisschop H.G. de Precipiano naar aanleiding van een visitatie en brief aan de priores, 14 november 1691 (reg. 34, p. 381-383).
 - Decreet van aartsbisschop H.G. de Precipiano naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 28 januari 1707 (reg. 38, fol. 234-235).
 - Decreet van aartsbisschop Th.Ph. d'Alsace naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 20 oktober 1725 (reg. 184, fol. 125); *idem*, 29 november 1731 (*ibid.*, fol. 220).
35. - Staat van de goederen, inkomsten en uitgaven. Attest van aartsbisschop Th.Ph. d'Alsace dat de staat correct is, 25 maart 1737 (reg. 47, fol. 145vo-147); *Idem* van 26 mei 1745 (reg. 49, fol. 56-57).
 - Decreet van aartsbisschop J.H. de Franckenberg om misbruiken uit te roeien, 3 mei 1762 (reg. 184, fol. 294vo-295).
36. - Opdracht aan A. Vander Smissen, aartspriester van Tienen, om de verkiezing van een priores voor te zitten, 13 oktober 1764; bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Elisabeth Leemans tot priores, 20 oktober 1764 (reg. 51, fol. 129), 15 oktober 1767 (reg. 52, fol. 165vo), 7 juni 1771 (reg. 51, fol. 237vo), 4 juni 1774 (reg. 54, fol. 55).
 - Bekrachtigingen van de verkiezing van Maria-Christina Robiets tot priores, 26 april 1776 en 24 april 1779 (reg. 54, fol. 118vo en 202vo); *Idem* voor Constantia Van Nerim (Nerum), 4 februari 1780 (reg. 54, fol. 222), 4 februari 1786 (reg. 56, fol. 62vo).
37. - Opdracht van Alexander Van der Smissen, aartspriester, en Petrus Bartholomaeus Van Caster, plebaan van Sint-Germanus in Tienen, om een visitatie te houden, 19 juni 1777; decreet naar aanleiding van die visitatie, 9 september 1777 (reg. 184, fol. 330vo en 334-335).

- Bekrachtiging van de herverkiezing van Gertrudis Van Autgaerden tot prioeres, 4 februari 1789 (reg. 56, fol. 133vo), 4 februari 1792 (reg. 55, fol. 231vo).
- Decreet om novice Carolina van Haegt uit het klooster weg te sturen, 14 november 1783 (reg. 56, fol. 6vo).

Verzameling *Amatus Coriache*

38. Decreet van Amatus Coriache, kapittel-vicaris *sed.vac.*, naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 29 december 1656 (reg. 5, fol. 240-243).

De Priorij Sion of Bethanië (Witte Vrouwen) in Vilvoorde.

Op 9 december 1648 vroegen enkele zusters van het klooster Bethanië te 's-Hertogenbosch aan de magistraat van Vilvoorde of ze er zich dichtbij de Leuvensepoort mochten vestigen. Die aanvraag werd aanvaard en goedgekeurd door de Raad van Brabant. Kort na 1655 overwogen de religieuzen hun intrek in Antwerpen te nemen, doch de Raad van Brabant verzette zich tegen dat plan. In 1673 begon de bouw van een prachtige kerk, die eerst in 1719 voltooid was. Om hun inkomsten te verhogen openden de zusters een pensioonaat voor jonge meisjes. Dankzij hun onderwijs viel de regering van Jozef II hen niet lastig. Tijdens de Franse overheersing werden ze in 1797 uit hun klooster verdreven en werden de gebouwen verkocht.

De religieuzen vestigden zich in een huisje van het begijnhof, waar zij tot 1842 verbleven. De twee overlevenden gingen dan in de Molenstraat wonen. In 1844 overleed de laatste zuster⁵.

- 39. 1. Verkiezing van oversten, 1668-1794.
- 40. 2. Reguliere bezoeken en decreten, 1726-1754.
- 41. 3. Aanvaarding van de religieuzen tot de inkleding en de professie, 1651-1793.
- 42. 4. Moeilijkheden met de biechtvaders, 1679-1754; schrijven van Joannes Franciscus Foppens, kanunnik, aan de aartsbisschop over

⁵ C. VAN GESTEL, *o.c.*, t. I, p. 132-133; J. LE ROY, *o.c.*, t. I, p. 86-87; A. d'HOOP, *o.c.*, t. IV, p. 375-376; J. NAUWELAERS, *Histoire de la ville de Vilvorde*, t. II, Parijs - Brussel - Kortrijk, 1950, p. 336-341; E. PERSOONS, *Prieuré de Sion ou de Béthanie à Vilvorde*, in *Monasticon belge*, t. IV, vol. 5, p. 1333-1336.

zijn onderhoud met de prioires aangaande het ereloon van de rector-biechtvader, 24 juli 1732.

43. 5. Keure van de verhuring van een half bunder land door de priorij aan Jeroom Wijns, 1728.
44. 6. Klacht van de econome vnl. tegen prioires Maria Theresia Van Aken, bij het kapittel van Sint-Rombout te Mechelen, 16 maart 1754.
7. Lijst van zusters uit afgeschafte kloosters die in Sion verbleven, 1786.
8. Brief van prioires Theresia Van Geertsma aangaande het gedrag van zuster Elisabeth Leemans, 11 april 1793.

Fonds *Mechliniensia*

45. - Opdracht aan Leonardus Bosch, abt van de premonstratenzenabdij van Berne, die tijdelijk in Vilvoorde verbleef, om in het convent van Bethanië een begraafplaats voor de zusters in te zegenen, 14 augustus 1664 (reg. 21, p. 286).
- Verordeningen voor de prioires, 22 februari 1685 (reg. 30, p. 286-288).
- Oplegging van statuten en aanvaarding ervan, resp. 26 juni en 3 juli 1679 (reg. 28, p. 56 en 59).
46. - Toelating om 3000 florijnen op te nemen voor het herstel van de kerk, 28 maart 1719 (reg. 40, fol. 195vo).
- Toelating om gedurende drie maanden te bedelen voor de bouw van een nieuwe kerk, 16 juli 1716 (reg. 43, fol. 22vo-23ro).
- Bevel van de aartsbisschop om de pachthoeve te verminderen, eventueel helemaal op te heffen, 6 maart 1745 (reg. 184, fol. 267).
47. - Bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Marie-Thérèse Van Aken tot prioires, 8 mei 1752 (reg. 50, fol. 74vo).
- Decreet van aartsbisschop Th.Ph. d'Alsace naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 24 september 1752; herhaling van het decreet naar aanleiding van de ontevredenheid bij de religieuzen, 2 november 1752 (reg. 184, fol. 267 en 272).
- Decreet van aartsbisschop Th.Ph. d'Alsace naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 12 maart 1754 (reg. 184, fol. 273vo-275vo).

48. - Bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Marie-Josèphe de Moreez tot prioires, 11 mei 1758 (reg. 50, fol. 238vo).
- Opdracht aan Ludovicus Carolus van Vlaenderen, aartspriester van Mechelen-Oost, om de verkiezing van een nieuwe prioires voor te zitten, 16 mei 1764; bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Carolina Vander Veken tot prioires, 16 mei 1764 (reg. 52, fol. 117); herbekrachtigingen, 19 mei 1767 (reg. 52, fol. 156), 25 mei 1773 (reg. 54, fol. 27).
49. - Toelating aan Philippus De Wint, pastoor van Sint-Niklaaskerk te Brussel, om zijn zieke zuster te bezoeken, 12 februari 1769 (reg. 52, fol. 194).
- Opdracht aan Ludovicus Carolus Van Vlaenderen, aartspriester van Mechelen-Oost, om de verkiezing van een prioires voor te zitten, 18 mei 1770; bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Carolina Van der Veken tot prioires, 25 mei 1770 (reg. 51, fol. 207).
- Opdracht aan Joannes Henricus Haenen, vicaris-generaal, om Sion te visiteren naar aanleiding van de tweedracht in het klooster, 12 september 1774 (reg. 184, fol. 319).
- Bekrachtigingen van de verkiezing van Theresia van Geertsæm tot prioires, 10 juni 1788 (reg. 56, fol. 119vo), 2 juni 1791 (*ibid.*, fol. 222vo).

De abdij Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Roosenberg in Waasmunster.

De juiste datum van de stichting zou 13 januari 1238 zijn. Walter de Marvis, bisschop van Doornik, gaf aan de kanunnikessen van de abdij Prés-Porchins bij Doornik de toelating om een klooster te stichten op een terrein van drie bunders op het gehucht Hogendonk te Waasmunster. Het zou een victorinnenabdij zijn zoals die van Prés-Porchins, de tweede aldus in het bisdom Doornik. De religieuzen werden uit hun abdij verjaagd op 23 januari 1797.

De vader van prioires Jeanne Van Doorslaer De ten Ryen, raadgever van de Soevereine Raad bezat sinds 1794 de heerlijkheid Ten Ryen te Waasmunster en financierde de bouw van een nieuw klooster. Zo kon de abdij te Waasmunster herleven. In 1971 ging het beheer van Roosenberg over op de overste van de Mariazusters van Franciscus te Waasmunster⁶. In 1975 verkochten deze zusters de oude abdij

⁶ P. BATSELIER, *De abdij Roosenberg. Getuige van een rijk verleden*, Waasmunster, 1973 (Catalogo van de tentoonstelling in juli 1973; *Het*

aan de zusters van de Verrezen Zaligmaker van Sint-Niklaas, die ze afbraken en er een nieuw klooster bouwden voor de oude zusters van de Congregatie. Alleen de kapel blijft nog over als opslagplaats.

50. 1. Bevel uit Rome om de clausuur toe te passen, 19 april 1624.
2. Schrijven van de kardinaal-prefect van de congregatie der kloosteraangelegenheden aan de aartsbisschop met een brief van de abdis, over de niet-toepassing van de clausuur in Vlaanderen, 1625.
3. Brief van koning Philips IV en van aartshertogin Isabella over het protest van de zusters aangaande de hervorming en de clausuur, resp. 27 maart en 29 juni 1627.
51. 4. Toewijzing door aartsbisschop A. de Berghes aan Marie Alexandrine Noyelles van een levenslang pensioen van 200 florijnen per jaar ten laste van het tijdelijke van de abdij; aanvaarding van die verplichting door abdis Jacoba Vander Haeghen, beide 9 februari 1686.

De priorij Onze-Lieve-Vrouw Ter Elze in Zichem.

In 1468 ging een begijnengemeenschap tot de derde orde van Sint-Franciscus over door toedoen van Ludovicus de Bourbon, prins-bisschop van Luik.

Na amper zes jaar in 1474 werden de zusters reguliere kanunnikessen van Sint-Augustinus. Hun klooster werd in 1580 geplunderd en de kerk verwoest, maar nadien opnieuw opgebouwd; in 1627 werd de nieuwe kerk gewijd.

De priorij stond aanvankelijk onder de jurisdictie van de abt van Korsendonk, maar aartsbisschop Jacobus Boonen (1621-1655) vertrouwde ze toe aan de zorg van de abt van Averbode.

Tussen 1660 en 1797 lijkt het een vitale en relatief gelukkige gemeenschap te zijn geweest. Er heerste een goede verstandhouding en eensgezindheid. Het aantal religieuzen bleef op peil.

Rijksarchief in de provinciën. Overzicht van de fondsen en verzamelingen, I De Vlaamse provinciën, Brussel, 1975, p. 174; L. BROUWERS, *De abdij Roosenberg te Waasmunster 1238-1971*, s.l. (Mechelen), 1982, 71 blz.; K. VAN CAEKENBERGHE, *Bibliografie van de victorinnenabdij Roosenberg te Waasmunster (1238-1971)* in *Annalen van de Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Kring van het Land van Waas*, 94 (1991), 243-252. P. BATSELIER, *Abbaye de Roosenberg à Waasmunster*, in *Monasticon belge*, t. VII, vol. 4, 1984, p. 749-759.

Het klooster werd opgeheven op 1 september 1796 en de zusters verjaagd op 14 september 1797. Het kloosterbezit werd in beslag genomen en later verkocht⁷.

52. 1. Ordonnanties van de aartsbisschop, 17de-18de eeuw; statuten van aartsbisschop J. Boonen, 8 maart 1642, cfr. *supra* Priorij Sint-Niklaasberg, Aarschot, nr. 2 en priorij Mariëndaal Diest, nr. 1.
53. 2. Vraag om een overste, 1 mei 1623; verkiezing van oversten, 1640-1795.
54. 3. Reguliere bezoeken en decreten, 1569-1742.
55. 4. Aanvaarding van religieuzen tot het noviciaat en de professie, 1608-1790.
56. 5. Brieven van en over biechtvaders; vraag om biechtvaders; voorstelling van biechtvaders, veelal religieuzen van de abdij van Averbode, 1724-1789.
57. 6. Onvolledig register over de inkomsten en de uitgaven, ca. 1522.
7. Verklaring van prioeres Vincente Triapins en de zusters dat de aartsbisschop hun geestelijke overste is en het visitatierecht heeft, 21 november 1591 en augustus 1604.
8. Klacht van Gerardus Moens bij aartsbisschop M. Hovius omtrent het verval van de kloosterlijke tucht in de laatste twee jaren, met voorbeelden, 20 november 1612.
9. Schepenakte van Antwerpen over een erfenis waarin een zuster van de priorij Ter Elze betrokken is, 16 oktober 1614 (charter).
58. 10. Klacht van aartspriester Joannes van Rivieren tegen de inmen-ging van leken in kerkelijke zaken, waaronder de zusters te lijden hebben, 21 december 1677; klacht van prioeres Barbara De Smet

⁷ C. VAN GESTEL, *o.c.*, t. I, p. 251; J. LE ROY, *o.c.*, t. I, p. 164; P. DANIELS, *Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in d'Elze te Sichein*, Diest, 1904; A. d'HOOP, *o.c.*, t. IV, p. 357; E. PERSOONS, *Prieuré de Notre-Dame Ter Elze à Zichem*, in *Monasticon belge*, t. IV, vol. 5, 1971, p. 1275-1281; M. VAN DER EYCKEN, *Een pijnlijke periode uit de geschiedenis van Zichem*, in *De Brabantse folklore*, nr. 205, 1975, 53, 56, 58; D. LAUREYS *Het Elzenklooster te Zichem. Een slotklooster van reguliere kanunnikessen van Sint-Augustinus (1660-1797)*, licentiaatsverhandeling, Leuven, 1987, XXVII - 265 p. - We vonden o.a. niet weer een *rituale* en de staat van de goederen van 1796, die in 1971 nog tot de bisschoppelijke archivalia behoorden volgens E. PERSOONS, *o.c.*, p. 1275.

(Smidt) omtrent de lasten die magistraat en leger op het klooster leggen, 21 december 1677.

11. Negen brieven omtrent zaken van huiselijke aard, zoals klachten over o.a. de commensalen (1679), de verzachting van de vasten (1680); over zuster Coeckelcoeren (1705), de reductie van missen (1748), de indienstneming van een knecht (1752) en over de twist tussen rector Petrus Sneyers en een aantal zusters, 29 november 1782.

59. 12. Klacht van Ferdinand van Aerschot, pastoor van Zichem, aangaande het begrafenisrecht ten aanzien van zusters en inwonenden, 12 februari 1680; ruzies tussen Petrus Celestinus Van den Bosch, pastoor van Zichem en aartspriester, en Fredericus Van der Roost, rector van Ter Else, over hun wederzijdse rechten, 1751, 7 stukken.

13. Protest van priores Norberta Quaperdts en 21 zusters tegen de geruchten dat ze de afschaffing van hun klooster zouden verlangen, 18 augustus 1796.

Fonds *Mechliniensia*

60. - Ordonnantie van aartsbisschop H.G. de Precipiano tot het herstellen van de omgevallen muur, die het slot afscheidt van de woonplaats der knechten en dienstdoden en verbod om na de completen elkanders kamer te betreden, 30 januari 1704 (reg. 38, fol. 125).
 - Toelating om een proces te voeren, 16 februari 1712 (reg. 39, fol. 22vo).
 - Toelating om een zilveren monstrans (ostensoire) te verkopen voor het herstel van de stenen kerkvloer, 14 december 1723 (reg. 40, fol. 323).
61. - Decreet van aartsbisschop Th.Ph. d'Alsace over de straf voor twee zusters die zich slecht gedragen, 13 december 1724 (reg. 184, fol. 103-104).
 - Vergiffenis voor zuster Maria van Doice, 22 oktober 1727 (reg. 45, fol. 195vo).
 - Decreet van aartsbisschop Th.Ph. d'Alsace naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 21 november 1731 (reg. 184, fol. 206-209vo).
 - Vraag of werk- of lekezuster Monica Vanden Branden koor- of slotzuster mag worden, en toelating, 17 juni 1739 (reg. 48, fol. 27).

62. - Notariële overeenkomst tussen Petrus Celestinus Van den Bosch, pastoor te Zichem en landdeken van het district Diest enerzijds, en priores Gertrudis Weckx en zusters anderzijds, omtrent de vraag of de commensalen al dan niet onderworpen zijn aan de parochiekerk van Zichem, 6 februari 1753 (reg. 50, fol. 106-107).
63. - Opdracht om de professie voor Norberta Quaperdts en Maria Geboers te ontvangen, 2 juni 1759 (reg. 59, fol. 15vo).
 - Opdracht aan de aartspriester van Diest om de verkiezing voor te zitten van een nieuwe priores, 20 december 1760; bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Rosa Verluyten tot priores, 19 januari 1761 (reg. 51, fol. 64 en 67).
64. - Opdracht aan Carolus Quintinus van Stalle, pastoor in Halen en aartspriester van het district Diest, om de plechtige geloften te aanvaarden van Rosa Van den Berghe en Scolastica de Cock, 5 november 1763 (reg. 51, fol. 111vo).
 - Opdracht aan C.Q. van Stalle om de verkiezing van een priores voor te zitten, 4 juni 1765; bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Barbara Deckers, 18 juni 1765 (reg. 51, fol. 135 en 136).
65. - Herbekrachtigingen van de verkiezing van Theresia Jannes tot priores, 23 april 1771 (reg. 51, fol. 231), 30 januari 1768 (reg. 52, fol. 168), 21 april 1774 (reg. 54, fol. 45).
 - Bekrachtigingen van de verkiezing van Norberta Quaperdts tot priores, 22 april 1777 (reg. 54, fol. 154), 17 april 1780 (reg. 54, fol. 225vo), 30 april 1783 (reg. 55, fol. 30), 29 april 1789 (reg. 56, fol. 142), 27 april 1792, *ibid.*, fol. 243), 28 april 1795 (reg. 57, fol. 68vo).

De priorij Bethanië in Zoutleeuw.

In januari 1484 kwamen enkele reguliere kanunnikessen van Sint-Augustinus uit het klooster van Lens-Saint-Remy nabij Hannut te Zoutleeuw een gebouw betrekken dat ze enkele jaren voordien als refugiehuis hadden aangekocht. In februari van dat jaar woonde Margaretha van York de installatie van de communiteit bij. In 1486 keerden enkele religieuzen naar het klooster te Lens weer en kwamen drie zusters uit Sint-Niklaasberg in Aarschot naar Zoutleeuw.

Op 10 maart 1487 bekrachtigde Joannes de Hornes, prins-bisschop van Luik, de stichting. In 1526 waren er 18 religieuzen, twee novicen, 14 conversen en vijf donaten.

Nadat twee zusters van de priorij van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van zeven smarten te Helen-bos, t.g.v. de troebelen van 1584 naar Bethanië te Zoutleeuw overgegaan waren, werd hun priorij in die van Zoutleeuw geïncorporeerd⁸.

In 1596 verenigde de priorij van Jeruzalem te Landen zich met die van Bethanië met de toestemming van aartsbisschop M. Hovius⁹. In november 1606 nam ze de laatste overgebleven grijze zusters van de stad op. In 1735 kende zij van alle kloosterinstellingen het laagste aantal kloosterlingen, nl. acht. In 1769 werd de kloosterkerk afgebroken en op 8 augustus 1778 wijdde kardinaal J.H. de Franckenberg de nieuwe kerk in.

In 1787 waren er negen religieuzen, vier lekezusters, vijf knechten en drie meiden. De priorij werd op 1 september 1796 afgeschaft en op 26 september 1798 verkocht. Een schuur en enkele grafstenen blijven alleen over¹⁰.

66. 1. Verkiezing van oversten, 1716-1791.
67. 2. Reguliere bezoeken en decreten, 1585-1773.

⁸ Op 13 juli 1510 gaf Erard de la Marck, prins-bisschop van Luik, zijn toestemming tot de omvorming van de kluis, gelegen bij de kerk van Bos, tot een klooster van reguliere kanunnikessen van Sint-Augustinus. In 1526 telde het klooster dertien religieuzen, drie novicen en zeven inwonenden, cfr. *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, t. I, 1864, p. 91-95 (= akte van 13 juli 1510); E. PERSOONS, *Prieuré de Notre Dame des sept douleurs à Helen-Bos*, in *Monasticon belge*, t. IV, vol. 5, p. 1273-1274. – De documenten met betrekking tot de incorporatie van de priorij van Helen-Bos bij die van Bethanië zouden zich in het aartsbisschoppelijke archief bevinden, cfr. E. PERSOONS, *o.c.*, p. 1273. We vonden ze echter niet weer.

⁹ Cfr. *infra*, nr. 8/6; E. PERSOONS, *Prieuré de Jérusalem à Landen*, in *Monasticon belge*, t. IV, vol. 5, p. 1209. – Goedkeuringsakte van aartsbisschop M. Hovius, cfr. P.V. BETS, *Zoutleeuw. Beschrijving, geschiedenis, instellingen*, t. II, Tienen, 1888, p. 299-300, nr. 42.

De documenten m.b.t. de verkoop van de goederen in Landen zouden zich in het aartsbisschoppelijke archief bevinden, cfr. E. PERSOONS, *o. et l.c.* We vonden ze niet weer.

¹⁰ P. BETS, *Zoutleeuw. Beschrijving, geschiedenis, instellingen*, t. I, Tienen, 1888, p. 203-219; 282-283; A. d'HOOP, *o.c.*, t. IV, p. 258-259; E. PERSOONS, *Prieuré de Béthanie à Léau*, in *Monasticon belge*, t. IV, vol. 5, p. 1201-1207.

58. 3. Ondervraging van de religieuzen tot het novitiat en de professie, 1673-1793.
59. 4. Voorstellen tot de benoemingen van biechtvaders, benoemingen, ontslagen, afwijzingen te aanvaarden, moeilijkheden met de zusters, 1738-1794.
70. 5. a) Schrijven van Joannes Ariëns, landdeken, aan aartsbisshop Th.Ph. d'Alsace:
- omtrent de verkiezing van een procuratresse naar aanleiding van een ondervraging daaromtrent op 13 januari 1733;
 - over klachten over drie jonge zusters en uiteenzetting over de plotse dood van de plebaan, die per testament zijn hele bezit aan zijn moeder te Mechelen had geschonken, 18 januari 1733;
 - vraag over reductie van missen wegens de rampen die het klooster troffen, 12 december 1737;
 - over het voornemen om een nieuwe schuur te bouwen, 14 augustus 1739;
 - over een toelating aan de prioires in Spa een waterkuur te volgen, 2 juli 1740;
 - over zijn bezoek aan de kapel van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-van-de-Osseweg, 27 november 1740;
 - klachten over de prioires en over zijn vraag om de rekeningen na te zien, 1741-1742;
 - over ongeregelde heden in de rekeningen, 27 januari 1742, 11 mei 1744;
 - over het sluiten van de buitenpoort van de kerk, 27 februari 1743;
 - over de schuld die het klooster hem nog moet betalen vanaf 1737, 15 november 1751.
71. b) Schrijven, waarin Emmanuelle Donnai, prioires, en de andere zusters zich bij Michael Holvoet, deken van het kapittel van Sint-Rombout, beklagen over J. Ariëns, landdeken, 1741-1742.
- c) Het oordeel van frater Thaddaeus, kapucijn en biechtvader, over J. Ariëns, landdeken, 12 december 1751.
72. 6. - Getuigenis van een geneesheer van Hoei dat prioires Emmanuelle Donnai beter een tijd in Hoei zou verblijven alvorens naar Zoutleeuw weer te keren, 11 augustus 1740.

- Klachten en bestraffingen, 1741-1745, 1781.
 - Dispensatie van vleesderven, 10 november 1774, en verlengingen ervan tot 1785.
 - Bericht van prioeres Lambertine Marquet en acht zusters aan de aartsbisschop dat hun klooster op de lijst der afgeschafte kloosters staat, z.d.
 - Vraag van prioeres Jeanne Françoise Toiram of ze recht heeft over een deel in de erfenis van de overleden aartsbisschop H.G. de Precipiano, 15 juli 1711.
73. 7. - Vraag van prioeres Lambertine Marquet of ze mag bedelen voor de bouw van een nieuwe kerk en of de mis intussen in het kapittelhuis mag worden opgedragen z.d.; bekrachtiging door de landdeken, 2 februari 1769.
- Wijdingsakte van de nieuwe kerk waarin de onderwerping der zusters aan de aartsbisschop, 8 augustus 1778.
74. 8. - Aanstelling van vier procuratressen die in alle omstandigheden het klooster zullen verdedigen, 24 januari 1584.
- Verklaring van de schepenen van Zoutleeuw dat Maria van Halen haar schulden moet betalen, 11 maart 1584 (charter).
 - Vraag om enkele stukken land te mogen verkopen wegens de uiterste nood waarin de zusters verkeren; toestemming op 7 mei 1586.
 - Aanstelling door aartsbisschop Joannes Hauchinus van Petrus Matthias van Oosterwijk, reguliere kanunnik en biechtvader van het klooster, tot beheerder der goederen, 25 augustus 1586.
75. - Goedkeuring door Henricus Cuyckens, deken van de Sint-Pieterskerk te Leuven, van de aankoop van een huis met tuin, 27 april 1592.
- Decreet van aartsbisschop M. Hovius over de annexatie van de priorij Jeruzalem te Landen door Bethanië, 20 december 1596 (charter en afschrift). Cfr. E. PERSOONS, *Prieuré de Jérusalem, à Landen*, in *Monasticon belge*, t. IV, vol. 5, p. 1209.
 - Rekwest waarin de religieuzen de keizerin vragen ervoor te zorgen dat zij de hun beloofde erfenis van Nicole Turchart, gestorven *ab intestato*, zouden ontvangen. Joannes Petrus Velasco beweerde echter dat hij recht had op de erfenis, z.d.; lijst van al wat Nicole Turchart aan de zusters in bewaring gegeven had met de uitdrukkelijke wil alles aan het klooster te schenken, 1 augustus 1634.

76. - Over de ruil van velden te Geetbets met beter gelegen velden rond Zoutleeuw, 7 februari 1637.
- Inkomsten, 1641.
- Staat van de onroerende bezittingen (bossen, landen, beemden, heide) en renten en van de lasten en de schulden, 15 mei 1705.
77. Dossier:
- Kopie van het testament van Reinier van Santberghen, 5 januari 1472, waarin hij zijn onroerend goed in twee gelijke delen verdeelt. De ene helft was voor de priorij Mariëndaal in Diest, de andere helft voor de priorij Bethanië in Zoutleeuw. Deze laatste moest de opbrengst jaarlijks als aalmoezen onder de behoeftige bloedverwanten die de naam van de stichter droegen, verdelen.
- Verdeling der goederen door aartsbisschop M. Hovius, 19 oktober 1611.
- Klacht van de priorij Bethanië over de verdeling; uitnodiging van beide partijen tot verdediging van hun standpunten; wederzijdse verdediging, 1712, en pogingen tot akkoord, 1713-1714.
78. - Staat van de jaarlijkse inkomsten en lasten, 29 maart 1734; vraag om geld te mogen opnemen, z.d.
- Verklaring van de priores, twee discreten en andere religieuzen, dat zij 97 gulden, 18 stuivers en drie oorden ontvingen uit de verkoop van grond voor de aanleg van de nieuwe steenweg door hun goed, 18 mei 1734.
- Slot van de rekeningen van 1734 tot 1741.
- Reductie van missen en jaargetijden, 1737.
- Vraag aan de aartsbisschop om ten beste te spreken voor de vrijstelling van de bede en de 20ste penning, 28 april 1738.
79. - Staat van de bruidsschatten en gebruik ervan; uitleg over de geldelijke toestand, ontevredenheid van de aartsbisschop, 1742.
- Protest tegen de belasting van de stad op hoornvee en schapen voor eigen gebruik, en vraag om het bos te mogen dunnen, 18 februari 1743.
- Getuigenis van de schepenen van de heerlijkheid van Neerlinter dat de rooiing van boompjes in het bos van Bethanië te

- Neerlinter, genoemd "bempt van Loven", geen schade berokkent aan het bos, 22 februari 1743; toelating tot de verkoop van de boompjes, 25 februari 1743; toelating van de schepen tot het dunnen van het bos, 19 januari 1750.
80. - Noodkreet van priores Emmanuelle Donnai over de toestand van Bethanië, 22 februari 1743.
- Vraag om bomen te mogen verkopen voor de betaling van schulden, 1750; toelating en afrekening van de schulden, 10 november 1760.
- Notariële akte over de ruil van gronden met Maria-Christina Briers, 23 december 1762.
- Vraag om een stuk grond te mogen verkopen, z.d.; toelating op 29 februari 1768.
- Vraag van J. Goossens, kapelaan van het gasthuis van Zoutleeuw, in verband met het geld dat de zusters van Bethanië zijn moeder hadden toevertrouwd ten tijde van de Franse Revolutie en dat ze ooit later aan wederkerende zusters van Bethanië zou overhandigen, z.d.; antwoord van kardinaal Engelbertus Sterckx (1832-1867), 22 augustus 18.. .
81. 9. - Toekenning door aartsbisschop M. Hovius van aflaten aan alle zusters en alle inwonenden bij elk bezoek aan hun kapel van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Scherpenheuvel, 1 april 1609 (charter).
- Overeenkomst met de kapucijnen van Sint-Truiden die het lijnwaad van kerk en sacristie zouden wassen en herstellen, 25 augustus 1751; klacht van Rumoldus Ludovicus De Brie, pastoor van Landen en aartspriester van Zoutleeuw, in naam van de zusters bij Ludovicus Deudon, secretaris van het aartsbisdome, ingediend over het vele werk dat ze daarmee hebben, 20 april 1755.
- Vraag omtrent de sluier der conversen, 19 januari 1773.

Fonds *Mechliniensia*

82. - Toelating van Henricus Vanden Broecke, genaamd de Marets, deken van de collegiale kerk van Sint-Goedele te Brussel, vicaris en officiaal van de Mechelse Curia *sed.vac.* aan de zusters om te bedelen wegens hun armoede, 9 maart 1591 (reg. 2, fol. 180).
- Bevestiging door aartsbisschop M. Hovius dat de laatste der grijze zusters te Zoutleeuw met het overschot der inkomsten overgaat

- naar het klooster van Bethanië aldaar, 20 mei 1606 (reg. 6, fol. 177vo-178vo).
- Getuigenissen onder ede dat Barbara Lotsinger, acht jaar oud, genas in de kapel van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Scherpenheuvel in het klooster van Bethanië, 14 februari 1619 (reg. 8, p. 161-163).
33. - Decreet van aartsbisschop J. Boonen naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 27 juni 1645 (reg. 16, fol. 82vo-83vo).
- Bekrachtiging door aartsbisschop J. Boonen van de verkiezing van Barbara de Tournai tot prioeres, 28 juni 1645 (reg. 16, fol. 83vo-84).
 - Getuigenis van de armoede waarin de zusters leven, 29 oktober 1698 (reg. 36, p. 110-111).
 - Opdracht aan Guillelmus Georgius de Nijs, pastoor van Geetbets en aartspriester van het district Zoutleeuw, om te visiteren, 1 juni 1702 (reg. 38, fol. 24vo).
84. - Bevestiging van de herbenoeming van Maria Pica tot prioeres, 7 juni 1719 (reg. 40, fol. 205).
- Decreet van aartsbisschop Th.Ph. d'Alsace naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 21 oktober 1725 (reg. 184, fol. 125vo-126vo).
 - Toelating aan Zuster Maria Emmanuelle Donnai om naar Aken te gaan, 3 juli 1727 en 30 juli 1728 (reg. 45, fol. 175 en 229).
 - Decreet van aartsbisschop Th.Ph. d'Alsace met herhaling van de voorschriften van het decreet van 21 oktober 1725, 16 september 1732 (reg. 184, fol. 227vo-228).
85. - Toelating om een lekezuster tot procuratresse te benoemen, 21 januari 1733 (reg. 46, fol. 148).
- Vraag om een nicht van de prioeres, 17 jaar oud, te mogen inkleden; toelating, 11 januari 1738 (reg. 47, fol. 194).
 - Decreet van aartsbisschop Th.Ph. d'Alsace naar aanleiding van een visitatie, 28 januari 1739 (reg. 184, fol. 244vo-245).
 - Toelating om Maria Catharina Marquet als leerling te aanvaarden, 31 januari 1739 (reg. 48, fol. 5).
86. - Vraag aan het vicariaat om een graanschuur te mogen bouwen met de bruidsschat van Maria Anna Chaumon; antwoord van het vicariaat: het geld moet dienen voor de herstelling van kerk en toren; het overschot wordt belegd en de landdeken ontvangt de afrekening, 26 augustus 1739 (reg. 48, fol. 39).

- Toelating aan priores Emmanuela Donnai om zes maanden lang in Spa en Aken een waterkuur te doen, 6 juli 1740 (reg. 48, fol. 75).
 - Dispensaties van het vleesderven in de advent, 16 november 1750, 9 november 1751, 15 november 1752, 28 november 1756, 9 november 1757 (reg. 50, fol. 11vo, 50vo, 100vo, 199vo, 225).
 - Toelatingen om een leerling te aanvaarden, 4 januari en 22 februari 1752 (reg. 50, fol. 55vo en 62vo).
87. - Bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Augustine Fourneau tot priores, 4 mei 1752 (reg. 50, fol. 73).
- Bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Isabella Clara de Bosere tot priores, 22 april 1755; herverkiezing, 22 april 1755 (reg. 50, fol. 167 en 238), *idem*, 6 mei 1764 (reg. 51, fol. 117).
88. - Toelating aan zuster Anna Maria Buijtenaken om buiten het klooster te vertoeven, 9 augustus 1757 (reg. 50, fol. 219).
- Toelating om Ida Olbrechts te aanvaarden als buitenzuster voor de som van 60 patakons, 20 januari 1759 (reg. 51, fol. 2vo).
 - Toelating aan zuster Francisca Putecijs om een maand buiten het klooster te vertoeven, 22 september 1764 (reg. 51, fol. 125).
 - Toelating aan Augustina Fourneau om een maand buiten het klooster te wonen, 25 augustus 1766; hernieuwing voor een maand, 22 september 1766 (reg. 51, fol. 153vo).
89. - Opdracht aan Rumoldus Ludovicus De Brie, aartspriester van Zoutleeuw, om de verkiezing van een priores voor te zitten, 25 april 1767; bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Lambertina Marquet tot priores, 6 mei 1767, 9 mei 1770 (reg. 51, fol. 163 en 207); herbekrachtigingen, 5 mei 1773 en 10 mei 1779 (reg. 54, fol. 26 en 203); 12 mei 1782 (reg. 55, fol. 9vo), 30 mei 1791 (reg. 55, fol. 209); 16 mei 1785 en 21 mei 1788 (reg. 56, fol. 47 en 119).
- Toelating om Maria Louiza Hanry als lekezuster te aanvaarden, 16 oktober 1770 (reg. 51, fol. 213vo).
 - Opdracht aan R.L. De Brie, aartspriester, om de nieuwe kloosterkerk in te zegenen, 19 oktober 1770 (reg. 51, fol. 214vo).
 - Opdracht aan R.L. De Brie, aartspriester van Zoutleeuw, en aan Franciscus Melchior Vanderlinden, pastoor van Dormaal, om samen het klooster te visiteren, 1 augustus 1773; decreet naar aanleiding van die visitatie, 25 oktober 1773 (reg. 184, fol. 310vo en 311-312vo).

10. - Akte van de consecratie van de kloosterkerk, op 8 augustus 1778 door Kardinaal J.H. de Franckenberg (reg. 53, fol. 149vo).

Dr. Grauwen, *Inventaris van kapittel- en parochie-archief van Zoutleeuw*, bewaard in het Aartsbisshoppelijk Archief te Mechelen:

11. nr. 16: Visitatieverslagen en beslissingen van de aartsbisdommen of hun afgevaardigden, o.a. in Bethanië, 1606-1791.
nr. 69: Klachten tegen de inkwartiering van soldaten o.a. in Bethanië, 1579-1692.
nr. 166: Brief van Hubert Bonaerts over een contract tussen het klooster van Bethanië en Hendrik Franssens en over het bouwen van een pastorie in Orsmaal, 7 juli 1650, 1 fol.

FRANKRIJK (FRANS-VLAANDEREN)

Het convent van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Zeven Fonteynen in Steenvoorde.

In het begin van de 15^{de} eeuw schonk Mathieu de Licques, heer van Steenvoorde, het bestaande hospitaal met bijbehoren te Steenvoorde aan de reguliere kanunnikessen van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw van Zeven Fonteynen. Tot dan toe werd het bestuurd en onderhouden door enkele leken-provisoren. Zij zouden er arme pelgrims en passanten herbergen, en eventueel liefdevol verzorgen. Hun statuten werden opgemaakt door Louis de Luxemburg, bisschop van Terwaan, in 1434. Zij bezaten zes boerderijen en die zorgden voor hun inkomen. Wellicht werd het convent opgeheven in 1793¹¹.

12. 1. Enkele statuten van het hospitaal, uit een boek geschreven in 1434.
2. Bekrachtiging van de verkiezing van Maria Francisca Le fort tot overste door Joannes Franciscus de Robles, bisschop van Ieper, 10 mei 1659.

¹¹ H. DEFEUTREL, *Notes sur Steenvoorde et le couvent de Notre-Dame des Sept Fontaines*, in *Annales du Comité de Flandre*, t. VII (1863-1864), 1864, p. 126-151.

3. Klacht bij Amatus Coriache, vicaris-generaal, en vraag dat de bisschop van Ieper zich niet zou bemoeien met de verkiezing van een overste en een biechtvader; voorlegging aan de aartsbisschop van het geschil tussen de bisschoppen van Douai en Ieper omtrent de jurisdictie in Steenvoorde; protest bij de aartsbisschop van de gewone biechtvader in eigen naam en in naam van de overste, beiden afgezet en vervangen door Martinus Praets, bisschop van Ieper; aanstelling van twee kanunniken van Ieper tot het bijwonen van de verkiezing en de installatie van de overste, 1669-1670.
94. 4. Beroep van Françoise Pouplen, overste, op de bisschoppen om zich te verzetten tegen de tijdelijke macht die de kloosters wil brengen onder de wereldlijke overheid, z.d.

NEDERLAND

Het Convent Mariaweide of der Witte Nonnen in Venlo.

De stichting vond plaats in 1413. Joannes de Heinsberg, bisschop van Luik, gaf de augustinessen op 4 november 1455 de toelating om zich naar het voorbeeld van Windesheim met de zusters van Maaseik, Roermond en 's-Hertogenbosch tot een congregatie te verenigen. Paus Calixtus III keurde de vereniging goed op 7 december 1456. In 1798 werd het klooster opgeheven; in 1927 verdwenen de laatste overblijfselen¹².

95. Protest tegen de valse geruchten, door het dagblad "L'éclair" verspreid, dat de zusters de afschaffing wensten, 1794, ondertekend door de rector, de prioeres en dertig zusters (idem voor het norbertinessenklooster van de H. Geest te Venlo)¹³.

Het Convent Maria Wijngaard (Vinea Beatae Mariae) of der Witte Vrouwen in Weert.

De zusters volgden aanvankelijk de derde regel van Sint-Franciscus. Zij gingen in 1450 over naar de regel van Sint-Augustinus. Zij werden ook Witte Vrouwen genoemd. In 1797 werd het klooster opge-

¹² M. SCHOENGEM, *Monasticon Batavum*, t. II, *De augustijner orden*, Amsterdam, 1941, p. 196.

¹³ ID., *o.c.*, p. 196.

heven. Op 4 december 1843 vestigden de birgitiessen van Uden zich in de verlaten gebouwen¹⁴.

16. 1. Toelating van Ludovicus de Bourbon, bisschop van Luik, aan de religieuzen om zelf hun visitator te kiezen, 10 juni 1461.
2. Protest tegen de valse geruchten, door het dagblad "L'Eclair" verspreid, dat de zusters de afschaffing wensten, ondertekend door de directeur, de priores en 24 zusters, 10 september 1796.

¹⁴ ID., *o.c.*, p. 203.

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Maurice Geerard (1919-1999)

Le 24 juin 1999, aux premières heures du jour, apparemment sans s'en apercevoir, Maurice Geerard a quitté le monde du sommeil pour celui où nous ne sommes plus que souvenir. Ainsi disparaissait inopinément un des hommes qui, ces dernières années, ont le plus influencé et promu l'étude des écrits chrétiens, surtout grecs et orientaux, des huit premiers siècles. Pourtant, pendant longtemps, rien n'avait semblé le destiner à un tel rôle.

Il était né le 30 décembre 1919 dans une famille modeste de Zomergem, un gros bourg de Flandre Orientale, à une douzaine de kilomètres à l'ouest de Gand, et était le second enfant d'une famille qui allait en compter quatre. Son père était ouvrier, d'abord dans une fabrique de pneus, plus tard dans le bâtiment. Maurice n'aurait fréquenté que l'école communale de Zomergem, où n'étaient organisées que les six années primaires, puis deux moyennes, si un instituteur, un vicaire, et surtout un médecin, le Docteur Richard Vanderhaeghen, n'avaient été frappés par son intelligence. Ils obtinrent donc des parents qu'on laissât étudier l'enfant : celui-ci fut dirigé vers l'école apostolique¹ liée au collège des Jésuites de Turnhout. Maurice avait 13 ans quand il y arriva ; il était intelligent, mais il avait aussi du caractère, et celui-ci se développa rapidement : pendant la 5^e année d'humanités, la Poésie comme on disait alors, il critiqua les talents poétiques de son professeur avec tant d'impertinence qu'il fut renvoyé ; ce n'était sans doute pas la première fois que les autorités se rendaient compte qu'il n'était guère fait pour une vie d'obéissance dans la Compagnie de Jésus. Le Docteur de Zomergem intervint à nouveau et Maurice put terminer ses humanités au Collège Saint-Liévin à Gand, en dehors cette fois de toute perspective de vie ecclésiastique. Ses excellents résultats l'amènèrent à l'Université, à Gand toujours, où il choisit la philologie classique. Cela prit l'essentiel de ses énergies de 1939 à octobre 1943, quand il défendit son mémoire de licence, dans lequel, sous la

¹ Tel était le nom donné à l'époque à des internats, où étaient rassemblés des jeunes se préparant à devenir jésuites ; pour les cours, ils fréquentaient un collège tout proche. La Compagnie de Jésus prenait sur elle tous les frais de leur éducation.

direction du Professeur P. van de Woestijne, il avait étudié la grammaire de Quintus Serenus Sammonicus. En 1946-47, ayant contracté la tuberculose, il dut faire un séjour au sanatorium de Heynsdaele (commune de Renaix, en Flandre Orientale).

C'est seulement à partir de 1951 qu'il commença à enseigner, en humanités, chez les Dames de Marie à Alost; il devait y rencontrer une collègue, Marieken Hanssens, qu'il épousa en octobre 1955. Mais à cette époque, il était aussi revenu aux études: en mars 1956, toujours patronné par M. van de Woestijne, il conquiert le titre de Docteur avec une thèse sur la structure de l'hexamètre latin, et en septembre de la même année il présentait avec succès devant le Jury d'État à Bruxelles les examens de candidat en philosophie. Peut-être tout cela l'avait-il fatigué excessivement; toujours est-il qu'en 1957 une récurrence de la tuberculose l'emmena pour un an au célèbre sanatorium suisse de Leysin. Guéri, il revint à l'enseignement, à l'École Normale Onze Lieve Vrouw ten Doorn² à Eeklo: cette fois, il donnait cours aux futures régentes³. Former ainsi de futurs professeurs devait rester son occupation principale jusqu'en 1970. Mais en 1963 il quitte l'enseignement catholique pour l'officiel, passant à l'École Normale de l'État à Gand, puis à celle de Bruges en 1965, et revenant à Gand en 1968. Pendant une année scolaire, en 1964-65, il fut, à mi-temps, assistant du Professeur Leemans à l'Université de Gand, et cette année-là, pour le second mi-temps, il donna cours à l'athénée de la même ville; ce bref passage à l'université lui donna du moins le temps de refondre et d'étoffer une anthologie thématique de la littérature grecque, qu'il avait publiée une première fois en 1964 et dont une nouvelle mouture, notablement améliorée, parut en 1966⁴.

L'enseignement toutefois le fatiguait; la tuberculose avait laissé des traces: il lui était pénible de parler à la fois très longtemps et très haut. À partir de 1969, il dut limiter ses heures de prestation; au début de 1971, il obtint un congé sans solde, puis, en novembre 1972, sa mise à la retraite anticipée. Les années 1969-70 sont celles du grand tournant qui allait l'amener dans un tout autre monde, celui de l'érudition et de la patristique. Sa femme en effet, qui donnait alors cours à l'École Normale de Bruges, craignant l'inactivité dans laquelle Maurice aurait pu tomber, en parla à un de ses collègues, le Père Emiel Pil, moine de Steenbrugge, qui trouva Maurice tout indiqué pour entrer dans l'équipe de Dom Eligius Dekkers. Celui-ci, habité depuis vingt ans par le gigantesque projet du *Corpus Christianorum*, n'eut pas de peine à s'entendre avec cette recrue de

² Notre-Dame aux Épinés, disait-on alors quand on voulait le dire en français.

³ Tel est le nom donné en Belgique aux dames qui sont autorisées à donner cours dans les trois premières années de l'enseignement secondaire.

⁴ Voir ci-dessous, p. 6, n° 6.

qualité qui lui tombait du ciel. Plutôt toutefois que de s'insérer dans le travail de la *Series Latina*, Maurice, à la fois ambitieux et indépendant, préféra s'atteler à la rédaction de la *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, qui devait, aux yeux de Dom Dekkers, être le préliminaire au lancement de la *Series Graeca*. Il était d'ailleurs - il le dira souvent - tout à fait inconscient de l'immensité de la tâche que cela représentait, et il n'avait pour modèle que la *Clavis* latine mise sur pied par Dom Dekkers lui-même. Commence alors pour Maurice Geerard, âgé de 50 ans à l'époque, et pour sa femme par ricochet, une toute nouvelle vie. Il se mit à rédiger des milliers de fiches, à dépouiller les manuels⁵, mais très vite il dut se rendre à l'évidence: d'une part, la bibliothèque de Steenbrugge était tout à fait insuffisante pour inventorier la patristique grecque, et d'autre part, s'il voulait éviter des lacunes ou des erreurs majeures, il devait prendre contact avec de nombreux érudits qui travaillaient depuis longtemps dans les domaines qu'il découvrait. Il s'en alla donc travailler à la bibliothèque de l'abbaye bénédictine de Scheyern, au nord de Munich, où était installé un *Byzantinisches Institut*⁶. Puis il revint vers la Belgique, en l'occurrence vers le scholasticat jésuite d'Eegenhoven (près de Louvain), dont le bibliothécaire, le Père Ch. Martin, avait une réelle compétence dans le domaine patristique⁷. Très affable, le P. Martin aida Maurice autant qu'il le put et le guida vers des bibliothèques encore mieux fournies que la sienne, notamment celle du scholasticat des jésuites français, à Chantilly, et celle de la Société des Bollandistes, à Bruxelles. Tout en travaillant avec acharnement dans les livres, Maurice découvrit à cette époque, dans les diverses communautés dont il partageait la vie - quittant son foyer dès le lundi matin, il n'y rentrait qu'à la fin de la semaine -, quelques érudits qui l'aiderent notamment à s'y retrouver dans les traductions orientales des écrits patristiques grecs. Cette époque de sa vie fut aussi marquée par une correspondance abondante: il écrivait aux patrologues, leur soumettait ses projets, ses premières esquisses, attendait leurs critiques, et bien souvent cela se terminait par une visite, soit à l'étranger, soit plus souvent à Bruges. Madame Geerard a dû à l'époque recevoir des hôtes plus souvent qu'à son tour et a, elle aussi, bien mérité de la patristique. Parmi les

⁵ Le début du travail fut mené tambour battant, car dès 1971 paraissait dans une revue italienne une esquisse de l'article "Ammonas", déjà fort complète (voir ci-dessous, p. 435, n° 7).

⁶ A l'époque, c'était le P. Bonifatius Kotter († 1987), le patient éditeur de Jean Damascène, qui y était le plus actif, mais c'est l'affabilité du Père Abbé, Dom J.-M. Hoeck (1902-1995; cf. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, t. 89, 1996, p. 371), lui-même byzantiniste, que Maurice retint de ses premiers séjours à Scheyern.

⁷ Entre 1935 et 1942, le P. Martin (1898-1992) avait publié une quinzaine d'études remarquées, relatives notamment à Hippolyte, Épiphanie, Sévérien de Gabala, Proclus de Constantinople et Hésychius de Jérusalem.

savants que Maurice apprit à connaître au début de son travail, on retiendra notamment, à Berlin, F. Winkelmann, qui avait un moment mis en chantier un travail quelque peu analogue au sien, et ses collègues, K. Treu et J. Dummer; à Paris, M. Richard, Directeur de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes et familier de l'ensemble de la patristique grecque, ainsi que les PP. J. Paramelle et M. Aubineau; à Lyon, le P. L. Doutreleau; à Bruxelles, les Bollandistes et tous ceux qui fréquentaient leur bibliothèque, parmi lesquels S. Voicu; mais il y en avait bien d'autres. Ces années de travail intense et de contacts tous azimuts finirent par donner leur fruit: les quatre tomes principaux de la *Clavis* parurent de 1974 à 1983; ils furent suivis en 1987 d'un cinquième, de précieux index, dans lequel Maurice associa à son nom celui de Fr. Glorie, qui lui avait été d'un grand secours dans ce travail ingrat et qui d'ailleurs dès le premier tome l'avait beaucoup aidé à trouver une présentation claire et à garder celle-ci constante à travers tout l'ouvrage. Dès la parution du tome consacré au IV^e siècle, en 1974, ce fut le triomphe: le travail, que plus d'un avait cru irréalisable, fut immédiatement reçu et applaudi comme un événement majeur dans sa discipline⁸, et l'auteur put constater très rapidement combien sa *Clavis* était citée et employée. Quand l'ouvrage fut complet, on lui offrit des "mélanges" en signe de gratitude⁹. Et en 1990, ses mérites reconnus le firent nommer Docteur *honoris causa* - en théologie - de l'Université Laval, à Sainte-Foy, dans la banlieue de Québec.

Mais, on l'a dit, la *Clavis* devait permettre le lancement de cette *Series Graeca* du *Corpus*, qui, plus de vingt ans après le début de la Série Latine, se faisait toujours désirer. Sur ce point aussi, la Maison Brepols et Dom Dekkers trouvèrent en Maurice un allié décidé. L'abbé Richard, qui avait beaucoup encouragé Maurice, fut choisi comme premier Directeur. Le choix était judicieux: par la place centrale qu'il avait prise dans la recherche et le microfilmage des manuscrits grecs, par son travail aussi en patristique, M. Richard connaissait beaucoup de futurs éditeurs de textes grecs chrétiens; il prit sur lui la rédaction du premier volume et put orienter vers la nouvelle série d'autres auteurs: Mille Petit, MM. Datema,

⁸ Les recensions du tome de 1974 sont si enthousiastes qu'il a paru bon d'en donner quelques extraits en appendice. Le Père M. Aubineau, après avoir utilisé et annoté le nouveau répertoire pendant un an, n'hésitait pas à publier un article intitulé *Un événement scientifique: la "Clavis Patrum graecorum"* (*Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, t. 12, 1976, p. 210-230). Il est un des sceptiques évoqués ci-dessus. "Confessons-le d'emblée," écrit-il, "nous avons accueilli avec scepticisme, il y a peu d'années, le projet de M. Geerard, tellement il nous semblait difficile qu'un seul homme pût mener à bien une telle tâche, dans des délais raisonnables" (p. 210).

⁹ *Ἀντίδωρον. Hulde aan Dr. Maurits Geerard bij de voltooiing van de Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Wetteren, 1984, X-265 p.

Olivier, Uthemann, et le P. Munitiz, pour ne citer que les projets qui ont abouti. Malheureusement, M. Richard tomba très vite malade, et il ne vit même pas paraître sa propre édition de Jean de Césarée¹⁰. L'affaire toutefois était bien lancée. Mais alors que Dom Dekkers aurait volontiers gardé la Série Grecque dans le giron de Steenbrugge, M. Geerard s'aperçut rapidement que l'abbaye, dont il avait déjà remarqué les déficiences en matière de bibliothèque, n'avait pas non plus, si la présence de M. Richard n'était pas assurée, les compétences pour faire convenablement le travail qu'on se proposait de lancer. C'est lui qui, entraînant Dom Dekkers, voulut que la Série Grecque fût alors confiée à un milieu universitaire, en l'occurrence à la Katholieke Universiteit Leuven¹¹. L'Université de Louvain, institution séculaire qui, depuis 1911, avait petit à petit développé les cours donnés en néerlandais et avait fini par avoir deux sections linguistiques, une francophone et une néerlandophone, venait alors d'éclater en deux institutions complètement distinctes, et la nouvelle université flamande, en la personne notamment des chanoines G. Verbeke (Philosophie et Lettres) et A. Van Roey (Théologie), accueillit volontiers le nouveau projet. L'accord tripartite (Brepols - Katholieke Universiteit Leuven - Steenbrugge) fut signé le 7 juillet 1976; Maurice Geerard en avait été le moteur¹².

En 1987, les index de sa *Clavis* une fois parus, cet homme hyperactif fut sur le point de s'ennuyer. Heureusement, sa célébrité l'avait fait dans l'entre-temps entrer à l'AELAC (Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne), et ce groupe fut tout heureux de le voir libre: il lui demanda de rédiger une nouvelle *clavis*: celle des apocryphes du Nouveau Testament. Maurice se remit à l'ouvrage: de nouveau, il passa chez les Bollandistes des semaines entières, partageant les repas des Pères et connu de chacun dans la communauté. Mais le cœur y était moins: lucide, Maurice savait, dès avant de se mettre à l'ouvrage, que cette nouvelle *Clavis* était beaucoup moins nécessaire que ne l'avait été la première; le champ à couvrir était beaucoup plus restreint et surtout il existait de bons

¹⁰ Il mourut le 15 juin 1976, sans avoir vu davantage la parution des trois tomes d'*Opera minora* que M. Geerard avait fait préparer pour son 70^e anniversaire.

¹¹ Il reste un témoignage intéressant du temps où l'on préparait le lancement de la Série Grecque sans l'aide d'une quelconque université: le 25 novembre 1972, Maurice Geerard, lors d'une conférence à la Société Belge d'Études Byzantines, présenta la série projetée, et le compte rendu de cette réunion, où personne n'évoqua la moindre collaboration avec Louvain, fut publié dans *Byzantion*, t. 43 (1973), p. 500-502.

¹² Il prit aussi le relais de M. Richard pour amener de nouveaux collaborateurs; c'est lui qui attira ainsi au *Corpus* J. Noret, J. Declerck et M. Hostens.

manuels susceptibles de jouer à peu près le même rôle que l'ouvrage qu'on lui avait demandé d'écrire.

Cette *Clavis* des apocryphes néotestamentaires parue en 1992, Maurice se retrouvait pour ainsi dire retraité pour de bon. Il ne savait plus que faire pour s'occuper. Il lut alors quelques-uns de ces Pères dont il avait si bien inventorié les œuvres, mais il les trouvait ennuyeux, voire peu éclairés; il retourna à l'antiquité grecque, qui avait gardé chez lui tout son prestige, et notamment à Platon. Mais il lui fallait quelque chose de plus actif. C'est ainsi que fin 1995 ou début 1996 il proposa à Jacques Noret de préparer avec lui un Supplément à sa *Clavis* en unissant les notes qu'à sa demande ce dernier avait prises tout au long des années depuis 1974, date de sortie de son premier volume, et celles que lui-même avait accumulées de son côté. Ce projet lui rendit la fougue qui commençait à lui manquer. "Il revit", dit sa femme à cette époque, "il avait besoin de cela". L'âge pourtant avait avancé, les techniques avaient évolué - il avait promis de donner à l'imprimeur des disquettes prêtes à l'impression - et sa capacité de concentration avait notablement baissé; après quelques mois, il s'en rendit compte, et cela le fit souffrir; puis, cela devint décidément trop lourd: il fallait en finir. A la hâte, le livre sortit à Pâques 1998.

Les jours heureux, toutefois, étaient passés. Les dernières années, Maurice n'accompagnait plus sa femme dans les voyages hors d'Europe. En 1998, la perte de son chien l'affecta extraordinairement. De son côté, Dom Dekkers, confronté à la maladie et aux difficultés, avait commencé à décliner fortement. Maurice, dont la fidélité était grande, allait lui rendre visite chaque semaine, mais il revenait frappé par la misère de l'ancien Père Abbé, et il souffrait de ne plus pouvoir communiquer: les paroles de son ami étaient parfois irréelles, souvent si faiblement articulées qu'elles étaient incompréhensibles. Dom Eligius s'éteignit le 15 décembre 1998. Maurice, contre toute attente, ne lui survécut que six mois. Au printemps, assez rapidement, l'effort physique lui devint pénible et la respiration parfois difficile. Le médecin, consulté, ne semblait guère s'inquiéter: pour un ancien tuberculeux, ce n'était pas anormal. En fait, c'était la fin qui s'annonçait; elle se présenta aux premiers jours de l'été.

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¹³ Dans cette bibliographie, on a simplement suivi l'ordre chronologique des publications; cet ordre même donne en effet une idée de l'évolution et de la carrière de M. Geerard.

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Quelques échos du premier accueil fait à la *Clavis*

On oubliera bien vite combien la *Clavis* de M. Geerard a facilité les études de tous ceux qui s'occupent de littérature grecque chrétienne. Aussi n'a-t-il pas semblé superflu de rassembler ici, autant que possible dans l'ordre chronologique de parution, quelques phrases qu'ont écrites les recenseurs de l'époque; elles témoignent pour toujours de l'enthousiasme et de l'admiration des chercheurs pour l'instrument de travail qui venait de leur tomber entre les mains.

"C'est une ère nouvelle qui s'ouvre pour la patristique" (M. van Esbroeck, dans *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. 93, 1975, p. 203).

"La *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* de M. Maurice Geerard rendra des services incalculables... Nous ne pourrions développer tous les avantages de cet instrument de travail" (J. Mossay, dans *Le Muséon*, t. 88, 1975, p. 227-228).

“Zum ersten Mal erhält man in der *Clavis* einen vollständigen Überblick über die literarische Produktion und den Stand ihrer Erforschung bei den einzelnen Schriftstellern, einen Überblick, den bislang für Johannes Chrysostomos oder Ephraem Graecus oder Athanasios von Alexandria ... nur ganz wenige Spezialisten haben konnten” (Fr. Winkelmann, dans *Byzantinoslavica*, t. 36, 1975, p. 203).

“inestimabile strumento di lavoro” (B. Studer, dans *Vetera Christianorum*, t. 12, 1975, p. 482).

“répertoire indispensable pour toute étude critique de la littérature grecque chrétienne et de l'histoire de l'Église ancienne ... tâche surhumaine que le Dr G(eerard) est en train de conduire à bonne fin, en dépit des difficultés et des fatigues qu'on devine, et dans les délais que des équipes plus richement dotées pourraient méditer utilement” (A. de Halleux, dans *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, t. 71, 1976, p. 120-121).

“une entreprise vraiment énorme ... En parcourant ce livre on comprend, comment l'éditeur s'est senti parfois accablé de difficultés. On ne peut que le féliciter d'avoir persévéré” (J.C.M. van Winden, dans *Vigiliae Christianae*, t. 31, 1977, p. 74).

“zweifellos wird von ihr [der *Clavis*] auch die Forschung selbst so manchen Impuls erhalten” (W. Lackner, dans *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, t. 26, 1977, p. 310).

“A book such as this is a goldmine of reference. It is good at every point, but of supreme value either for the really voluminous writers such as John Chrysostom..., or for the obscure or fragmentary authors whose texts can easily be quite overlooked ... A profound debt of gratitude is owed to the amazingly erudite author of this book” (H. Chadwick, dans *The Journal of Theological Studies*, t. 29, 1978, p. 231).

In memoriam Albert Van Roey
(°24-4-1915 - † 19-1-2000)

Op 19 januari 2000 is Albert Van Roey van ons heengegaan; enerzijds heeft zijn dood ons niet verrast, daar hij al lang geplaagd werd door serieuze hartproblemen, maar anderzijds toch ook weer wel, omdat onze senior professor, tot op het laatst en dit met het enthousiasme dat hem kenmerkte, wetenschappelijk bezig is gebleven. Voor ons *Instituut voor Vroegchristelijke en Byzantijnse Studies* van de Katholieke Universiteit Leuven betekent dit heengaan een zwaar verlies.

Albert Van Roey werd te Vorselaar, in de landelijke Kempen, geboren op 24 april 1915. Na zijn humaniora aan het St.-Jozefscollege te Turnhout volgde hij een gedegen seminarieopleiding aan het Grootseminarie te Mechelen, met twee jaar filosofie en drie jaar theologie (1933-1938); op het einde van deze studie werd hij als briljante student naar Leuven gezonden om er het baccalaureaat te behalen (1938-1939); op 16 april 1939 werd hij te Mechelen tot priester gewijd, op hetzelfde ogenblik als zijn tweelingbroer Jozef.

De Tweede Wereldoorlog verplichtte hem zijn studies te Leuven te onderbreken, maar dit neemt niet weg dat hij reeds tijdens de mobilisatie zijn wetenschappelijke roeping vindt: hij start met de studie van enkele Oosterse talen. In 1945 promoveert hij tot doctor in de theologie en behaalt hij het licentiaatsdiploma Oosterse filologie. Tussen 1945 en 1947 verbleef hij te Parijs om er zich in het Arabisch te bekwamen aan de *École nationale des langues orientales vivantes*. Na een kort intermezzo als professor aan het seminarie te Mechelen (1947-1949), weet hij in 1948 ook de doctorstitel in de Oosterse filologie te behalen, met een studie over Nonnus van Nisibis, die later zal uitgegeven worden in de prestigieuze reeks *Bibliothèque du Muséon*, onder de titel: *Nonnus de Nisibe. Traité apologétique. Étude, texte et traduction* (Leuven, 1949). In 1948, en deze taak zal hij blijven waarnemen tot 1980, wordt hij in de Faculteit Wijsbegeerte en Letteren belast met het college Arabisch. Toen zijn leermeester Joseph Lebon in 1949 tot het emeritaat werd toegelaten, kreeg hij een deel van diens leeropdracht toegewezen, onder meer in de Patrologie, in de Dogmageschiedenis en in de Theologie van de Oosterse Kerken, een leeropdracht die met de jaren alleen maar zou vergroten, en werd hij benoemd tot docent in de Faculteit Godgeleerdheid; in 1953 was hij al opgeklommen tot de graad van gewoon hoogleraar; in 1983 werd hij toegelaten tot het emeritaat.

Op wetenschappelijk vlak is hij vooral bezig geweest met de dogmatische controverses waaraan de Vroege Kerk van de 4de tot de 6de eeuw zo rijk geweest is: Marcianus van Bethlehem, Eutyches, patriarch Atticus, Theodotus van Ancyra, Cyrillus van Alexandrië, patriarch Sergius, Petrus van Callinicus, Ioannes Philoponus, dit zijn slechts enkele namen die in zijn rijke bibliografie aan bod zijn gekomen. Bijzondere aandacht besteedde hij hierbij niet enkel aan de Grieks-Patristische bronnen, maar vooral aan de Syrische testimonia, zowel wanneer het ging om originele werken in deze taal, dan wel om vertalingen vanuit het Grieks in het Syrisch. Het is duidelijk dat hij bijzonder werd aangetrokken door de Armeense, maar vooral de Syrische taal en cultuur; met deze uitgesproken voorliefde, die zich zowel uitte in zijn onderricht als in zijn onderzoek, zette hij deze aloude, typisch Leuvense traditie voort van aandacht voor het Christelijk Oosten.

Mede onder impuls van Albert Van Roey werden te Leuven een aantal grootschalige wetenschappelijke projecten opgestart. Zo stond hij mee aan de wieg van het Leuvense tijdschrift *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, en richtte hij in 1970, in de schoot van de Faculteit Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, het *Centrum voor Hellenisme en Kristendom* op; verschillende wetenschappelijke initiatieven kregen er onderdak. In 1975 vond in dit Leuven centrum, dat veel later zou opgaan in het hoger genoemde Instituut, de redactie van de *Series Graeca* van het *Corpus Christianorum* een vaste thuishaven. Deze reeks, die nu de kaap van 40 voorbij is gevaren, stelt zich een kritische standaard-editie tot doel van teksten uit de Griekse Patristiek en de theologische Byzantijnse literatuur waarvoor voordien nog geen of geen bevredigende uitgave voorhanden was; zij beoogt vooral het ganse oeuvre van bepaalde auteurs kritisch uit te geven.

In een tijdspanne van twee jaar, heeft de *Series*, naast Dom Dekkers en Maurice Geerard, in Albert Van Roey nu ook een derde geestelijke vader verloren. Het wel en wee van de *Series Graeca* ging hem ter harte, ook de laatste jaren waarin wij het bij wijlen financieel lastig hadden en waarin hij meer dan eens bereid was de dagelijkse werkingskosten op zich te nemen. De eerste 11 volumes van onze *Series Graeca* werden onder diens kundige algemene leiding gepubliceerd. Zijn levenswerk is echter ongetwijfeld de publikatie, in diezelfde *Series* en dit in samenwerking met zijn kompanen van jaar en dag Rif Ebied en Lionel Wickham, van een monumentaal werk van Petrus van Callinicus, patriarch van Antiochië op het einde van de 6de eeuw; de wetenschappelijke wereld mocht al drie delen begroeten van deze uitgave-onderneming (volumes 29, 32 en 35, onder de titel: *Petri Callinicensis patriarchae Antiocheni Tractatus contra Damianum*); tot aan zijn dood was hij bezig met het manuscript van het vierde en laatste deel van dit enkel in het Syrisch bewaarde traktaat. Het is nu aan ons om dit levenswerk te voltooien.

We zijn hem ook erg dankbaar voor het volgende initiatief dat hij in 1998-1999, samen met zijn zuster, Mathilde, genomen heeft; dan werd

het *Fonds* en de *Leerstoel Albert en Mathilda Van Roey* in het leven geroepen, met als doel aan onze Alma Mater de studie en de bekendmaking te stimuleren van het rijke erfgoed van het Christelijk Oosten en van Byzantium, ook als een bijdrage tot een betere kennis van de hedendaagse culturen - in het Nabije Oosten en elders - waarin de oude cultuurtradities van het Christelijk Oosten voortleven. Vooral de Armeense en Syrische talen en culturen zouden er in de kijker staan. Op 23 maart 1999 hebben wij dit initiatief officieel boven de doopvont gehouden met de start van een lezingen-cyclus. Ook hier heeft hij ons werk meegegeven; het is aan ons dit mooie project verder uit te bouwen in de toekomst.

Hij is niet dood voor ons, ons, dan bedoel ik in de eerste plaats diegenen die met hem mochten samenwerken in de schoot van onze onderzoekseenheid; het is daar dat zijn wetenschappelijke thuis, zijn wetenschappelijke biotoop gelegen was. Zijn week zag er de laatste jaren als volgt uit: na enkele dagen van herbronning in het landelijke Vorselaar, maakte hij elke woensdag zijn opwachting bij ons; tot in het weekend wijdde hij zich volledig aan zijn wetenschappelijk werk; tot aan zijn dood was hij actief betrokken bij het onderzoek van het Instituut, bij de *Series Graeca*. Hij stimuleerde tot op het laatst de wetenschappelijke arbeid van jonge medewerkers en legde, vooral na zijn emeritaat, een opmerkelijke publiceer-ijver aan de dag, en trad hiermee in de voetsporen van zijn leermeester Lebon. Op A. Van Roey kan zonder enige twijfel het oude adagium *Scripta manent* worden toegepast.

Bij Albert Van Roey gingen eruditie en medemenselijkheid hand in hand. We mochten hem ervaren als een eminent geleerde, lucide tot op het eind, als een warme persoonlijkheid, vol eenvoud, soepel in de omgang ook met mensen die met minder geleerde dingen bezig zijn, als iemand die zijn eigen wetenschappelijk werk kon relativiseren (wat konden die kerkvaders soms toch langdradig zijn en elke realiteitszin missen, zei hij vaak), als iemand met een open geest, ook op religieus vlak, vol spitse en plagende humor.

Kanunnik, enerzijds bent U veraf, laat U een onbeschrijflijke leegte bij ons na; anderzijds, bent U ons nabij, leeft U voort in ons door uw publicaties en door wat U voor ons betekend hebt. Verkwikking (*refrigerium*), licht (*lux*) en vrede (*pax*) zijn nu uw deel, om de Romeinse canon te citeren; U mag nu rusten in Gods nabijheid; uw werk hier op aarde is volbracht; aan ons is het nu deze mooie erfenis te voltooien. Kanunnik, in ons aller naam, dank U en vaart wel.

Leuven, Goede Vrijdag, 2000

Peter Van Deun

Voorzitter van het *Instituut voor Vroegchristelijke en Byzantijnse Studies*

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